

TRINITY COLLEGE LIBRARY



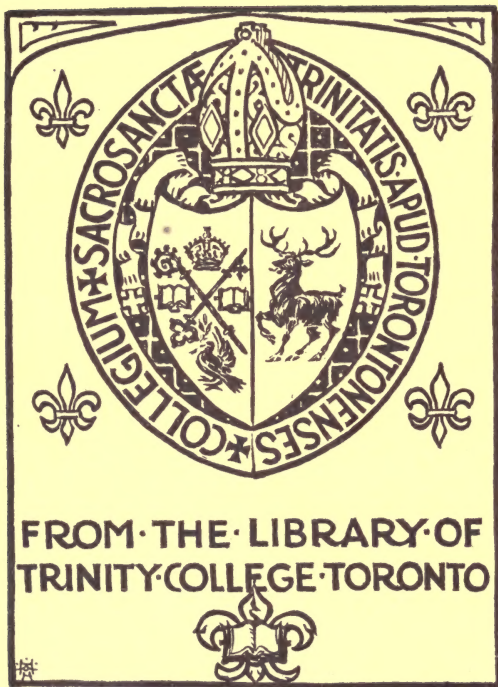
3 1761 02714944 2



C. D. P. Tewart.









WIMBURY

# THE REFORMATION

BY THE REV. J. H. WIMBURY

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND, AS SEEN IN THE LIFE OF HENRY VIII.

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND, AS SEEN IN THE LIFE OF HENRY VIII.

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND, AS SEEN IN THE LIFE OF HENRY VIII.

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND, AS SEEN IN THE LIFE OF HENRY VIII.

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND, AS SEEN IN THE LIFE OF HENRY VIII.

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND, AS SEEN IN THE LIFE OF HENRY VIII.

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND, AS SEEN IN THE LIFE OF HENRY VIII.





HISTORY  
OF  
THE REFORMATION  
IN THE  
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BY  
J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, D.D.

J'appelle accessoire, l'estat des affaires de ceste vie caduque et transitoire. J'appelle principal, le gouvernement spirituel auquel reluit souverainement la providence de Dieu.—THEODORE DE BEZE.

By *accessory* I mean the state of affairs in this fading and transitory life. By *principal* I mean the spiritual government in which the providence of God is sovereignly displayed.

A NEW TRANSLATION:

(CONTAINING THE AUTHOR'S LAST IMPROVEMENTS,)

BY HENRY BEVERIDGE, ESQ. ADVOCATE.

VOLUME THIRD.

GLASGOW:  
PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM COLLINS.  
1846.

~~270.6~~  
~~AUG~~  
~~II~~

BR

305

M4713

1846

vol. 3+4

---

GLASGOW  
WILLIAM COLLINS AND CO.,  
PRINTERS.

---

36328

JAN 3 1938



## PREFACE TO VOLUME THIRD.

LITERARY men in France, Switzerland, Germany, and England, urged on by a spirit of examination and research, are constantly enquiring after the original documents on which modern history is founded. I wish to contribute my mite to the accomplishment of the important task which our age appears to have undertaken. Hitherto I have not deemed it enough to peruse contemporary historians. I have interrogated eye-witnesses, private letters, and original narratives, and made use of some manuscripts, particularly that of Bullinger, which has since been printed. (Frauenfeld, 1838-1840.)

The necessity of having recourse to unpublished documents became more urgent on approaching, as I do in the twelfth book, the Reformation of France, with regard to which, in consequence of the continual turmoil in which the reformed church of that country has lived, we have only a few printed memoirs. In the spring of 1838, I endeavoured, as far as was in my power, to examine the manuscripts of the public libraries of Paris; it will be seen that a manuscript of the Royal Library, hitherto I believe unknown, throws great light on the first stages of the Reformation. In the autumn of 1839, I consulted the manuscripts in the library of the consistory of pastors of Neuchâtel, a collection which is very rich in regard to this period, from a bequest of the manuscripts of Farel's library, and through the kindness of the proprietor of Meuron, I obtained the use of the manuscript life of Farel by Choupard, into which the greater part of these documents have been transcribed. These manuscripts have enabled me to remodel one entire section of the Reformation in France. In addition to this assistance, and that furnished by the library of Geneva, I made an appeal, through the

medium of the *Archives du Christianisme*, to all the friends of history and the Reformation, who may have any manuscripts at their disposal, and I here express my gratitude for different communications which have been made to me, in particular by the Rev. Mr. Ladevèze of Meaux. But though religious wars and persecutions have destroyed many precious documents, there doubtless still exist in different parts of France several which would be of essential service to the history of the Reformation, and I earnestly entreat all who may possess or have any knowledge of them to have the goodness to communicate with me on the subject. Documents of this nature are felt in our days to be common property, and, therefore, I hope that this appeal will not be in vain.

It will perhaps be thought that in writing a general history of the Reformation, I have entered too much into detail on its first beginnings in France. But these beginnings are little known: the events which form the subject of my twelfth book occupy only three or four pages in the '*Histoire Ecclesiastique des Eglises Reformées au Royaume de France*,' by Theodore Beza, while other historians confine themselves almost entirely to political developments. It is true that in this part of my work I have not been able to describe scenes so imposing as the Diet of Worms. Nevertheless, independent of the religious interest attached to it, the humble but truly divine movement which I have attempted to describe, had perhaps more influence on the destinies of France than the celebrated wars of Charles V and Francis I. In a large machine the result is often produced not by the parts which make the greatest appearance, but by the most hidden springs.

Complaints have been made of the delay which has taken place in the publication of this third volume. Some would even have had me not to print the first before the whole was completed. There may be certain superior intellects to which conditions may be prescribed, but there are others whose feebleness must give conditions, and to this class I belong. To publish a volume at one time, at another time when I am able a second volume, and then a third, is the course which my primary duties and humble abilities allow me to take. Other circumstances, moreover, have interposed; severe afflictions have on two occasions interrupted the composition of this third volume, and concentrated all my affections and all my thoughts on the tomb of beloved children.



The thought that it was my duty to glorify the adorable Master, who addressed those powerful calls to me, and accompanied them with so much divine consolation, could alone have given me the courage necessary to prosecute my labours.

These explanations seemed due to the kindness with which this work has been received in France, and especially in England, where the fourth edition of a translation is about to appear, beside two others in smaller form, which I am told are in course of preparation. Owing to this, no doubt, the *Journal des Débats*, in an article signed M. Chasles, has announced this history of the Reformation as an English work. I set a high value on the approbation of the protestant Christians of Great Britain, the representatives of evangelical principles and doctrines in the most remote regions of the globe, and I beg to assure them that I feel it to be a most valuable encouragement to my labours. The first book of the fourth volume will be devoted (God willing) to the Reformation of England and Scotland.<sup>1</sup>

The cause of truth recompenses those who embrace and defend it; and so it has proved with the nations who embraced the Reformation. In the eighteenth century, at the moment when Rome was anticipating her triumph through her Jesuits and scaffolds, victory slipped through her hands. Rome, like Naples, Portugal, and Spain, fell into interminable difficulties, while at the same time two protestant kingdoms arose in Europe, and began to exercise an influence which till then had belonged to Roman Catholic states. England came forth victorious from the Spanish and French assaults, which the pope had so long stirred up against her, and the Elector of Brandenburg, in spite of the wrath of Clement XI, encircled his head with a royal crown. From that period England has extended her dominion in every quarter of the world, and Prussia has taken a new rank among continental states, while a third power also separated from Rome, viz. Russia was growing up in her immense deserts. In this way evangelical principles have exerted their influence on the countries which have received them, and *by righteousness nations have been exalted*. Let evangelical states be well assured that to protestantism they owe their greatness. Should

<sup>1</sup> The last book of the present ought, perhaps, to have formed the commencement of a succeeding volume. It seemed better, however, to introduce the Reformation of France into the third volume, though the effect has been to make it about 150 pages larger than each of the other two.

they abandon the position which God has given them, or incline anew towards Rome, that moment they lose their power and glory. Rome is now striving to gain them; alternately employing flattery and threatening, she would, like Delilah, lull them asleep upon her knees . . . but it is to rob them of their locks, that thus their enemies may be able to put out their eyes, and bind them with fetters of iron.

Herein, too, is a great lesson for France, with which the author feels himself so intimately connected through his forefathers. Should France, like her different governments, incline anew to the papacy, our belief is, that it will prove the signal of great disasters. Every one who attaches himself to the papacy will be compromised in its downfall. France has her only prospect of strength and greatness in turning towards the gospel. May this great truth be understood by rulers and people!

In our day, it is true, there is great activity in the papacy. Though attacked by an inevitable consumption, she would fain, by showy colours and feverish paroxysms, persuade others, and persuade herself, that she is still full of vigour. An attempt of this kind has been made by a theologian of Turin, in a treatise occasioned by this history, and in which it is pleasing to recognise a certain talent in presenting proofs, however feeble, with an air of candour to which we are little accustomed, and in a manner by no means offensive, notwithstanding of the sad and culpable facility with which the author, in his twelfth chapter, revives accusations against the Reformers, the falsehood of which has been completely demonstrated, and is generally acknowledged.<sup>1</sup>

We will give an example, referring to matters contained in the present volume. James le Vasseur, doctor of Sorbonne, and canon and dean of the church of Noyon, wrote *Annals of the Church of Noyon*, (1633,) in which he is at a loss for epithets against our Reformer, and only consoles himself by the thought that *Saint Eloi gave Calvin the mortal blow*, (p. 1164). After saying that the Reformer in early life held benefices in the Church of Noyon, the canon in proof of this quotes a declaration of James Desmay, also a doctor of theology, in his "Life of Calvin the heresiarch,"

<sup>1</sup> LA PAPAUTE' *considerée dans son Origine et dans son Développement au moyen âge, ou Réponse aux Allegations de M. Merle d'Aubigné dans son Histoire de la Réformation au Seizieme Siecle, par l'abbé C. MAGNIN, docteur en théologie. Geneve, chez Berthier-Guers. 1840.*

who, after a very careful examination of every thing relating to the Reformer, says, "*I have been unable to discover ANYTHING ELSE in the same registers.*" (Annales de Noyon, p. 1162). Then the devout historian of the Church of Noyon, after pouring out all his wrath on Calvin and all the members of his family, without mentioning a single act of the Reformer at variance with morality, but contenting himself with simply observing, that *to call him heresiarch is to charge him with the sum of all crimes* (ib.) adds a XCVI chapter, entitled, "*Of another John Cauvin, chaplain Vicar of the same church of Noyon, NOT A HERETIC,*" in which he says, "Another John Cauvin presented himself and was admitted to our choir at a vicarial chapel, but was shortly after dismissed *for his incontinence, punishment* having been repeatedly inflicted to no purpose. He was vicar for the diocese, and the belief of our old people is, that he served the cure of Trachy-le-Val in this diocese in the capacity of vicar, and then died *a good catholic*. He was, nevertheless, beaten with rods when in custody, as Desmay writes in his little book, pp. 39, 40, and yet he was a priest not subject to such discipline. He has, therefore, fallen into a blunder, taking this man for another vicar, also chaplain, named Baldwin le Jeune, doubly young in name and in manners, who had not then entered the priesthood or taken any holy orders. The conclusion of the capitulary is as follows:— . . . . *Quod Balduinus, le Jeune capellanus vicarialis, . . . pro scandalis commissis, ordinarunt præfati domini IPSUM CÆDI VIRGIS, quia puer et nondum in sacris constitutus.* I thought it my duty (continues the dean of Noyon) to add this chapter to the history of the first Calvin, *ad diluendam homonymiam*, (to guard against the similarity of names,) lest the one should be taken for the other, the catholic for the heretic." Thus speaks the canon and dean of Noyon, pp. 1170, 1171. Now what is done by Doctor Magnin and the writers of the papacy whom he quotes? They announce quite gravely that Calvin was banished from his native town for bad conduct; that being convicted of a horrible crime, he would have been condemned to be publicly burnt had not the burning been commuted, at the prayer of the bishop, into scourging and branding with a hot iron, etc. (La Papauté, p. 109.) Thus, in spite of all the pains which the dean of Noyon took to add a chapter *for fear the one should be taken for the other, the catholic for the heretic*, the writers of the papacy uniformly



attribute to the Reformer the misdeeds of his namesake. The thought uppermost with the canon of Noyon was the fair fame of this John Calvin *who died a good catholic*, and he trembled lest he should be charged with the heresy of Calvin. Accordingly he draws the distinction between them very clearly, giving the *heresies* to the one, and *the incontinence* to the other. But the result is the very opposite of what he anticipated. It is not "the heresy of Calvin" that has brought opprobrium on John Cauvin, but the incontinence and chastisement of John Cauvin are brought forward for the purpose of throwing opprobrium on the Reformer. And such is the way in which history is written!—such, we will not say the bad faith, but the levity and ignorance of the apologists of the papacy! These blunders occur in the writings of men otherwise respectable, and who ought to have nothing in common with the hateful name of calumniator. The present volume gives a true account of the early life of Calvin.

M. Audin, as a sequel to his History of Luther, has recently published a History of Calvin, written under the influence of deplorable prejudice, and in which it is difficult to recognise the Reformers and the Reformation.

Perhaps, on another occasion, we shall make some addition to what we have said in our first book on the origin of the papacy. It were out of place to do it here.

I will only remark in general, that the *human* and natural causes which so well explain its origin are precisely those to which the Papacy appeals in order to demonstrate its *divine* institution. Thus Christian antiquity declares, that the universal episcopate was committed to all the bishops, so that the bishops of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Antioch, Ephesus, Rome, Carthage, Lyons, Arles, Milan, Hippo, Cesarea, etc., took an interest in whatever occurred throughout the Christian world. Shortly after Rome appropriated to herself this duty, which was incumbent on all, and arguing as if it were her concern only, converts it into a demonstration of her primacy.

We give another example. The Christian churches established in the great towns of the empire sent missionaries to the countries to which they stood related. This was done first of all by Jerusalem, then by Antioch, Alexandria, Ephesus, and at length by Rome; and Rome forthwith concluded, from what she did after

others and less than others, that she was entitled to set herself above all others. These examples will suffice.

Let us only observe further, that in the West Rome alone enjoyed the honour which in the East was shared by Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, Ephesus, Antioch, and in a far higher degree by Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup>—the honour of having had one or more apostles among her first teachers. Hence the Latin churches must naturally have had a certain degree of respect for Rome. But never would the eastern Christians, though they honoured her as the church of the political metropolis of the empire, acknowledge in her any ecclesiastical superiority. The celebrated general Council of Chalcedon assigned to Constantinople, previously the obscure Byzantium, the same privileges (τὰ ἴσα προσέειπα) as Rome, and declared that it was entitled to equal dignity. Accordingly, when the papacy was distinctly formed in Rome, the East showed no desire to acknowledge a master of whom it had never heard; and standing on the ancient territory of catholicity, abandoned the West to the domination of the new sect which had risen up within its bosom. The East still styles herself, by way of pre-eminence, *catholic and orthodox*, and when the question is asked at one of these eastern Christians, whom Rome has united to herself by means of numerous concessions, "Are you a Catholic?"—"No," he immediately replies, "I am *papistian*" (papist).—*Journals of the Rev. Joseph Wolf*. London, 1839, p. 225.

If this History has been subjected to criticism from the Romish party, it has also been subjected to it in a literary point of view. Individuals for whom I entertain great respect appear to attach more importance to a political or literary history of the Reformation, than to an exposition which points out its spiritual principles and moving springs. I can understand this manner of viewing the subject, but I cannot adopt it. In my opinion, the essentials of the Reformation are its doctrines and inward life. Any work in which these do not occupy the first place, may be brilliant, but will not be faithfully and candidly historical. It will resemble a philosopher, who, wishing to describe man, should with great accuracy and graphic beauty explain every thing that relates to his body,

<sup>1</sup> St. Epiphanius says that our Lord committed to James the greater at Jerusalem his throne on earth (τὸν θρόνον αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς): and speaking of bishops assembled at Jerusalem, he declares that the whole world (παντα κόσμον) ought to submit to their authority. (Epiph. Hæres., 70, 10-78, 7.)

but should give only a subordinate place to the divine inmate, the soul.

There are many defects, doubtless, in the feeble work of which I here present a new fragment to the Christian public, but the greatest defect I see in it is, that it does not breathe still more of the spirit of the Reformation. The more I succeed in calling attention to what manifests the glory of Christ, the more faithful I am to history. I willingly adopt as my law those words which a historian of the sixteenth century, still more celebrated as a warrior than a writer, after giving a part of the history of Protestantism, of which I do not purpose to treat, addresses to those who should think of completing his task,—“I give them the law which I take to myself, and it is, that while seeking the honour of this precious instrument, their principal aim should be the glory of the arm which prepared, employed, and wielded it at pleasure. For all the praises given to princes are unseasonable and misplaced, if they have not for their aim and foundation that of the living God, to whom belong honour and dominion for ever and ever.”

EAUX-VIVES, near Geneva, Feb. 1841.



# CONTENTS.

## BOOK NINTH.

FIRST REFORMS.—(1521, 1522.)

### CHAP. I.

	PAGE
Progress of the Reformation—New Period—Advantages of Luther's Captivity—Agitation of Germany—Melanethon and Luther—Enthusiasm, - - - - -	11

### CHAP. II.

Luther in the Wartburg—Object of his Captivity—Agonies—Sickness—Labour of Luther—On Confession—To Latomus—Walks. - - -	17
--	----

### CHAP. III.

Reformation begins—Marriage of Feldkirchen—Marriage of Monks—Theses—Writes against Monachism—Luther ceases to be a Monk. - - - - -	23
--	----

### CHAP. IV.

Archbishop Albert—The Idol of Halle—Luther appears—Terror at the Court—Luther to the Archbishop—The Archbishop's Reply—Joachim of Brandenburg. - - - - -	27
--	----

### CHAP. V.

Translation of the Bible—Wants of the Church—Principles of the Reformation—Alarm at Court—Luther to the Archbishop—Temptations of the Devil—Condemnation of the Sorbonne—Melanethon's Reply—Visit to Wittenberg. - - - - -	32
--	----

### CHAP. VI.

New Reforms—Gabriel Zwilling on the Mass—The University—The Elector—Monachism attacked—Emancipation of the Monks—Disturbances—Chapter of the Augustins—The Mass and Carlstadt—First Supper—Importance of the Mass in the Roman System. - - - - -	37
--	----

### CHAP. VII.

Spurious Reform—The new Prophets—The Prophets at Wittenberg—Melanethon—The Elector—Luther, Carlstadt, and Images—Disorders—Luther sent for—He hesitates not—Dangers. - - -	46
--	----

### CHAP. VIII.

Departure from the Wartburg—New Position—Luther and Primitive Catholicism—Meeting at the Black Bear—Luther to the Elector—Return to Wittenberg—Discourses at Wittenberg—Charity—the Word—How the Reformation was effected—Faith in Christ—Effect—Didymus—Carlstadt—The Prophets—Conference with Luther—End of the Struggle. - - - - -	54
---	----

# CONTENTS.

PAGE

## CHAP. IX.

Translation of the New Testament—Faith and Scripture—Opposition—Importance of Luther's Publication—Need of a Systematic Exposition—Melanethon's <i>Common Places</i> —Original Sin—Salvation—Free-will—Effect of the Common Places.	-	-	63
---	---	---	----

## CHAP. X.

Opposition—Henry VIII—Wolsey—The Queen—Fisher—Thomas More—Luther's Books burnt—Henry attacks Luther—Presentation to the Pope—Effect on Luther—Force and violence—His book—Reply of the Bishop of Rochester—Reply by More—Step by the King.	-	-	-	-	-	-	76
--	---	---	---	---	---	---	----

## CHAP. XI.

General Movement—The Monks—How the Reformation is Accomplished—Ordinary Believers—The Old and the New Teachers—Printing and Literature—Booksellers and Hawkers.	-	-	-	86
---	---	---	---	----

## CHAP. XII.

Luther at Zwickau—The Castle of Freyberg—Worms—Frankfort Universal movement—Wittenberg, the centre of the Reformation—Luther's sentiments.	-	-	-	-	-	92
--	---	---	---	---	---	----

## BOOK TENTH.

AGITATION, REVERSES, AND PROGRESS.—(1522-1526.)

### CHAP. I.

Political element—Want of Enthusiasm at Rome—Siege of Pampeluna—Courage of Inigo—Transformation—Luther and Loyola—Visions—The two principles.	-	-	-	-	98
---	---	---	---	---	----

### CHAP. II.

Victory of the Pope—Death of Leo X—Oratory of Divine Love—Adrian VI—Schemes of Reform—Opposition.	-	-	105
---	---	---	-----

### CHAP. III.

Diet of Nuremberg—Invasion of Solyman—The Nuncio demands the Death of Luther—The Preachers of Nuremberg—Promise of Reform—National Grievances—Decree of the Diet—Thundering Letter of the Pope—Luther's Advice.	-	-	-	109
---	---	---	---	-----

### CHAP. IV.

Persecution—Efforts of Duke George—The Convent of Antwerp—Miltenberg—The three Monks of Antwerp—The Scaffold—Martyrdom at Brussels.	-	-	-	-	116
---	---	---	---	---	-----

### CHAP. V.

New Pope—The Legate Campeggio—Diet of Nuremberg—Demand of the Legate—Reply of the Diet—Project of a Secular Council—Alarm and Efforts of the Pope—Bavaria—League of Ratisbon—Rigour and Reform—Political Schisms—Opposition—Intrigues of Rome—Edict of Bruges—Rupture.	-	-	-	-	122
--	---	---	---	---	-----

# CONTENTS.

## CHAP. VI.

PAGE

Persecution—Gaspard Tauber—A Bookseller—Cruelties in Wurtemberg, Salzburg, Bavaria, Pomerania—Henry of Zuphten, - 128

## CHAP. VII.

Divisions—Lord's Supper—Two Extremes—Carlstadt—Luther—Mysticism of the Anabaptists—Carlstadt at Orlamund—Mission of Luther—Interview at dinner—Conference of Orlamund—Carlstadt banished, - 133

## CHAP. VIII.

Progress—Resistance to the Leaguers—Meeting between Philip of Hesse and Melancthon—The Landgrave gained to the Gospel—The Palatinate, Luneburg, Holstein—The Grand Master at Wittemberg, 139

## CHAP. IX.

Reformers—The Church of All Saints—Fall of the Mass—Literature—Christian Schools—Science offered to the Laity—Arts—Moral Religion, Esthetical Religion—Music—Poetry—Painting, 142

## CHAP. X.

Political ferment—Luther against Revolution—Thomas Munzer—Agitation—The Black Forest—The Twelve Articles—Luther's Advice—Helfenstein—Advance of the Peasants—Advance of the Imperial Army—Defeat of the Peasants—Cruelty of the Princes, 149

## CHAP. XI.

Munzer at Mulhausen—Appeal to the People—March of the Princes—End of the Revolt—Influence of the Reformers—Sufferings—Change, - 159

## CHAP. XII.

Two Issues—Death of Frederick—The Prince and the Reformer—Catholic Alliance—Projects of Charles—Dangers, - 165

## CHAP. XIII.

The Nuns of Nimptsch—Luther's Feelings—End of the Convent—Luther's Marriage—Domestic Happiness, - 168

## CHAP. XIV.

The Landgrave—The Elector—Prussia—Reformation—Secularisation—The Archbishop of Mentz—Conference of Friedewalt—Diet—Alliance of Torgau—Resistance of the Reformers—Alliance of Magdeburg—The Catholics redouble their efforts—Marriage of the Emperor—Threatening Letters—The two Parties, - 173

## BOOK ELEVENTH.

DIVISION—SWITZERLAND, GERMANY—(1523-1527).

## CHAP. I.

Unity in Diversity—Primitive Faith and Liberty—Formation of Roman Unity—A Monk and Leo Juda—Theses of Zuinglius—The Discussion of January, - 181

## CHAP. II.

Caressees of the Pope—Progress of the Reformation—The Image of Stadelhofen—Sacrilège—The Ornaments of the Saints, - 186



# CONTENTS.

## CHAP. III.

PAGE

The October Discussion—Zuinglius on the Church—The Church— First Outline of Presbyterianism—Discussion on the Mass— Enthusiasts—A Voice of Wisdom—Victory—A characteristic of the Swiss Reformation—Moderation—Oswald Myconius at Zurich —The Revival of Letters—Thomas Plater of the Valois,	- 189
---	-------

## CHAP. IV.

Diet of Lucerne—Hottinger arrested—His Death—Deputation of the Diet to Zurich—Abolition of Processions—Abolition of Images —The two Reformations—Appeal to the People,	- 195
--	-------

## CHAP. V.

New Opposition—Æxlin carried off—The Family of the Wirths— The Mob at the Convent of Ittingen—The Diet of Zug—The Wirths seized and given up to the Diet—Condemnation,	- 201
--	-------

## CHAP. VI.

Abolition of the Mass—Zuinglius' Dream—Celebration of the Lord's Supper—Brotherly Charity—Original Sin—The Oligarchs against the Reformation—Divers Attacks,	- 207
--	-------

## CHAP. VII.

Berne—The Provost of Watteville—First Successes of the Reforma- tion—Haller at the Convent—Accusation and Deliverance—The Monastery of Königsfeld—Margaret of Watteville to Zuinglius— The Convent open—Two opposite Champions—Clara May and the Provost of Watteville,	- 211
---	-------

## CHAP. VIII.

Basle—Æcolampadius—He goes to Augsburg—He enters the Con- vent—He returns to Sickingen—Returns to Basle—Ulric Von Hutten —His projects—Last Effort of Chivalry—Hutten dies at Uffnan,	217
---	-----

## CHAP. IX.

Erasmus and Luther—Uncertainty of Erasmus—Luther to Erasmus —Work of Erasmus against Luther on Free Will—Three Opinions —Effect on Luther—Luther on Free Will—The Jansenists and the Reformers—Homage to Erasmus—Rage of Erasmus—The Three Days,	- 222
--	-------

## CHAP. X.

The Three Adversaries—Source of the Truth—Anabaptism— Anabaptism and Zuinglius—Constitution of the Church—Prison— The Prophet Blaurock—Anabaptism at St. Gall—An Anabaptist Family—Dispute at Zurich—The limits of the Reformation— Punishment of the Anabaptists,	- 232
--	-------

## CHAP. XI.

Popish Immobility—Protestant Progression—Zuinglius and Luther —Zuinglius and the Lord's Supper—Luther's great Principle— Carlstadt's Writings Prohibited—Zuinglius's Commentary—The Suabian Syngam—Capito and Bucer—Need of Unity in Di- versity,	- 238
---	-------

## CHAP. XII.

The Tockenbourg—An Assembly of the People—Reformation—The  
Grisons—Discussion of Ilantz—Results—Reformation at Zurich, 245

## CHAP. XIII.

Executions—Discussion at Baden—Rules of the Discussion—Riches  
and Poverty—Eck and Ecolampadius—Discussion—Part taken  
by Zuinglius—Boasting of the Romans—Insults of a Monk—  
End of the Discussion, - - - - - 249

## CHAP. XIV.

Consequences at Basle, Berne, St. Gall, and other places—Diet at  
Zurich—The Small Cantons—Menaces at Berne—Foreign Aid, 254

## BOOK TWELFTH.

THE FRENCH.—(1500-1526.)

## CHAP. I.

Universality of Christianity—Enemies of the Reformation in France  
—Heresy and Persecution in Dauphiny—A Gentleman's Family  
—The Family Farel—Pilgrimage to St. Croix—Immorality and  
Superstition—William desires to become a Student, - - - 259

## CHAP. II.

Louis XII, and the Assembly of Tours—Francis and Margaret—The  
Literati—Lefevre—His teaching at the University—Lefevre and  
Farel meet—Doubts and Inquiries of Farel—First awakening—  
Prophecy of Lefevre—He teaches Justification by Faith—Objec-  
tions—Irrregularities in Colleges—Effects on Farel—Election—  
Holiness of Life, - - - - - 265

## CHAP. III.

Farel and the Saints—The University—Conversion of Farel—Farel  
and Luther—Other Disciples—Date of the Reformation in France  
—The different Reformation spontaneous—Which is the First?—  
Place due to Lefevre, - - - - - 274

## CHAP. IV.

Character of Francis I—Beginning of Modern times—Liberty and  
Obedience—Margaret of Valois—The Court—Brignonnet, Count  
of Montbrun—Lefevre applies to the Bible—Francis I and his  
"Sons"—The Gospel brought to Margaret—A Conversion—  
Adoration—Character of Margaret. - - - - - 278

## CHAP. V.

Enemies of the Reformation—Louisa—Duprat—Concordat at Bo-  
logna—Opposition of the Parliament and the University—The Sor-  
bonne—Beda—His character—His Tyranny—Berquin, the most  
learned of the nobles—The Leaders of the Sorbonne—Heresy of  
the three Magdalenes—Luther Condemned at Paris—The Sor-  
bonne addresses the King—Lefevre quits Paris for Meaux, - 286

## CHAP. VI.

Brignonnet visits his Diocese—Reformation—The Reformers Prose-  
cuted at Paris—Philibert of Savoy—Correspondence of Margaret  
and Brignonnet, - - - - - 293

## CHAP. VII.

First beginnings of the Church of Meaux—The Scriptures in French

# CONTENTS.

	PAGE
—The Tradesmen and the Bishop—Evangelical Harvest—The Epistles of St. Paul sent to the King—Lefevre and Roma—The Monks before the Bishop—The Monks before the Parliament—Brignonet yields,	- 300

## CHAP. VIII.

Lefevre and Farel Persecuted—Difference between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches—Leclerc puts up his Pancartes—Leclerc Branded—Zeal of Berquin—Berquin before the Parliament—Francis I saves him—Apostacy of Mazurier—Fall and grief of Pavanne—Metz—Chatelain—Peter Toussaint becomes attentive—Leclerc breaks Images—Condemnation and Torture of Leclerc—Martyrdom of Chatelain—Flight,	- 307
---	-------

## CHAP. IX.

Farel and his brothers—Farel driven from Gap—He preaches in the fields—Chevalier Anemond of Coet—The Minorite—Anemond quits France—Luther to the Duke of Savoy—Farel quits France,	318
--	-----

## CHAP. X.

Catholicity of the Reformation—Friendship of Farel and Œcolampadius—Farel and Erasmus—Altercation—Farel calls for a Discussion—Theses—Scripture and Faith—Discussion,	- 323
---	-------

## CHAP. XI

New Campaign—Calling of Farel to the Ministry—An advanced post—Lyons an Evangelical Focus—Seville at Grenoble—Conventicles—Preaching at Lyons—Maigret in Prison—Margaret intimidated,	- 329
---	-------

## CHAP. XII.

The French at Basle—Encouragement of the Swiss—Fear of disunion—Translations and Printing Presses at Basle—Bibles and Tracts circulated in France,	- 335
--	-------

## CHAP. XIII.

Progress at Montbeliard—Opposition and Disturbance—Toussaint quits Œcolampadius—The day of the Bridge—Death of Anemond—Successive Defeats,	- 340
--	-------

## CHAP. XIV.

Francis taken at Pavia—Reaction against the Reformation—Louisa consults the Sorbonne—Commission against the Heretics—Brignonet denounced—Appeal to the Assembled Parliament—Fall—Reconciliation—Lefevre accused—Condemnation and flight—Lefevre at Strasburg—Louis de Berquin incarcerated—Erasmus attacked—Schuch at Nantz—His Martyrdom—Contest with Caroli—Sadness of Pavanne—His Faggot Pile—A Christian Hermit—Concourse at Notre Dame,	- 345
--	-------

## CHAP. XV.

A Scholar of Noyon—Character of young Calvin—Early Education—He is devoted to Theology—The bishop gives him the tonsure—He quits Noyon because of the Plague—The Reformation creates new languages—Persecution and terror—Toussaint put into prison—Persecution gives new strength—Death of Du Blet, Merlin, and Papillon—God saves the Church—Project of Margaret—Departure for Spain,	- 365
---	-------



# HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

## SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

---

### BOOK NINTH.

#### FIRST REFORMS.

1521—1522.

#### CHAP. I.

Progress of the Reformation—New Period—Advantages of Luther's Captivity—Agitation of Germany—Melancthon and Luther—Enthusiasm. . . . .

FOUR years had elapsed since an ancient doctrine had again been preached in the church. The great doctrine of salvation by grace formerly published in Asia, Greece, and Italy, by Paul and his brethren, and again after several centuries discovered in the Bible by a monk of Wittemberg, had echoed from the plains of Saxony to Rome, Paris, and London, and the lofty mountains of Switzerland had repeated its energetic accents. The fountains of truth, liberty, and life had been again opened to humanity. Crowds had repaired thither and quaffed with joy, but those who had pressed forward and taken the draught had preserved their former appearance. All within was new, and yet all without seemed to have remained as before.

The constitution of the Church, its ritual, and discipline, had not undergone any change. In Saxony, at Wittemberg even, in every place where the new ideas had penetrated, the papal worship gravely continued its pomp; the priest at the foot of the altar, in offering the host to God, seemed to produce an ineffable transformation; monks and nuns entered convents to undertake obligations that were to bind them for ever; pastors lived not as heads of families, brotherhoods assembled, pilgrimages were performed; the

faithful hung up their votive offerings on the pillars of chapels; and all ceremonies, even to the most insignificant formality of the sanctuary, were celebrated as before. There was a new doctrine in the world, but it had not given itself a new body. The language of the priest formed a striking contrast to the proceedings of the priest. He was heard thundering from the pulpit against the mass as an idolatrous worship, and then seen descending and taking his place before the altar, to celebrate this pompous ceremony with scrupulous exactness. Every where the new gospel resounded beside the ancient ritual. The priest himself did not perceive the strange inconsistency, and the people who listened with acclamation to the bold discourses of the new preachers, devoutly observed their ancient customs as if they were never to abandon them. At the domestic hearth and in social life, as in the house of God, every thing remained the same. There was a new faith in the world, but not new works. The season of spring had appeared, but winter seemed still to hold nature in chains; no flowers—no leaves—nothing external gave indication of the new season. But these appearances were illusory; a potent, though hidden sap was already circulating beneath, and on the eve of changing the world.

To this course, a course fraught with wisdom, the Reformation perhaps owes its triumphs. Prior to the actual accomplishment of any revolution there must be a revolution in thought. The inconsistency already alluded to did not even strike Luther at the first glance. He seemed to consider it quite natural that, while men were receiving his writings with enthusiasm, they should at the same time remain devotedly attached to the abuses which these writings attacked. It might even be thought that he had traced out his plan beforehand, and resolved to produce a change of minds before introducing a change of forms. This, however, were to ascribe to him a wisdom the honour of which belongs to a higher source. He executed a plan which was not of his own devising. These matters he was able at a later period to acknowledge and comprehend, but he had not imagined them, and accordingly had not regulated them. God took the lead; Luther's part was to follow.

Had Luther begun with an external reform: had he, immediately after he had spoken, attempted to abolish monastic vows, the mass, confession, and the existing forms of worship, he should undoubtedly have encountered the keenest opposition. Man must have time before he can adapt himself to great revolutions. Luther was by no means the violent, imprudent, rash innovator that some historians have represented.<sup>1</sup> The people seeing nothing changed in

<sup>1</sup> See Hume, etc.

the routine of their devotions, committed themselves without distrust to their new leader. They were even astonished at the attacks directed against a man who left them their mass, beads, and confessor, and attributed these attacks to the grovelling jealousy of obscure rivals, or the cruel injustice of powerful adversaries. Meanwhile Luther's ideas aroused the minds of men, improved their hearts, and so undermined the ancient edifice that it soon fell of its own accord, without any human hand. Ideas do not act instantaneously: they make their way in silence, like water which, filtering behind rocks, detaches them from the mountain on which they rest: all at once the work done in secret manifests itself, and a single day suffices to display the work of several years, perhaps several ages.

A new era in the reformation commences. The truth is already re-established in doctrine, and doctrine is now going to re-establish the truth in all the forms of the church and of society. The agitation is too great for men's minds to remain fixed and immovable at the point at which they have arrived. On those dogmas which have been so powerfully shaken depend customs which are beginning to give way, and which must disappear along with them. There is too much courage and life in the new generation to feel under constraint in the presence of error. Sacraments, ritual, hierarchy, vows, constitution, domestic life, public life, all are about to be modified. The ship which has been slowly and laboriously built is about to leave the dock and be launched on the vast ocean. We shall have to follow its track across numerous perils.

The captivity of the Wartburg separates these two periods. Providence, which designed to give a mighty impulse to the Reformation, had prepared its progress by leading him who was selected to be the instrument of it into profound retirement. For a time the work seemed buried with the workman; but the seed must be deposited in the earth in order to produce fruit, and from the prison which seemed destined to be the Reformer's tomb the Reformation is going to come forth to make new conquests, and rapidly diffuse itself over the whole world.

Hitherto the Reformation had been concentrated in the person of the Reformer. His appearance before the Diet of Worms was undoubtedly the sublimest moment of his life. His character then appeared almost exempt from blemish, and hence it has been said, that if God who hid the Reformer during ten months within the walls of the Wartburg had, at that moment, withdrawn him for ever from the eye of the world, his end would have been a kind of apotheosis. But God wills not an apotheosis for his servants; and Luther was preserved to the Church in order that he might show by his very faults that the faith of Christians must be founded

on the word of God alone. He was abruptly transported far from the scene where the great revolution of the sixteenth century was in course of accomplishment; the truth which he had for four years so powerfully preached continued in his absence to act upon Christendom, and the work of which he was only a feeble instrument thenceforth bore not the impress of a man but the seal of God himself.

Germany was moved by the captivity of Luther. The most contradictory reports circulated throughout her provinces. Men's minds were more agitated by the absence of the Reformer than they would have been by his presence. Here it was affirmed that friends, who had come from France, had set him in safety on the other bank of the Rhine.<sup>1</sup> There it was said that assassins had put him to death. Even the smallest villages were anxious for information about Luther; the passing traveller was interrogated, and groups assembled in the market place. Sometimes an unknown orator gave the people an animated narrative of the manner in which the doctor had been carried off; he showed the barbarous horsemen binding fast the hands of their prisoner, hastening at full speed, dragging him on foot behind them, wearing out his strength, shutting their ears to his cries, causing the blood to spring from his fingers.<sup>2</sup> "The dead body of Luther," added he, "has been seen pierced with wounds."<sup>3</sup> Then cries of grief were heard. "Ah," said the multitude, "no more shall we see, no more shall we hear the noble-minded man whose voice stirred our hearts." The friends of Luther muttering wrath swore to avenge his death. Women and children, the lovers of peace, and the aged looked forward with alarm to new struggles. Nothing could equal the terror of the partisans of Rome. The priests and monks, thinking themselves sure of victory, because one man was dead, at first had been unable to conceal their joy, and had raised their heads with an insulting air of triumph, but now they would gladly have fled far away from the wrath and threats of the people.<sup>4</sup> These men, who, while Luther was at liberty, had given free vent to their fury, trembled now that he was captive.<sup>5</sup> Aleander especially was in consternation. "The only means of safety now left us," wrote a

<sup>1</sup> Hic . . . invalescit opinio, me esse ab amicis captum Francia missis. (L. Ep. ii, 5.) Here an opinion gains ground that I was taken away by friends who had been sent from France.

<sup>2</sup> Et iter festinantes cursu equitis ipsum pedestrem raptim, tractum fuisse ut sanguis e digitis erumperet. (Coch. 39.) And while the horse-men hastened on at speed, he was dragged behind on foot, so that the blood sprang from his fingers.

<sup>3</sup> Fuit qui testatus sit, visum a se Lutheri cadaver transfossum. (Pallav. Hist. Conc. Trid. i, p. 122.) There was one who declared that he had seen Luther's body pierced with wounds.

<sup>4</sup> Molem vulgi imminentes ferre non possunt. (L. Ep. ii, p. 13.) Are unable to withstand the threats of the common people.

<sup>5</sup> Qui me libero insanierunt nunc, me captivo ita formidant ut incipiant mitigare. (Ibid.) They raged when I was free, but now that I am a captive begin to soften from terror.



Roman Catholic to the Archbishop of Mentz, "is to kindle torches and make a search for Luther over the whole world, in order to restore him to the wishes of the nation."<sup>1</sup> It might have been said that the Reformer's ghost, all pale, and clanking its chains, had appeared to spread terror and demand vengeance. The general exclamation was, "Luther's death will cause torrents of blood to flow!"<sup>2</sup>

No where were the minds of men more deeply agitated than at Worms itself; energetic measures were proposed both among people and princes. Ulrich von Hütten and Hermann Busch filled the country with their plaintive songs and warlike cries. Charles V and the nuncios were loudly accused. The nation took up the cause of the poor monk, who by the power of his faith had become its chief.

At Wittenberg, his colleagues and friends, Melancthon especially, were at first astounded with grief. Luther had imparted to this young scholar the treasures of that sacred theology which had thenceforth completely filled his soul. It was Luther who had given substance and life to the purely intellectual culture which Melancthon had brought to Wittenberg. The profundity of the Reformer's doctrine had struck the young Hellenist, and his courage in maintaining the rights of the eternal word against all human authority, had filled him with enthusiasm. He had been associated with him in his work; he had seized the pen, and in that admirable style which he had derived from the study of antiquity, had successfully, and with a powerful hand, lowered the authority of the Fathers and the authority of Councils before the sovereign Word of God.

The decision which Luther had in action Melancthon had in science. Never were more diversity and more unity exhibited in two individuals. "Scripture," said Melancthon, "imparts to the soul a holy and marvellous delight. It is a heavenly ambrosia."<sup>3</sup> "The Word of God," exclaimed Luther, "is a sword, a war, a destruction; it springs upon the children of Ephraim like the lioness in the forest." Thus, in Scripture, the one saw a power of consolation, and the other an energetic opposition to the corruption of the world. Both held it to be the greatest thing on earth, and hence they understood each other perfectly. "Melancthon," said Luther, "is a miracle: all now acknowledge this. He is the most formidable enemy of Satan and the schoolmen, for he knows their

<sup>1</sup> *Nos vitam vix redempturos, nisi accensis candelis undique eum requiramus.* (Ibid.) We shall scarcely ransom our lives unless we light candles and search for him every where.

<sup>2</sup> Gerbeli. Ep. in MSS. Heckelianis Lindner Leb. Luth. p. 241.

<sup>3</sup> *Mirabilis in iis voluptas, immo ambrosia quedam cœlestis.* (C. rp. Ref. i, 123.) There is a wondrous pleasure in them (the Scriptures,) nay a kind of heavenly ambrosia.

folly, and the rock which is Christ. This little Greek surpasses me even in theology: he will be as useful to you as many Luthers." And he added, that he was ready to abandon an opinion if Philip did not approve of it. Melancthon, on his part, full of admiration for the knowledge which Luther had of Scripture, placed him far above the fathers of the Church. He had a wish to excuse the pleasantries for which Luther was sometimes upbraided, and compared him to a vessel of clay containing precious treasure under a coarse covering. "I will take good care not to blame him for them inconsiderately," said he.<sup>1</sup>

But these two souls so intimately united are now separated. These two valiant soldiers can no longer march together for the deliverance of the Church. Luther has disappeared, and is perhaps lost for ever. The consternation of Wittenberg was extreme: it might have been likened to an army standing with sullen and downcast look over the bloody remains of the general who was leading them on to victory.

Suddenly intelligence the most gratifying was received. "Our dearly beloved father lives,"<sup>2</sup> exclaimed Melancthon in the joy of his heart, "take courage and be strong." But grief soon resumed the ascendancy. Luther was alive but in prison. The edict of Worms with its cruel prescriptions,<sup>3</sup> had been circulated by thousands throughout the empire, and even in the mountains of the Tyrol.<sup>4</sup> Could the Reformation avoid being crushed by the iron hand which lay upon it? Melancthon's gentle spirit sank within him while he uttered a cry of grief.

But above the hand of man a more powerful hand was at work: God himself deprived the formidable edict of its force. The German princes who had always sought to humble the power of Rome in the empire, trembled on seeing the alliance of the emperor with the pope, and feared lest it should result in the destruction of all their liberties. Accordingly, though Charles, on his passage through the Low Countries, smiled ironically as he saluted the flames which some flatterers and fanatics were kindling in the public places with the writings of Luther, these writings were read in Germany with constantly increasing avidity, and every day new pamphlets appeared to support the Reformation, and make new assaults on the papacy. The nuncios were disconcerted out of measure on seeing that the edict, which had cost them so much injustice, produced so little effect. "The ink of the Emperor's signature," said some

<sup>1</sup> Spiritum Martini nolim tenere in hoc causa interpellare. (Corp. Ref. i, 211.) I would be unwilling in this matter to interdict Martin's humour.

<sup>2</sup> Pater noster charissimus vivit. (Ibid. p. 389.)

<sup>3</sup> Dicitur parari proscriptio horrenda.

(Ibid.) It is said that a horrible proscription is being prepared.

<sup>4</sup> Dicuntur signatæ chartæ proscriptiones his mille missæ quoque ad Insbruck. (Ibid.) Two thousand copies of the proscription were said to have been sent as far as Insbruck.

with bitterness, "was scarcely dry, before the decree itself was every where torn in pieces . . . The people become more and more attached to the wondrous man who unawed by the thunders of Charles and the pope, had confessed his faith with the courage of a martyr. "He offered to retract," observed others, "if he was refuted, but none ventured to undertake the refutation. Is not this a proof that what he teaches is true?" Accordingly, at Wittemberg and throughout the empire, the first movement of alarm was succeeded by a movement of enthusiasm. Even the Archbishop of Mentz, seeing how strongly the sympathy of the people was expressed, did not venture to give permission to the Cordeliers to preach against the Reformer. The university, which seemed on the eve of destruction, raised its head. There the new doctrines were two well established to be shaken by Luther's absence. In a short time the academic halls could scarcely contain the crowds of hearers.<sup>1</sup>

---

## CHAP. II.

Luther in the Wartburg—Object of his Captivity—Agonies—Sickness—Labour of Luther—On Confession—To Latomus—Walks.

Meanwhile Knight George (this was Luther's name in the Wartburg) lived solitary and unknown. "If you saw me," wrote he to Melancthon, "you would take me for a knight, and would scarcely be able to recognise me."<sup>2</sup> Luther at first took some repose, enjoying a leisure which he had never tasted till this time. He moved freely within the fortress, but could not go beyond its walls.<sup>3</sup> All his wants were supplied, and he had never been better treated.<sup>4</sup> Many thoughts filled his soul, but none could trouble him. He cast his eyes alternately to the surrounding forests, and raised them towards heaven—"A singular captive!" exclaimed he, "captive both with and against my will."<sup>5</sup>

Writing to Spalatin, he says, "Pray for me; your prayers are the only thing I want. I give myself no concern with all that is said and done with regard to me in the world. At length I am at rest."<sup>6</sup> . . . This letter, as well as several others of the same

<sup>1</sup> Scholastici quorum supra millia ibi tunc fuerunt. (Spalatini Annales, 1521 Octo.) The students, of whom there were then above a thousand.

<sup>2</sup> Equitem videres ac ipse vix agnosceres. (L Ep. ii, 11.) You would see a knight, and would yourself scarcely recognise me. <sup>3</sup> Nunc sum hic otiosus, sicut inter captivos liber. (Ibid., p. 3, 12 May.) I am now at leisure—free, as it were, among captives.

<sup>4</sup> Quanquam et hilariter et libenter omnia mihi ministret. (Ibid., p. 13, Aug. 15.) Although he both willingly and cheerfully supplies me with every thing. <sup>5</sup> Ego mirabilis captivus qui et volens et nolens hic sedeo. (Ibid., p. 4, May 12.) I am a strange captive, sitting here both willing and unwilling. <sup>6</sup> Tu fac ut pro me ores;

period, is dated from the isle of Patmos. Luther compared the Wartburg to the celebrated island to which the anger of the emperor Domitian banished the apostle John.

The Reformer reposed amid the dark forests of Thuringia from the violent struggles which had agitated his soul. Here he studied Christian truth, not for disputation, but as a means of regeneration and life. The commencement of the Reformation behoved to be polemical; new times demanded new exertions. After rooting up the thorns and brambles, it was necessary to sow the seed peacefully in men's hearts. Had Luther been obliged incessantly to fight new battles, he could not have accomplished a lasting work in the Church. By his captivity he escaped a danger which might perhaps have destroyed the Reformation—that of always attacking and destroying, without ever defending and building up.

This humble retreat produced a result still more precious. Raised as it were upon a pedestal by his countrymen, he was within a step of the abyss, and a moment of giddiness might have sufficed to throw him headlong into it. Some of the first agents in the Reformation in Germany and Switzerland were dashed to pieces against the rock of spiritual pride and fanaticism. Luther was a man very subject to the infirmities of our nature, and he did not entirely escape these dangers. Still the hand of God delivered him from them for a time, by suddenly withdrawing him from intoxicating triumphs, and consigning him to the depth of an unknown retreat. His soul there communed with itself near to God; it was there bathed in the waters of adversity; his sufferings, his humiliations, constrained him at least for a time to walk with the humble, and the principles of the Christian life thenceforth were developed in his soul with new energy and freedom.

Luther's quiet was not of long duration. Seated on the walls of the Wartburg, he spent whole days absorbed in profound meditation. Sometimes the Church presented herself to his mind, and displayed all her miseries before him.<sup>1</sup> At other times turning his eye upwards with hope towards heaven, he exclaimed, "How, O Lord, couldst thou have made all men in vain!" (Ps. lxxxix, 47.) At other times, again abandoning this hope, he was downcast and exclaimed, "Alas, there is no one, in the last day of His wrath, who can stand as a wall before the Lord to save Israel! . . ."

Then returning to his own destiny, he feared lest he should be

*hac una re opus mihi est. Quicquid de me fit in publico, nihil moror; ego in quiete tandem sedeo.* (Ibid., p. 4, June 10, 1521.) Do you pray for me. As to what is done concerning me in public I care not; at length I sit in quietness.

<sup>1</sup> *Ego hic sedens tota die faciem Ecclesiæ ante me constituo.* (L. Ep. ii, 1.) I, sitting here a whole day, figure to myself the appearance of the Church.



accused of having abandoned the field of battle,<sup>1</sup> and the idea afflicted his soul. "I would far rather," said he, "be laid on burning coals than stagnate here half dead."<sup>2</sup>

Next transporting himself in imagination to Worms and Wittenberg to the midst of his enemies, he regretted that he had yielded to the counsels of his friends, instead of remaining in the world, and offering his breast to the fury of men.<sup>3</sup> "Ah," said he, "there is nothing I desire more than to present myself before my cruel enemies."<sup>4</sup>

Still some sweet thought arose, and gave a truce to these agonies. All was not torment to Luther; from time to time his agitated spirit found some degree of calmness and consolation. After the assurance of divine aid, his greatest solace in his grief was the remembrance of Melancthon. "If I perish," wrote he to him, "the gospel will lose nothing; <sup>5</sup> you will succeed me as Elisha did, with a double measure of my spirit." But calling to mind Philip's timidity, he cried to him aloud, "Minister of the word, guard the walls and towers of Jerusalem until the adversary strike you. We are still standing alone on the field of battle: after me they will next assail you."<sup>6</sup>

The thought of this last attack which Rome was going to make on the rising Church threw him into new anxiety. The poor monk, a solitary prisoner, had violent wrestling with himself. But suddenly he obtained a glimpse of his deliverance. It occurred to him that the attacks of the papacy would arouse the nations of Germany, and that the soldiers of the gospel, proving victorious, would surround the Wartburg and give liberty to the prisoner. "If the pope," said he, "lays hands on all who are for me, there will be a commotion in Germany; the more haste he makes to crush us, the more speedy will be the end both of him and his. And I . . . will be restored to you."<sup>7</sup> God awakening many minds, and stirring up the nations. Let our enemies only seize our cause in their arms and try to strangle it; it will grow under their grasp, and come forth ten times more formidable."

But sickness brought him down from those heights to which his courage and his faith had elevated him. He had already suffer-

<sup>1</sup> Verebar ego ne aciem deserere viderer. (L. Ep. ii, 1.) I feared lest I should seem to have deserted the field.

<sup>2</sup> Mallem inter carbones vivos ardere, quam solus semivivus, atque utinam non mortuus putare. (Ibid., 10.) I would rather burn among live coals than remain alone half alive; and I wish it may not prove a noisome case. (Ibid., p. 10.)

<sup>3</sup> Cervicem esse objectandam publico furori. (Ibid., p. 89.) That I ought to expose my neck to the public fury.

<sup>4</sup> Nihil magis opto quam furoribus adversariorum occurrere, objecto jugulo. (Ibid., p. 1.) I desire nothing more than to meet the fury of adversaries, offering them my neck.

<sup>5</sup> Etiam si peream, nihil perebit Evangelio. (Ibid., p. 10.) Even if I perish, nothing will perish to the gospel.

<sup>6</sup> Nos soli adhuc stamus in acie: te quaerent post me. (L. Ep. ii, p. 2.)

<sup>7</sup> Quo citius id tentaverit, hoc citius et ipse et sui peribunt. (L. Ep. ii, p. 10.) The sooner he attempts it, the sooner he and his will perish.

ed much at Worms, and his illness increased in solitude.<sup>1</sup> He could not digest the food of the Wartburg, which was somewhat less homely than that of his convent: it was necessary to return to the poor fare to which he had been accustomed. He passed whole nights without sleep. Anguish of mind was added to bodily suffering. No work is accomplished without pain and self-denial. Luther, alone upon his rock, endured in his powerful nature a passion which the emancipation of humanity rendered necessary. "Seated at night in my chamber," says he, "I sent forth cries like a woman in travail—torn, wounded, and bleeding."<sup>2</sup> Then, interrupting his complaints, and impressed with the thought that his sufferings were benefits from God, he gratefully exclaims, "Thanks be rendered unto thee, O Christ, in that thou hast been pleased not to leave me without the precious relics of thy holy cross!"<sup>3</sup> He soon becomes indignant at himself, and exclaims, "Infatuated, hardened creature that I am! How grievous! I pray little, I wrestle little with the Lord, I do not groan for the church of God."<sup>4</sup> Instead of being fervent in spirit, my passions only are inflamed; I remain in sloth, sleep, and indolence." Then, not knowing to what this state should be ascribed, and accustomed to expect every thing from the affection of his brethren, he exclaims, in the desolation of his soul, "O, my friends, is it because you forget to pray for me that God is thus estranged from me!"

Those about him, as well as his friends at Wittemberg and in the Elector's court, were uneasy and alarmed at this state of suffering. They trembled to think, that a life snatched from the scaffold of the pope and the sword of Charles V, should sadly wane and vanish away. Can the Wartburg be destined to be the tomb of Luther? "I fear," said Melancthon, "that the grief which he feels for the church will be his death. A torch has been kindled by him in Israel: if it is extinguished what hope will be left us? Would to God I were able, at the cost of my miserable life, to detain in the world one who is its brightest ornament."<sup>5</sup> "O, what a man!" he exclaims, as if he were on the borders of the tomb, "we have not duly appreciated him."

What Luther called the unbecoming indolence of his prison was labour almost above man's utmost strength. "I am here every day," said he, (14th May,) "in idleness and luxury, (referring, doubtless, to his fare, which at first was not quite so coarse as he had been

<sup>1</sup> Auctum est malum, quo Wormatiæ laborabam. (Ibid., p. 17.) The illness with which I was attacked at Worms increased. <sup>2</sup> Sedeo dolens sicut puerpera, lacer, et saucius, et cruentus. (Ibid., p. 50, 9th Sept.) <sup>3</sup> Gratus Christo, qui me sine reliquiis sanctæ crucis non derelinquit. (Ibid.) <sup>4</sup> Nihil gemens pro ecclesiâ Dei. (Ibid., p. 22, 13th July.) <sup>5</sup> Utinam hac vili anima mea ipsius vitam emere queam (Corp. Ref. i, p. 415, 6th July.) I wish I were able, with this worthless life of mine, to purchase his life.

accustomed to.) I read the Bible in Hebrew and Greek: I am going to write a discourse in German on auricular confession: I will continue the translation of the Psalms, and compose a collection of sermons as soon as I get from Wittenberg what I require. I write without intermission;"<sup>1</sup> and yet these were only a part of Luther's labours.

His enemies thought that if he was not dead, at all events, his voice would not again be heard: but their joy was of short duration, and the world was not left long in doubt whether he were alive. A multitude of writings, composed in the Wartburg, appeared in rapid succession, and the cherished voice of the Reformer was every where received with enthusiasm. Luther published at once works fitted to edify the Church and polemical treatises, which interrupted the too hasty joy of his enemies. For nearly a year he instructed, exhorted, rebuked, and thundered from his mountain top, and his adversaries, confounded, asked whether there were not some supernatural mystery in this prodigious activity. "He could not rest," says Cochläus.<sup>2</sup>

The only mystery was, the impudence of the partisans of Rome: They hastened to avail themselves of the Edict of Worms to give a mortal blow to the Reformation, while Luther, condemned, placed under the ban of the empire, and shut up in the Wartburg, stood forth to defend sound doctrine as if he had been still free and victorious. It was in the confessional especially that the priests strove to rivet the chains of their deluded parishioners, and accordingly confession was the object of Luther's first attack. "They found," says he, "on the words of St. James, '*Confess your sins one to another.*' Singular confession! He says, '*one to another,*' whence it should follow, that confessors ought also to confess to their penitents; that every Christian should, in his turn, be pope, bishop, priest, and that the pope himself should confess to all."<sup>3</sup>

Scarcely had Luther finished this small work, than he began another. Latomus a theologian of Louvain, already celebrated for his opposition to Reuchlin and Erasmus, had attacked the views of the Reformer. In twelve days Luther's refutation was ready, and it is one of his master-pieces. He vindicates himself from the charge of wanting moderation. "The moderation of the age," says he, "is to bend the knee before sacrilegious pontiffs, impious sophists, and address them as gracious lord! excellent master! Then when you have done so, you may put to death whomsoever you please; overturn the world, nay, you will still be a moderate man. Far from me be this moderation. I like better to be frank

<sup>1</sup> Sine intermissione scribo. (L. Ep. ii, pp. 6. 16.)

set. (Cochläus, Acta Lutheri, p. 39.)

Op. xvii, p. 701.)

<sup>2</sup> Cum quiescere non pos.

<sup>3</sup> Und der Papst müsse ihm beichten. (L.



and deceive nobody. The shell, perhaps, is hard, but the kernel is sweet and tender." <sup>1</sup>

Luther's health continuing to decline, he thought of quitting the Wartburg. But how was he to do it? To appear in public was to risk his life. The back of the mountain on which the fortress stood was traversed by numerous paths, the sides of which were bordered with tufts of strawberries. The massy gate of the castle was opened, and the prisoner ventured, not without fear, stealthily to gather some of the fruit.<sup>2</sup> He became bolder by degrees, and began to survey the surrounding country in his knight's dress, and attended by a guard of the castle, a blunt but trustworthy man. One day having entered an inn he threw aside his sword, which encumbered him, and ran towards some book which happened to be lying. Nature was stronger than prudence. His attendant trembled fearing that a proceeding so unusual in a warrior would be regarded as a proof that the doctor was not a true knight. On another occasion the two warriors descended into the convent of Reichardsbrunn, where Luther had slept a few months before, on his way to Worms.<sup>3</sup> Suddenly a friar allowed a sign of surprise to escape from him. Luther is recognised. His attendant perceives it, and, dragging him off in all haste, they gallop away far from the convent, before the poor friar has time to recover from his astonishment.

The chivalric life of the doctor occasionally partook strongly of the theological. One day the nets are prepared, the gates of the fortress are thrown open, and the dogs with long flapping ears rush forth. Luther had wished to taste the pleasures of the chace. The hunters soon become animated, the dogs dart along, and drive the brown hares among the brush-wood. In the midst of the turmoil the chevalier George, standing motionless, had his mind filled with serious thoughts; at the sight of the objects around him his heart is bursting with grief.<sup>4</sup> "Is it not," said he, "an image of the devil who arouses his dogs, in other words, the bishops, those messengers of antichrist, and hounds them on in pursuit of poor souls."<sup>5</sup> A young hare had just been caught, and Luther, happy to save it, wraps it carefully in his cloak, and places it under a bush. Before he proceeds many steps the dogs scent out the poor creature and kill it. Luther attracted by the noise, utters a cry of grief,—“O pope!” says he, “and thou Satan! it is thus you

<sup>1</sup> Cortex meus esse potest durior, sed nucleus meus mollis et dulcis est. (L. Op. xvii, Lat. ii, p. 213.) My husk may be somewhat hard, but my kernel is soft and sweet.

<sup>2</sup> Zu zeiten gehet er inn die Erdbetr am Schlossberg. (Mathesius, p. 33.) <sup>3</sup> See the Second Vol.

<sup>4</sup> Theologisabar etiam ibi inter retia et canes . . tantum misericordiae et doloris miscuit mysterium. (L. Ep. ii, p. 43.) I theologised them also among nets and dogs: it produced such a mixture of pity and grief.

<sup>5</sup> Quid enim ista imago, nisi Diabolum significat per insidiās suas et impios magistros canes suos. . . (L. Ep. ii, p. 43.) For what does that represent but the devil with snares and the impious masters, his dogs.



strive to destroy even those souls which have been already saved from death." <sup>1</sup>

### CHAP. III.

The Reformation begins—Marriage of Feldkirchen—Marriage of Monks—Theses—Writes against Monachism—Luther ceases to be a Monk.

While the doctor of Wittemberg, dead to the world, was relaxing himself by these sports in the environs of the Wartburg, the work was advancing as of itself; the Reformation had commenced. No longer confining itself to doctrine, it energetically advanced into act. Bernard Feldkirchen, pastor of Kemberg, who, under the direction of Luther, had first attacked the errors of Rome,<sup>2</sup> was also the first to throw off the yoke of her institutions. He married.

The German character delights in domestic life and the joys of home; accordingly of all the ordinances of the papacy, that of forced celibacy had produced the worst consequences. The imposition of this law on the heads of the clergy had prevented the fiefs of the Church from becoming hereditary. But when extended by Gregory VII to the lower clergy, it had led to deplorable results. Many priests had evaded the obligations imposed on them by shameful irregularities, and brought hatred and contempt on their order, while those who had submitted to Hildebrand's law felt inwardly indignant against the Church, because at the same time that it gave its high dignitaries so much power, wealth, and worldly enjoyment, it forced humble ministers, who were, however, its most useful supports, to sacrifices altogether contrary to the Gospel.

"Neither popes nor councils," said Feldkirchen and another pastor named Seidler, who followed his example, "can impose on the Church an ordinance which endangers soul and body. The obligation to maintain the law of God constrains us to violate the traditions of men."<sup>3</sup> The reestablishment of marriage in the sixteenth century was an act of homage to the moral law. The ecclesiastical authority, taking alarm, immediately launched its decrees against the two priests. Seidler, who was in the territories of duke George, was given up to his superiors, and died in prison. But the elector Frederick refused to give up Feldkirchen to the archbishop of Magdeburg. "His Highness," said Spalatin, "has no

<sup>1</sup> Sic scivit Papa et Satan ut servatas etiam animas perdat. (Ibid., p. 44.) So rage the Pope and Satan, in order to destroy even souls that have been saved.

<sup>2</sup> Volume First. <sup>3</sup> Coëgit me ergo ut humanas traditiones violarem, necessitas servandi juris divini. (Corp. Ref. i, p. 441.) The necessity of keeping the divine law compelled me to violate human traditions.

wish to act as a police officer." Feldkirchen, therefore, though he had become a husband and a father, continued pastor of his flock.

The first emotion of the Reformer on learning these things was to give expression to his joy. "I admire this new husband of Kemberg who fears nothing, and hastens into the midst of the tumult." Luther was convinced that priests ought to marry. But this question led to another—the marriage of monks, and here Luther had to maintain one of those internal combats of which his whole life was composed; for every reformation must be effected by an intellectual struggle. Melancthon and Carlstadt, the one a layman and the other a priest, thought that the liberty of entering into the bonds of marriage ought to belong to monks as well as to priests. Luther, a monk, did not think so at first. One day the governor of the Wartburg having brought him some theses of Carlstadt, on celibacy, "Good God!" exclaimed he, "will our Wittenbergers give wives to monks even?" . . . The idea astonished and confounded him; his mind was troubled. The liberty which he claimed for others he rejected for himself. "Ah!" exclaimed he with indignation, "at all events they will not force me to take a wife."<sup>1</sup> This saying is doubtless unknown to those who pretend that Luther effected the Reformation in order that he might be able to marry. Seeking the truth honestly, not through passion, he defended whatever presented itself to him as true, though it might be contrary to his system as a whole. He moved in a mixture of truth and error, waiting the time when all error would fall and truth alone remain.

There was in fact a great difference between the two questions. The marriage of the priests did not put an end to the priesthood; on the contrary, it alone could restore the secular clergy to the respect of the people; but the marriage of monks was the destruction of monachism. The question then was to determine whether it was necessary to break up and disband the mighty army which the popes held under their command. "The priests," wrote Luther to Melancthon, "are appointed of God, and consequently are free in regard to human commandments. But the monks have voluntarily chosen celibacy, and therefore are not free to withdraw themselves from the yoke of their own choice."<sup>2</sup>

The Reformer behaved to advance and carry this new position of the adversary by means of a new struggle. He had already put under his feet many abuses of Rome and Rome itself, but

<sup>1</sup> At mihi non obtrudent uxorem. (L. Ep. ii, p. 40.) But they should not obtrude a wife upon me.

<sup>2</sup> Me inem vehementer movet, quod sacerdotum ordo, a Deo institutus, est liber, non autem monachorum qui sua sponte statum eligerunt. (Ibid. p. 34.) I am exceedingly moved by the thought, that the order of priests instituted by God is free, not so that of the monks who have spontaneously chosen their state.

monachism was still standing. Monachism, which of old carried life into so many deserts, and which after traversing many centuries, now filled so many cloisters with indolence and often with luxury, seemed to have personified itself and come to defend its rights in the castle of Thuringia, where was to be decided in the conscience of a single man the question of its life or its death. Luther wrestled with it. Sometimes he was on the point of overcoming it, and sometimes he was on the point of being overcome. At length, unable any longer to maintain the combat, he prostrated himself in prayer at the feet of Jesus Christ, and exclaimed, "Instruct us! deliver us! In thy mercy establish us in the liberty which belongs to us, for certainly we are thy people."<sup>1</sup>

He had not to wait for deliverance: an important revolution was produced in the Reformer's mind, and it was again the doctrine of justification by faith that gave him the victory. This weapon before which had fallen in the mind of Luther and of Christendom, indulgences, the discipline of Rome, and the pope himself, also effected the downfall of the monks. Luther saw that monachism and the doctrine of salvation by grace were in flagrant opposition, and that monastic life was founded entirely on the pretended merits of man. Thenceforth, convinced that the glory of Jesus Christ was at stake, he heard a voice within incessantly repeating, "Monachism must fall." "So long," said he, "as the doctrine of justification continues in the Church unimpaired, no man will become a monk."<sup>2</sup> This conviction always acquired more strength in his heart, and in the beginning of September he sent "to the bishops and deacons of the Church of Wittenberg" the following theses, which formed his declaration of war against monastic life.

"Whatsoever is not of faith is sin." (Rom. xiv, 23.)

"Whosoever makes a vow of virginity, chastity, or service to God without faith, makes an impious and idolatrous vow, and makes it to the devil himself.

"To make such vows is to be worse than the priests of Cybele, or the vestals of the heathen; for the monks pronounce their vows in the idea that they are to be faithful and saved by them, and what ought to be ascribed solely to the mercy of God, is thus attributed to the merit of works.

"Such convents should be completely overturned as houses of the devil.

"There is only one order which is holy and produces holiness, and that is Christianity or faith."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dominus Jesus erudiat et liberet nos, per misericordiam suam, in libertatem nostram. (To Melancthon on Celibacy, 6th August, 1621, p. 40.) May the Lord Jesus instruct us, and in his mercy put us in possession of our freedom! <sup>2</sup> L. Op. (W.) xxii, p. 1466.

<sup>3</sup> Es ist nicht mehr denn eine einige Geistlichkeit, die da heilig ist, und heilig macht. . . . (L. Op. xvii, p. 718.)

"Convents, to be useful, should be schools in which children might be trained to man's estate, whereas they are houses in which full grown men again become children, and so continue ever after."

We see that at this period Luther would still have tolerated convents as houses of education, but his attacks on these establishments soon became more energetic. The immorality of cloisters, and the shameful practices which prevailed in them, were vividly present to his mind. "I am desirous," wrote he to Spalatin on the 11th Nov. "to deliver young people from the infernal flames of celibacy."<sup>1</sup> Then he wrote a treatise against celibacy, and dedicated it to his father. "Are you desirous," said he in his dedication to the old man of Mansfield, "are you still desirous to snatch me from monasticism? You are entitled to do so: for you are still my father, and I am still your son; but it is no longer necessary; God has gone before you, and snatched me from it by his own power. What matters it whether I continue or lay aside the tonsure and monk's hood? Is it the hood, is it the tonsure that makes a monk? *All things are yours*, says St. Paul, *and you are Christ's*. I belong not to the hood, but the hood to me. I am a monk, and yet not a monk; I am a new creature, not of the pope but of Jesus Christ. Christ alone, and without any intermediate person, is my bishop, my abbot, my prior, my lord, my father, and I know no other. What matters it to me though the pope should condemn and butcher me? He will not be able to bring me forth from the tomb to do it a second time. The great day is approaching when the kingdom of abominations will be overthrown. Would to God we were worthy of being butchered by the pope. Our blood would cry to Heaven against him, and thus his judgment would be hastened, and his end brought near."<sup>2</sup>

The transformation had been produced in Luther himself; he was no longer a monk. This change was not the result of external causes, of human passions, of carnal precipitancy. There had been a struggle in it. Luther had at first been arrayed on the side of monachism; but truth also had entered the lists, and monachism had been vanquished. The victories which passion gains are ephemeral, whereas those of truth are durable and decisive.

<sup>1</sup> *Adolescentes liberare ex isto inferno cœlibatus.* (L. Op. ii, p. 95.)

<sup>2</sup> Dass unser Blut mocht schreien und dringen sein Gericht, dass sein bald ein Ende würde (Ibid., p. 105.)



CHAP. IV.

Archbishop Albert—The Idol of Halle—Luther appears—Terror at the Court—  
Luther to the Archbishop—The Archbishop's Reply—Joachim of Brandenburg.

While Luther was thus making preparation for one of the greatest revolutions which was to be effected in the Church, and while the Reformation was beginning to act so powerfully on the state of society in Christendom, the partisans of Rome, blinded as those usually are who have long been in possession of power, imagined that because Luther was in the Wartburg, the Reformation was for ever dead and buried, and that henceforth they would be able in peace to resume their ancient practices after being momentarily disturbed by the monk of Wittenberg. Albert, the Archbishop-Elector of Mentz, was one of those feeble spirits, who, when all things are equal, are in favour of truth, but as soon as their interest is thrown into the balance, are ready to array themselves on the side of error. The great point with him was, that his court should be as brilliant as that of any prince in Germany, his equipage as rich, and his table as well supplied, and to this end the traffic in indulgences contributed admirably. Hence, no sooner had the decree condemning Luther and the Reformation issued from the imperial chancery, than Albert, who was then with his court at Halle, assembled the indulgence merchants who were still in alarm at the preaching of the Reformer, and tried to encourage them by such words as these,—“Fear no more; we have reduced him to silence; let us again begin to clip the flock; the monk is captive; he is under lock and key, and will this time be dexterous indeed if he again comes to disturb us.” The market was opened anew, the merchandise exhibited, and the churches of Halle resounded once more with the harangues of the quacks.

But Luther was still alive, and his voice was powerful enough to pierce the walls and bars behind which he had been hid. Nothing could inflame his indignation to a higher degree. What! the fiercest battles have been fought, he has faced all dangers, the truth has come off victorious, and yet men dare to trample it under their feet as if it had been vanquished. . . . The doctrine which has already once overthrown this criminal traffic will again be heard. “I shall have no rest,” wrote he to Spalatin, “till I have attacked the idol of Mentz, and its prostitutions at Halle.”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Non continebor quin idolum Moguntinum invadam, cum suo lupanari Hallensi. (L. Ep. ii. p. 59, 7th Oct.) I shall not be prevented from attacking the idol of Mentz, with his brothel at Halle.

Luther forthwith set to work; he gave himself little concern about the mysteriousness with which it was sought to envelope his residence in the Wartburg. Elijah in the desert forges new thunderbolts against impious Ahab. On the 1st November he finished a tract *against the new idol of Halle*.

The archbishop received intelligence of Luther's design. Apprehensive and frightened at the thought, he, about the middle of October, sent two officials of his court, Capito and Auerbach, to Wittenberg to lay the storm. "It is necessary," said they to Melancthon, who most courteously received them, "it is necessary for Luther to moderate his impetuosity." But Melancthon, though mild himself, was not one of those who imagine that wisdom consists in always yielding, always equivocating, always holding one's peace. "It is God himself who calls him," replied he, "and our age stands in need of an acrid and pungent salt."<sup>1</sup> Capito then turned to Jonas and endeavoured through him, to act upon the court at which intelligence of Luther's design had already arrived, and produced the greatest consternation. "What!" said the courtiers, "revive the flames which there has been so much difficulty in extinguishing! Luther can only be saved by allowing himself to be forgotten, and here he is setting himself in opposition to the first prince of the empire." "I wont allow Luther, said the Elector, "to write against the Archbishop of Mentz, and thereby disturb the public peace."<sup>2</sup>

Luther felt indignant when these words were reported to him. It is not enough to imprison his body: they must also chain his mind, and truth herself. Do they imagine that he conceals himself from fear, and that his retirement is an acknowledgment of defeat? He, on the contrary, maintains that it is a victory. Who, then, at Worms, dared to rise up against him and to contradict the truth? Accordingly when the prisoner of the Wartburg had read the chaplain's letter, which made him aware of the prince's sentiments, he threw it from him, determined not to reply to it. But he could not long refrain, and he again lifted the letter. "The Elector will not permit!" . . . —wrote he to Spalatin—"and I will not suffer the Elector not to permit me to write . . . Sooner ruin you for ever—you, the Elector—the whole world."<sup>3</sup> If I have resisted the pope who is the creature of your cardinal, why should I yield to his creature? It is really good to hear you say, that the public peace must not be disturbed, while you allow others to dis-

<sup>1</sup> Huic seculo opus esse acerrimo sale. (Corp. Ref. i, 463.) This age stands in need of a very pungent salt.

<sup>2</sup> Non passurum principem, scribi in Moguntinum. (L. Ep. ii, p. 94.) That the prince will not allow any thing to be written against the archbishop of Mentz.

<sup>3</sup> Potius te et principem ipsum perdam et omnem creaturam. (Ibid.) I will rather destroy you and the prince himself and every creature.

turb the eternal peace of God. It will not be so, O prince.<sup>1</sup> I send you a tract which I had already prepared against the cardinal, before I received your letter. Hand it to Melancthon . . . .”

The perusal of this manuscript made Spalatin tremble. He again represented to the Reformer how imprudent it would be to publish a work which would compel the imperial government to lay aside its apparent ignorance of Luther's fate, and to punish a prisoner who dared to attack the first prince of the empire and the Church. If Luther persisted in this design, peace was again disturbed, and the Reformation perhaps lost. Luther consented to delay the publication of his treatise; he even allowed Melancthon to erase the strongest passages.<sup>2</sup> But indignant at the timidity of his friend, he wrote to the chaplain, “He lives, he reigns—the Lord in whom you court folks believe not, at least, if he does not so accommodate his works to your reason, that there is no longer occasion to believe any thing.” He forthwith resolved on writing directly to the elector cardinal.

It is the whole episcopate that Luther brings to his bar in the person of the primate of Germany. His words are those of an intrepid man, burning with zeal for the truth, and under a consciousness of speaking in the name of God himself.

Writing from the depth of the retreat in which he was concealed, he says, “Your Electoral Highness has again set up in Halle the idol which devours the silver and the souls of poor Christians. You think, perhaps, that I am off the field, and that his imperial majesty will easily stifle the cries of the poor monk. . . . But know that I will discharge the duty which Christian charity imposes on me, without fearing the gates of hell and *a fortiori*, without fearing the pope, bishops, and cardinals.

“Wherefore, my most humble prayer is, that your Royal Highness will call to mind the commencement of this affair, and how one small spark produced a fearful conflagration. Then also the whole world felt secure. The thought was—the poor mendicant who is disposed, single-handed, to attack the pope, is too feeble for such a work. But God interposed, and has given the pope more toil and anxiety than he ever had since he seated himself in the temple of God, to domineer over the Church. The same God still lives: let no man doubt it.<sup>3</sup> He knows how to withstand a cardinal of Mentz, were he even supported by four emperors; for he loves above all things, to bow down the lofty cedars and humble proud Pharaohs.

<sup>1</sup> Non sic, Spalatine, non sic, princeps. (L. Ep. ii, p. 94.) Not so, O Spalatin! not so, O prince!

<sup>2</sup> Ut acerbiora tradat. (Ibid., p. 110.) The reading should doubtless be *radat*.

<sup>3</sup> Der selbig Gott lebet noch, da zweifel wir niemand an . . .

(Ibid., p. 112.)



"Wherefore, I hereby give your Highness to wit, that if the idol is not cast down, I must, in obedience to the command of God publicly attack your Highness, as I have attacked the pope himself. Let your Highness act upon this notice; I expect a prompt and good answer within a fortnight. Given in my desert, Sunday after St. Catherine's day, 1521, by your Electoral Highness's humble and devoted,

MARTIN LUTHER."

This letter was sent to Wittenberg, and from Wittenberg to Halle, where the cardinal elector then resided, no attempt was made to stop it in its course, as it was foreseen what a storm such an audacious proceeding would have called forth. But Melancthon accompanied it with a letter to the prudent Capito, with a view to bring this difficult affair to a good termination.

We cannot say what were the feelings of the young and feeble archbishop on receiving the Reformer's letter. The tract announced *against the idol of Halle* was like a sword suspended over his head. At the same time, what rage must have been kindled in his heart by the insolence of this peasant's son, this excommunicated monk, who dared to hold such language to a prince of the house of Brandenburg, the primate of the German Church? Capito implored the archbishop to satisfy the monk. Terror, pride, conscience whose voice he could not stifle, produced a fearful struggle in Albert's soul. At length, dread of the tract, and it may be also remorse, carried the day. He humbled himself and gathered together whatever he thought fitted to appease the man of the Wartburg; scarcely had the fortnight elapsed, when Luther received the following letter, which is still more astonishing than his formidable epistle.

My dear Doctor,—I have received and read your letter, and taken it in good part. But I believe that for a long time the motive which led you to write me such a letter has not existed. I wish, with God's help, to conduct myself as a pious bishop and a Christian prince, and I acknowledge that I stand in need of the grace of God. I deny not that I am a sinful man, one who may sin and be mistaken, one even who sins and is mistaken every day. I know well that without the grace of God I am useless and filthy mire like other men, if not more so. In reply to your letter, I did not wish to conceal from you this gracious disposition; for, from the love of Christ, I am more than desirous to show you all sorts of kindness and favour. I know how to receive a Christian and fraternal reprimand.

"With my own hand,

ALBERT."

Such was the language held to the excommunicated of the Wartburg by the Elector Archbishop of Mentz and Magdeburg, whose office it was to represent and maintain in Germany the constitu-



tion of the Church. Had Albert, in writing it, obeyed the generous inspirations of his conscience, or his servile fears? In the former view, this letter is noble; in the latter, it deserves contempt. We prefer supposing that it proceeded from a good emotion in his heart. Be this as it may, it shows the immense superiority of the servant of God over earthly grandeur. While Luther, single, captive, and condemned, found indomitable courage in his faith, the archbishop cardinal elector, surrounded by all the power and favour of the world, trembled in his chair. This contrast is constantly displayed, and it furnishes a key to the strange enigma with which we are presented in the history of the Reformation. The Christian is not called to sum up his forces and make an enumeration of his means of victory. The only thing which ought to give him any concern is, whether the cause which he maintains is indeed that of God, and whether his sole aim is the glory of his Master. He has doubtless an examination to make, but it is wholly spiritual; the Christian looks to the heart and not to the arm; to the justice of the cause and not to its strength. And when once this question is decided, his path is marked out. He must advance boldly, even should it be against the world and all its hosts, in the unwavering conviction that God himself will fight for him.

The enemies of the Reformation thus passed from extreme rigour to extreme feebleness. They had already done so at Worms, and these abrupt transitions are ever appearing in the war which error makes upon truth. Every cause destined to give way is affected with an inward dissatisfaction, which makes it vacillating and dubious, and pushes it by turns from one extreme to the other. Far better were consistency and energy. It might be, that thereby the fall would be precipitated, but at all events when it did come, it would come gloriously.

The Elector of Brandenburg, Joachim I, a brother of Albert, gave an example of this decision of character which is so rare, especially in our own age. Immovable in his principles, firm in his actions, knowing when necessary to resist the will of the pope, he opposed an iron hand to the progress of the Reformation. At Worms, he had insisted that Luther should not be heard, and even that he should be punished as a heretic, notwithstanding of his safe conduct. No sooner was the edict of Worms issued than he ordered it to be rigorously executed in all his states. Luther was able to estimate a character thus energetic, and distinguishing Joachim from his other opponents, said, "We can still pray for the Elector of Brandenburg."<sup>1</sup> The spirit of the prince seemed to have been communicated to his subjects. Berlin and Brandenburg

<sup>1</sup> Helwing. Gesch. der Brandeb. ii, p. 605.

long remained completely closed against the Reformation. But what was received slowly was kept faithfully, while countries which then received the gospel with joy, Belgium, for instance, and Westphalia, were soon to abandon it. Brandenburg, the last of the German states to enter on the paths of faith, was, at a latter period, to take its place in the foremost ranks of the Reformation.<sup>1</sup>

Luther did not receive the letter of the cardinal archbishop without some suspicion of its having been dictated by hypocrisy, or in compliance with the counsels of Capito. He was silent, however, contenting himself with a declaration to the latter, that so long as the archbishop, who was scarcely capable of managing a small parish, would not lay aside the mask of the cardinalate and pomp of the episcopate, and become a simple minister of the word, it was impossible he could be in the way of salvation.<sup>2</sup>

## CHAP. V.

Translation of the Bible—Wants of the Church—Principles of the Reformation—Alarm at Court—Luther to the Archbishop—Temptations of the Devil—Condemnation of the Sorbonne—Melancthon's Reply—Visit to Wittenberg.

While Luther was thus combating error as if he had still been upon the field of battle, he was at work in his retreat as if he were a stranger to every thing that was taking place in the world. The moment had arrived when the Reformation was to pass from the speculations of theologians into common life, and yet the great instrument by which this transaction was to be effected was not yet in existence. This wondrous and mighty engine, destined to assail the edifice of Rome from all quarters, with bolts which would demolish its walls, to lift off the enormous weight under which the papacy held down the half-suffocated Church, and give to humanity itself an impulse which it should retain to the latest ages, was to come forth from the old castle of the Wartburg and enter the world with the Reformer the very day when his captivity should terminate.

The further the Church was removed from the period when Jesus Christ, the true light of the world, dwelt in it, the more need she had of the lamp of the Word of God, which was to transmit the brightness of Jesus Christ unimpaired to the latest ages. But this

<sup>1</sup> Hoc enim proprium est illorum hominum (ex March. Brandenburg) ut quam semel in religione sententiam approbaverint, non facile deserant. (Leutingeri, Op. i. 41.) This is a characteristic of those men (the Dukes of Brandenburg), that when once they have formed an opinion in religion, they do not easily abandon it. <sup>2</sup> Larvam cardinalatus et pompam episcopalem ablegare. (L. Ep. ii. p. 152.)

divine Word was then unknown to the people. Attempts at translation, from the vulgate in 1477, 1490, and 1518, had succeeded ill, were almost unintelligible, and, from their high price, beyond the reach of the people. It had even been prohibited to give the Bible to the Germanic Church in the vulgar tongue.<sup>1</sup> Besides, the number of those able to read was inconsiderable, so long as there was no work in the German tongue of deep and universal interest.

Luther was called to give the Scriptures to his country, Italy. The same God who withdrew St. John to Patmos there to write his Revelation, had shut up Luther in the Wartburg to translate his Word. This great work, which it would have been difficult for him to undertake amid the distractions and occupations of Wittenberg, was destined to establish the new edifice on the primitive rock, and bring back Christians, after so many ages of scholastic subtleties to the pure and primary source of redemption and salvation.

The wants of the Church pleaded strongly ; they demanded this great work, and Luther was to be trained by his own deep experience for the performance of it. In fact, he had found in faith that spiritual repose which his agitated conscience and monastic ideas had long made him seek in his own merit and holiness. The doctrine of the Church, viz. scholastic theology, knew nothing of the consolations which faith gives, but these were forcibly announced in Scripture, and there he found them. Faith in the Word of God had made him free. By means of it, he felt himself emancipated from the dogmatical authority of the Church, its hierarchy, its traditions, scholastic opinions, powerful prejudices, and all tyranny of man. The numerous and powerful links which had for ages chained and bound Christendom, were broken, destroyed, and scattered in fragments around him, and he nobly raised his head, free of every thing save the Word. This independence of men, this submission to God, which he had learned in the Holy Scriptures, he wished the Church to possess. But in order to accomplish this, it was necessary to give her back the revelation of God. It was necessary that a mighty hand should throw back the ponderous gates of that arsenal of the Word of God, in which Luther himself had found his armour, and that those vaults and ancient halls which no foot had traversed for ages, should be again opened wide to the Christian people for the day of battle.

Luther had already translated different portions of the Holy Scriptures : the seven penitential Psalms had been his first labour.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Codex Diplom. Ecclesiae Magunt, iv, p. 460.  
cxxx, cxlvii.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. vi, xxxii, xxxviii, li, cii,

Jesus Christ, John Baptist, and the Reformation, alike began with the doctrine of repentance, which is the first beginning of renovation in the individual and in the race. These essays had been received with avidity: all wished for more, and this call from the people was to Luther a call from God himself. He formed the design of responding to it. He was a captive behind high walls. True! He will employ his leisure in transferring the Word of God into the language of his people. This Word will shortly descend with him from the Wartburg; it will circulate among the population of Germany, and put them in possession of spiritual treasures—treasures like them, shut up within the hearts of a few pious men. “Let this single book,” exclaims he, “be in all tongues, in all hands, before all eyes, in all ears, and in all hearts.”<sup>1</sup> Admirable words! which a distinguished society<sup>2</sup> for translating the Bible into the languages of all nations is now, after three centuries, engaged in carrying into effect. “The Scripture, without any commentary,” says he on another occasion, “is the sun from which all teachers receive light.”

Such are the principles of Christianity and of the Reformation. According to those venerable words, we are not to take the Fathers in order to throw light on Scripture, but Scripture to throw light on the Fathers. The Reformers and the Apostles held up the Word of God alone for light, just as they hold up the sacrifice of Christ alone for righteousness. To attempt to mix up human authority with this absolute authority of God, or human righteousness with this perfect righteousness of Christ, is to corrupt Christianity in its two foundations. Such are the two fundamental heresies of Rome, heresies moreover which some teachers would fain introduce, though, doubtless, in a modified form, into the bosom of the Reformation.

Luther opened the Greek text of the Evangelists and Apostles, and undertook the difficult task of making these inspired teachers speak his mother tongue—an important epoch in the history of the Reformation which was thenceforth no longer in the hand of the Reformer. The Bible came forward; Luther drew back; God showed himself, and man disappeared. The Reformer has placed THE BOOK in the hands of his contemporaries. Every one can now listen to God himself. As for Luther, he from this time mingles in the crowd, and takes his place among those who come to draw at the common fountain of light and life.

In the translation of the Holy Scriptures Luther found in abundance that consolation and strength which were most necessary to

<sup>1</sup> *Et solus hic liber omnium linguâ, manû, oculis, auribus, cordibus, versaretur.* (L. Ep. ii, p. 116.)

<sup>2</sup> The Bible Society.



him. Sick, isolated, saddened by the efforts of his enemies and the errors of some of his partisans, seeing his life wasting away in the gloom of this old castle, he had many fearful combats to maintain. In those times there was an inclination to transfer to the visible world the struggles which the soul maintains with its spiritual foes. The lively imagination of Luther easily gave a bodily shape to the emotions of his heart, while the superstition of the middle ages had still some hold upon his intellect, so that in this respect it may be said of him as has been said of Calvin in the punishment of heretics—he had a remnant of popery.<sup>1</sup> In Luther's idea Satan was not merely an invisible though real being: he thought that this enemy of God appeared to man as he had appeared to Jesus Christ. Although the authenticity of several of the accounts given on this subject in the 'Table Talk,' and elsewhere, is more than doubtful, the historian is bound to point out this foible in the reformer. Never did these dark ideas assail him more than in the solitude of the Wartburg. He had defied the devil at Worms in the days of his strength; but now all the power of the Reformer seemed broken and his glory tarnished. He was thrown aside. Satan was victorious in his turn, and Luther, in the anguish of his spirit thought he saw him raising his gigantic figure before him, pointing his threatening finger, triumphing with bitter and infernal leer, and gnashing his teeth in frightful rage. One day among others it is said, when Luther was working at his translation of the New Testament, he thought he saw Satan, who, dreadfully terrified at this work, kept teasing him, and turning round and round him like a lion about to pounce upon his prey. Luther, frightened and irritated, seized his inkstand and threw it at the head of his enemy. The figure vanished and the inkstand struck against the wall.<sup>2</sup>

Luther's residence in the Wartburg began to be insupportable. He felt indignant at the pusillanimity of his protectors. Sometimes he remained a whole day absorbed in silent and profound meditation, and came out of it only to exclaim, "Oh that I were at Wittenberg!" At length he could hold out no longer: there has been enough of political management: he must see his friends again,—hear them and speak to them. True! he runs the risk of falling into the hands of his enemies, but nothing can stop him. Towards the end of November he secretly quits the Wartburg and sets out for Wittenberg.<sup>3</sup>

A new storm had just burst upon him. The Sorbonne had at

<sup>1</sup> M. Michelet, in his *Memoires de Luther*, devotes more than thirty pages to different accounts of the apparition of the devil.

<sup>2</sup> The keeper of the Wartburg is still careful to show the traveller the mark made by Luther's inkstand.

<sup>3</sup> *Machete er sich heimlich aus seiner Patmo auf.* (L. Op. xviii, p. 238.)

length broken silence. This celebrated school of Paris, the first authority in the Church after the pope, the ancient and venerable fountain, whence theological dogmas had sprung, had just issued its verdict against the Reformation.

The following are some of the propositions which it condemned: Luther had said, "God always pardons and remits sins gratuitously, and asks nothing of us in return but only to live in future according to his will." He had added, "Of all mortal sins the most mortal is this,—for any one to believe that he is not guilty before God of mortal and damnable sin." He had further said, "To burn heretics is contrary to the will of the Holy Spirit."

To all these propositions, and many others which were quoted, the faculty of theology replied, "Heresy, anathema!"<sup>1</sup>

But a young man of twenty-four, of small stature, modest, and unostentatious, dared to take up the gauntlet which had been thrown down by the first school in the world. It was well known at Wittemberg what view ought to be taken of these pompous condemnations: it was known that Rome had yielded to the suggestion of the Dominicans, and that the Sorbonne was dragged along by two or three fanatical doctors, who were designated at Paris by derisive nicknames.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, Melancthon, in his apology, did not confine himself to the defence of Luther, but with the boldness which characterises his writings, carried the assault into the camp of his adversaries. "You say he is a manichean, a montanist! let fire and flame repress his folly! Which, pray, is montanist? Luther who wishes men to believe in the Holy Scriptures, or yourselves who will have them to believe the views of men rather than the Word of God."<sup>3</sup>

To attribute more to man's word than to the Word of God was in fact the heresy of Montanus, as it is still that of the pope, and of all those who set the hierarchical authority of the Church, or the internal inspiration of mysticism above the positive declaration of the Sacred Writings. Accordingly, the young master of arts who had said, "I will lose my life sooner than my faith,"<sup>4</sup> did not stop there. He accused the Sorbonne of having obscured the gospel, extinguished faith, and substituted a vain philosophy for Christianity.<sup>5</sup> After the work of Melancthon the position of the question

<sup>1</sup> Determinatio theologorum Parisiensium super doctrina Lutherana. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 366—38.)

<sup>2</sup> Damnarunt triumviri Beda, Quercus, et Christophorus. Nomina sunt horum monstrorum etiam vulgo nunc nota Belua, Stercus, Christotomus. (Zwing. Ep. i. p. 176.) He was condemned by the triumvirs *Beda*, *Quercus*, and *Christophorus*. These are the names of three monsters now commonly known as *Belua* (beast) *Stercus* (dung) and *Christotomus* (Christ-slayer.)

<sup>3</sup> Corp. Ref. i. p. 396.)

<sup>4</sup> Scias me positurum animam citius quam fidem. (Ibid.)

<sup>5</sup> Evangelium obscuratum est, fides extincta . . . Ex Christianismo, contra omnem sensum Spiritus, facta est quædam philosophica vivendi ratio. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 400.)

was changed ; he proved to demonstration that heresy was at Paris and Rome, and catholic truth at Wittemberg.

Meanwhile, Luther giving himself little concern with the condemnation of the Sorbonne, repaired in his knight's dress to the university seat. On the way different reports reached him, that a spirit of impatience and independence was manifesting itself among his adherents, and he was grieved to the heart.<sup>1</sup> At length he arrived at Wittemberg without having been recognised, and stopped at the house of Amsdorff. Forthwith all his friends were secretly summoned,<sup>2</sup> Melancthon especially, who had often said, "If I must be deprived of him I prefer death."<sup>3</sup> On their arrival, what a meeting! what joy! The captive of the Wartburg seated amidst them enjoys all the sweets of Christian friendship. He learns the progress of the Reformation, and the hopes of his brethren; and, overjoyed at what he sees and hears,<sup>4</sup> prays, gives thanks, and then, after a short delay, returns to the Wartburg.

## CHAP VI.

New Reforms—Gabriel Zwilling on the Mass—The University—The Elector—Monachism attacked—Emancipation of the Monks—Disturbances—Chapter of the Augustins—The Mass and Carlstadt—First Supper—Importance of the Mass in the Roman System.

Luther's joy was well founded—the Reformation was then advancing at an immense pace. Feldkirchen, always in the advanced guard, had first mounted to the assault: the main body was now shaken, and the power which carried the Reformation from doctrine which it had purified, into worship, common life, and the constitution of the Church now manifested itself by a new explosion still more formidable to the papacy than the former had been.

Rome, disencumbered of the Reformer, thought she had done with heresy. But in a short time all was changed. Death precipitated the man who had laid Luther under interdict from the pontifical throne. Disturbances arising in Spain, obliged Charles V to repair beyond the Pyrenees. War broke out between this prince and Francis I, and, as if this had not been

Instead of Christianity there was adopted allegiance contrary to the meaning of the Spirit, a certain philosophical mode of life.

<sup>1</sup> Per viam vexatus rumore variis de nostrorum quorundam importunitate. (L. Ep. ii, p. 109.) He was grieved by the way, by various rumours as to the rashness of some of our people.

<sup>2</sup> Liess in der Stille seine Freunde fodern. (L. Op. xviii, p. 233.) <sup>3</sup> Quo si mihi carendum est, mortem fortius tulero. (Corp. Ref. i, p. 453—455.) I could bear death more easily than want him.

<sup>4</sup> Omnia vehementer placent quæ video et audio. (L. Ep. ii, p. 109.) All that I see and hear pleases me exceedingly.

enough to occupy the Emperor, Solyman advanced into Hungary. Charles, attacked on all sides, saw himself constrained to forget the monk at Worms, and his religious innovations.

About the same time the vessel of the Reformation which, driven in all directions by contrary winds, had well nigh foundered, righted and floated firmly on the waves.

It was in the Augustin Convent of Wittemberg that the Reformation broke out. We must not be surprised at this: the Reformer was no longer there, but no power could banish the spirit which had animated him.

For some time the church in which Luther so often preached had resounded with strange doctrines. Gabriel Zwilling, the preacher of the convent, a monk full of zeal, preached with ardour in favour of the Reformation. As if Luther, whose name was everywhere proclaimed, had become too powerful and too illustrious, God selected feeble and obscure individuals to commence the Reformation which Luther had prepared. "Jesus Christ," said the preacher, "instituted the sacrament of the altar as a memorial of his death, not to make it an object of adoration. To adore it is real idolatry. The priest who communicates alone commits a sin. No prior is entitled to compel a monk to say mass alone. Let one, two, or three officiate and let all the others receive the sacrament in both kinds."<sup>1</sup>

Such was the demand of friar Gabriel, and these bold words were listened to with approbation by the other friars, especially by those who came from the Low Countries.<sup>2</sup> Being disciples of the gospel why should they not in everything conform themselves to its commands? Had not Luther himself, in the month of August, written to Melancthon, "Never more from this time will I say a private mass."<sup>3</sup> Thus the monks, those soldiers of the hierarchy, set free by the Word of God, boldly took part against Rome.

At Wittemberg they experienced an obstinate resistance on the part of the prior. Recollecting that all things ought to be done in order, they yielded, still declaring that to maintain the mass was to oppose the Gospel of God.

The prior had carried the day: one had proved stronger than all. It might therefore be supposed that the movement of the Augustins had only been one of those freaks of insubordination of which convents were so often the theatre. But it was in reality the Spirit of God that was then agitating Christendom. An isolated

<sup>1</sup> Einem 2 oder 3 befehlen Mess zu halten, und die andern 12 von denen, das Sacrament sub utraque specie mit empfangen. (Corp. Ref. i, p. 460.)  
Theil jener Parthæi Niederländer seyn. (Ibid. 476.)

<sup>2</sup> Der meiste

<sup>3</sup> Sed et ego amplius

non faciam missam privatim in æternum. (L. Ep. ii, p. 36.)



cry sent forth from the recess of a monastery found a thousand echoing voices, and that which it was wished to keep confined within the walls of a convent, came forth and assumed a distinct shape in the very heart of the city.

A rumour of the dissensions of the monks was soon noised in the town. The citizens and students of the University took part either for or against the mass. The electoral court was alarmed. Frederick, in astonishment, sent his chancellor Pontanus to Wittenberg, with orders, to tame the monks, by putting them, if necessary, on bread and water;<sup>1</sup> and on the 12th October, at seven in the morning, a deputation of professors, of whom Melancthon was one, repaired to the convent to exhort the monks not to make any innovation,<sup>2</sup> or at least to wait. On this all their zeal revived: unanimous in their belief, with the exception of the prior who combated them, they appealed to the Holy Scriptures, to the intelligence of the faithful, and the consciences of theologians, and two days after returned a written declaration.

The teachers now examined the question more closely, and perceived that truth was on the side of the monks. They went to convince, but were themselves convinced. What were they to do? Their conscience spake aloud; their distress continually increased: at last, after long hesitation, they adopted a bold resolution.

On the 20th October, the University gave in their report to the Elector. "Let your Electoral Highness," said they to him, after exposing the errors of the mass, "Let your Electoral Highness abolish all abuses, lest Christ, on the day of judgment, upbraid us as he once did Capernaum."

It is no longer some obscure monks who speak, but that University which all sober men have hailed for years as the national school. The very means employed to stifle the Reformation are going to contribute to its extension.

Melancthon, with the boldness which he showed in speculation, published fifty-five propositions with a view to enlighten the public mind:

"Just," says he, "as to look at a crucifix is not to do a good work, but simply to contemplate a sign which reminds us of the death of Christ.

"As to look at the sun is not to do a good work, but simply to contemplate a sign which reminds us of Christ and his gospel.

"So to partake of the table of the Lord is not to do a good

<sup>1</sup> Wollen die Mönche nicht Mess halten. sie werden's bald in der Küchen und Keller empfinden. . . . (Corp. Ref. i, p. 461.)  
<sup>2</sup> Mit dem Mess halten keine Neuerung machen. (Ibid.)

work, but simply to make use of a sign which reminds of the grace given us by Christ.

"But herein is the difference. The symbols invented by men simply recall what they signify, whereas the signs given by God not only recall the things, but also make the heart sure of the will of God.

"As the sight of a cross does not justify, so the mass does not justify.

"As the sight of a cross is not a sacrifice for our own sins or for those of others, so the mass is not a sacrifice.

"There is only one sacrifice, only one satisfaction—Jesus Christ. Out of him there is none.

"Let the bishops who do not oppose the impiety of the mass be anathema."<sup>1</sup>

Thus spake the pious and gentle Philip.

The Elector was in consternation. His wish had been to repress some young monks, and lo! all the University, with Melancthon himself, rise up in their defence. To wait appeared to him to be in all things the surest means of success. He had no taste for sudden reforms, and wished every opinion to have full opportunity of showing itself. "Time," thought he, "throws light on all things, and brings them to maturity." And yet the Reformation advances in spite of him with rapid steps, and threatens to carry every thing along with it. Frederick used all his efforts to arrest it. His authority, the weight of his character, the arguments which appeared to him most decisive—every thing was put in requisition. He sent a message to the theologians, "Dont be in a haste; you are too few in number to carry out such a reformation. If it is founded on the holy Gospel, others will perceive it, and the whole Church will concur with you in abolishing these abuses. Speak, debate, preach as much on these subjects as you please; but preserve ancient customs."

Such was the struggle which took place on the subject of the mass. The monks had gone up courageously to the assault; the theologians, for a moment undecided, had soon supported them. The prince and his ministers alone defended the place. It has been said that the Reformation was effected by the power and authority of the Elector; but so far from this, the assailants were obliged to retire at the venerated voice of Frederick, and the mass was saved for some days.

Moreover, the hottest of the assault had already been directed to another point. Friar Gabriel continued his fervid harangues in

<sup>1</sup> Signa ab hominibus reperta admonent tantum: signa a Deo tradita, præterquam quod admonent, certificant etiam cor de voluntate Dei. (Corp. Ref. i, p. 478.)

the church of the Augustins. It was against monachism itself that he now directed those redoubled blows. If the mass constituted the strength of the Romish doctrine, monachism constituted the strength of the hierarchy. These, therefore, were the two first positions which required to be carried.

"Nobody," exclaimed Gabriel, according to the prior's account, "nobody in convents observes the commandments of God; nobody can be saved under the monk's cowl;<sup>1</sup> every man in a cloister must have entered it in the name of the devil. Vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience are contrary to the Gospel."

These strange addresses were reported to the prior, who took good care to keep away from the church, that he might not hear them.

"Gabriel," it was also said, "wishes every means to be taken to empty cloisters." If monks are met in the street, it is proper, according to him, to pull them by the frock, and point the finger at them; and if mockery does not succeed in making them quit the convent, they must be violently hunted out of it. "Break open, destroy, throw down the monasteries," said he, "so that not a vestige of them may remain, and on the site which they have so long occupied let it be impossible to find any one of the stones which served to shelter so much idleness and superstition."<sup>2</sup>

The monks were astonished; their conscience told them that what Gabriel said was only too true—that the life of a monk was not conformable to the will of God, and that none was enabled to dispose of them but themselves.

Thirteen Augustins left the convent at once, and, laying aside the dress of their order, assumed common clothes. Those of them who had some education attended the lectures in the University, that they might one day become useful to the Church, and those whose minds were little cultivated sought to gain their living by working with their own hands, according to the injunction of the apostle and the example of the worthy burghers of Wittemberg.<sup>3</sup> One of them, who was acquainted with the trade of carpenter, entered with the corporation, and resolved to marry.

If Luther's entrance into the convent of the Augustins of Erfurth was the first germ of the Reformation, the departure of these thirteen monks from the convent of the Augustins of Wittemberg was a sign that it was beginning to take possession of Christendom. For thirty years Erasmus had been exposing the uselessness, the

<sup>1</sup> Kein Mönch werde in der Kappe selig. Corp. Ref. i. p. 433.) <sup>2</sup> Dass man nicht oben Stück von einem Kloster da sey gestanden, merken möge. (Ibid., p. 483.)

<sup>3</sup> "Etliche unter den Bürgern, etliche unter den Studenten," says the Prior in his complaint to the Elector. (Ibid.)

follies, and vices of the monks, and with him all Europe had laughed or felt indignant. But it was no longer an affair of sarcasm. Thirteen spirited and brave men again appeared in the midst of their fellow-men to render themselves useful to society, and fulfil the orders of God. The marriage of Feldkirchen had been the first defeat of the hierarchy—the emancipation of these thirteen Augustins was the second. Monachism, which had been formed the moment the Church commenced her period of bondage and error, behoved to fall the moment she recovered liberty and truth.

This bold proceeding caused a general fermentation in Wittemberg. Admiration was felt for the men who came to share in the common toils, and they were received as brethren. At the same time, cries were heard against those who persisted in remaining idly hid behind the walls of a monastery. The monks who adhered to the prior trembled in their cells, and he, carried away by the universal movement, discontinued the celebration of low mass.

The smallest concession at so critical a moment could not but hasten the progress of events. This order by the prior caused a very lively sensation in the town and the University, and produced a sudden explosion. Among the students and citizens of Wittemberg were some turbulent men, whom the least excitement stirs up and hurries into culpable disorders. They were indignant at the idea that low mass, which was suspended even by the superstitious prior, should still be said in the parish church, and on Tuesday, the 3rd Dec., when mass was about to be chanted, they made a sudden rush towards the altar, carried off the books, and drove away the priests. The Council and the University were indignant, and met to punish the authors of these misdeeds. But the passions, when once roused, are not easily calmed. The Cordeliers had not taken part in the reform movement of the Augustins. The next day some students put up a threatening placard on the door of their monastery : thereafter forty students entered their church, and, without proceeding to actual violence, mocked the monks, who, in consequence, did not venture to say mass except in the choir. Towards evening, the fathers received intimation to be upon their guard. “The students,” it was said, “intended to attack the monastery ! . . .” The monks in alarm, not knowing how to defend themselves against these real or supposed attacks, hastily petitioned the Council to defend them. Some soldiers were sent, but the enemy did not appear. The University caused the students who had taken part in these disturbances to be arrested. They were discovered to be students from Erfurth, already



marked for insubordination.<sup>1</sup> University penalties were inflicted on them.

Still it was felt necessary carefully to examine the lawfulness of monastic vows. A chapter, consisting of the Augustins of Thuringia and Misnia, met at Wittemberg in the month of December. Their views coincided with Luther's. They declared on the one hand that monastic vows were not sinful, but, on the other, that they were not obligatory. "In Christ," said they, "there is neither laic nor monk: every one is free to quit the monastery or to remain in it. Let him who departs, not abuse his liberty—let him who remains, obey his superiors and that from love." Then they abolished mendicancy and masses said for money: they also decreed that the most learned among them should apply themselves to the teaching of the Word of God, and that the others should support their brethren by the work of their hands.<sup>2</sup>

The question of vows thus seemed determined, but that of the mass remained undecided. The Elector continued to oppose the torrent, and protected an institution which was still standing in every part of Christendom. The orders of an indulgent prince were unable, however, long to restrain men's minds. The brain of Carlstadt especially, fermented amid the general fermentation. Full of zeal, honesty and intrepidity, and ready, like Luther, to sacrifice every thing for the truth, he had less wisdom and moderation than the Reformer. He was not free from a love of vain-glory, and, with a decided inclination to go to the bottom of every question, he had little judgment and little clearness in his ideas. Luther had drawn him from the midst of the schoolmen, and turned him towards the study of Scripture, but Carlstadt had not patience to study the original tongues, and had not perceived, like his friend, the full sufficiency of the Word of God. Accordingly he was often seen to fasten on the most singular interpretations. So long as Luther was at his side, the superiority of the master kept the scholar within due bounds. But Carlstadt was now at liberty, and this little man, of sallow tint, who had never been conspicuous for eloquence, was heard at the university and the church, especially in Wittemberg, giving eager expression to ideas which, though sometimes profound, were often enthusiastic and extravagant. "What folly," exclaimed he, "to think that the Reformation should be left to the agency of God alone! A new order of things begins. The hand of man must interpose. Wo to him who stays behind, and will not mount the breach in the cause of the mighty God . . ."

<sup>1</sup> In Summa es sollen die Aufruhr etliche Studenten von Erfurth erwerckt haben. (Corp. Ref. i, p. 490.)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 456.—The editors date this decree in October before the friars had left the convent of Wittemberg.

The words of the archdeacon communicated to others the impatience which animated himself. Following his example, individuals who were sincere and straightforward exclaimed, "All that the popes have ordained is impious. Let us not become accomplices in these abominations by allowing them to subsist. What is condemned by the word of God must be abolished in Christendom, whatever be the ordinances of men. If the heads of the State and Church will not do their duty, let us do ours. Let us renounce negotiations, conferences, theses, and debates, and have recourse to the true remedy for all these evils. There must be a second Elijah to destroy the altars of Baal."

The re-establishment of the Last Supper at this moment of fermentation and enthusiasm doubtless could not exhibit the solemnity and sacredness of its institution by the Son of God the evening before his death, and almost at the foot of his cross. But if God now made use of feeble, and perhaps passionate men, it was still his hand which re-established the feast of his love in the bosom of his Church.

As early as the month of October, Carlstadt, with twelve of his friends, had secretly celebrated the Lord's Supper, agreeably to its original institution. The Sunday before Christmas he intimated from the pulpit that, on the feast of the Circumcision, being new New-year's-day, he would dispense the Supper under the two kinds of bread and wine to all who should present themselves at the altar, that he would omit all useless ceremonies,<sup>1</sup> and in celebrating this mass would not put on either cope or chasuble.

The Council, in alarm, requested Counsellor Beyer to prevent so great an irregularity. On this Carlstadt resolved not to wait for the time he had appointed. On Christmas, 1521, he preaches in the parish church, on the necessity of abandoning the mass, and receiving the sacrament under the two kinds. After sermon he descends to the altar, pronounces the words of consecration in German, then turning to the people, who were all attention, he says in a solemn tone, "Whosoever feels the burden of his sins, and is hungering and thirsting for divine grace, let him come and receive the body and blood of the Lord."<sup>2</sup> Afterwards, without raising the host, he distributes the bread and wine to all, saying, "This is the cup of my blood, the blood of the new and everlasting covenant."

Different sentiments pervaded the audience. Some feeling that new grace from God was given to the church, came to the altar

<sup>1</sup> Und die anderen *Schörymstege* alle aussen lassen. (Corp. Ref. i, p. 512.)

<sup>2</sup> Wer mit Sünden beschwert und nach der Gnade Gottes hungrig und durstig (Ibid., p. 540.)

under deep emotion and in silence. Others, attracted particularly by the novelty, approached with agitation and a certain degree of impatience. Only five communicants presented themselves at the confessional. The others simply took part in the public confession of sins. Carlstadt gave general absolution to all, enjoining no other penitence than this, "Sin no more." At the close they sang the hymn, *Lamb of God*.<sup>1</sup>

No opposition was made to Carlstadt: these reforms had already obtained the public consent. The archdeacon dispensed the Supper again on New-year's-day; then, on the following Sunday, and thereafter, the ordinance was regularly observed. Einsidlen, one of the Elector's counsellors, having upbraided Carlstadt with seeking his own glory rather than the salvation of his hearers, "Mighty Sir," replied he, "there is no death that can make me abandon Scripture. The word has come to me so readily . . . . Wo to me if I preach not."<sup>2</sup> Carlstadt married soon after.

In the month of January the town council of Wittenberg and the university regulated the celebration of the Supper in accordance with the new form. At the same time the means were taken into consideration of restoring the moral influence of religion; for the Reformation behoved to re-establish simultaneously faith, worship, and manners. It was decreed that mendicants, whether lay or not, should no longer be tolerated, and that in each street a pious man should be charged to take care of the poor, and cite scandalous offenders before the university or the council.<sup>3</sup>

Thus fell the mass, the principal bulwark of Rome; thus the Reformation passed from doctrine to worship. Three ages before, the mass and transubstantiation had been definitively established,<sup>4</sup> and thereafter every thing in the Church had taken a new direction—the general tendency being to give glory to man and reverence to the priest. The holy sacrament had been worshipped; feasts had been instituted in honour of the greatest miracles; the adoration of Mary had obtained an important place; the priest who, in his consecration, received the strange power of "making the body of Christ," had been separated from the laity, and had become, according to Thomas Aquinas, a mediator between God and man;<sup>5</sup> celibacy had been proclaimed as an inviolable law; auricular confession had been imposed on the people, and the cup taken from them: for how could humble laity be placed on the same level with priests

<sup>1</sup> Wenn man communicirt hat, so singt man: *Agnus Dei* carmen. (Corp. Ref. i, p. 540.) <sup>2</sup> Mir ist das Wort fast in grosser Geschwindigkeit eingefallen. (Ibid. p. 545.)

<sup>3</sup> Keinen offenbaren Sünder zu dulden . . . (Ibid. p. 540.) <sup>4</sup> By the Lateran Council, 1215.

<sup>5</sup> Sacerdos constituitur medius inter Deum et populum. (Th. Aquin. Summa, iii, 22.) The priest is appointed mediator between God and the people.



entrusted with the most august ministry? The mass was an insult to the Son of God ; it was opposed to the perfect grace of his cross and the spotless glory of his eternal kingdom. But if it degraded our Lord, it exalted the priest whom it invested with the extraordinary power of reproducing in his hands, at will, his sovereign Creator. The Church appeared henceforth to exist, not in order to preach the gospel, but simply to reproduce Christ corporeally in the midst of her.<sup>1</sup> The pontiff of Rome, whose most humble servants at pleasure created the body of God himself, sat as God in the temple of God, and ascribed to himself a spiritual treasure out of which he drew unlimited indulgences for the pardon of sins.

Such were the gross errors which, together with the mass, had for three centuries been imposed on the Church. The Reformation, in abolishing this human institution, abolished all these abuses. The act of the Archdeacon of Wittemberg was therefore one of high consequence. The sumptuous festivals which amused the people, the worship of Mary, the pride of the priesthood, the power of the pope, all tottered with the mass. Glory was withdrawn from the priests and restored to Jesus Christ. The Reformation thus took an immense step in advance.

---

## CHAP. VII.

Spurious Reform—The new Prophets—The Prophets at Wittemberg—Melancthon—The Elector—Luther, Carlstadt, and Images—Disorders—Luther sent for—He hesitates not—Dangers.

Still men under the influence of prejudice might have been unable to see in the work which was being accomplished more than the effect of vain enthusiasm. Facts themselves behaved to prove the contrary and demonstrate that there is a wide space between a reformation founded on the word of God and a giddy fanaticism.

When a great religious fermentation takes place in the Church, some impure elements always mingle with the manifestation of the truth. One or more false reforms proceeding from man rise to the surface, and serve as a testimony or countersign to true reform. Thus, in the days of Christ, several false Messiahs attested that the true Messiah had appeared. The Reformation of the sixteenth century could not be accomplished without exhibiting a similar phenomenon. The place where it appeared was the little town of Zwickau.

<sup>1</sup> *Perfectio hujus sacramenti non est in usu fidelium, sed in consecratione materiae.* (Th. Aquin. Summa, Quæst. 80.) The perfection of this sacrament is not in its use to the faithful but in the consecration of the matter.



There were some men who, excited by the great events which then agitated Christendom, aspired to direct revelations from the Deity, instead of simply seeking sanctification of heart, and who pretended they had a call to complete the reformation which had been feebly sketched by Luther. "What use is there," said they, "in attaching oneself so strictly to the Bible? The Bible; always the Bible! Can the Bible speak to us? Is it not insufficient to instruct us? Had God designed to teach us by a book, would he not have sent a Bible from heaven? It is by the Spirit only that we can be illumined. God himself speaks to us. God himself reveals to us what we ought to do and what we ought to say." Thus, like the partisans of Rome, these fanatics attacked the fundamental principle on which the whole Reformation rests—the sufficiency of the Word of God.

A simple weaver, named Nicholas Storck, announced that the angel Gabriel had appeared to him during the night, and after having communicated to him things which he could not yet reveal, had said to him, "Thou, thou shalt sit upon my throne."<sup>1</sup> An old student of Wittemberg, named Mark Stubner, joined Storck, and forthwith abandoned his studies, having, as he said, received the gift of interpreting the Holy Scriptures immediately from God. Mark Thomas, also a weaver, added to their number, and a new adept, Thomas Munzer, a man of a fanatical spirit, gave a regular organisation to this new sect. Storck, wishing to follow the example of Christ, chose among his adherents twelve apostles and seventy-two disciples. All of these openly announced, as a sect in our days has done, that apostles and prophets are at length restored to the Church of God.<sup>2</sup>

Shortly after the new prophets, pretending to walk in the footsteps of those of ancient times, delivered their message. "Woe! Woe!" said they. "A church governed by men so corrupt as the bishops cannot be the church of Christ. The wicked rulers of Christendom will ere long be overthrown. In five, six, or seven years, universal desolation will burst forth. The Turk will seize upon Germany: all the priests, even those who are married, will be put to death. No wicked man, no sinner will be left alive; and after the earth shall have been purified by blood, God will set up his kingdom in it: Storck will be put in possession of supreme authority, and will commit the government of the nations to saints."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Advolasse Gabrielem Angelum. (Camerarii Vita Melancthi. p. 48.)  
 de sese prædicant, viros esse propheticos et apostolicos. (Corp. Ref. i. p. 514.) Briefly they declare that they are prophetic and apostolical men.  
<sup>2</sup> Breviter et instauret, sacra, et respublicas tradat sanctis viris tenendas. (Camerar. Vit. Mel. p. 45.) To become supreme renew sacred things, and entrust governments to the hands of holy men.  
<sup>3</sup> Ut rerum potiat.

Henceforth there will be only one faith and one baptism. The day of the Lord is at hand, and we are touching on the end of the world. Woe! Woe! Woe!" Then declaring that the baptism received in infancy was of no value, the new prophets invited all men to come and receive the true baptism at their hands, as a sign of introduction into the new Church of God.

These discourses made a strong impression on the people. Some pious souls were moved at the idea that prophets were restored to the Church, and all who loved the marvellous threw themselves into the arms of the eccentric men of Zwickau.

But scarcely had this old heresy which had formerly existed in the times of Montanism, and in the middle ages, again found followers than it encountered a powerful opponent in the Reformation. Nicolas Haussman, to whom Luther bore this fine testimony, "What we teach, he practises,"<sup>1</sup> was pastor of Zwickau. This good man did not allow himself to be led astray by the pretensions of the false prophets. He laid an arrest on the innovations which Storck and his adherents wished to introduce, and in this his two deacons concurred with him. The fanatics, repulsed by the ministers of the Church, plunged into another excess. They formed assemblies, in which revolutionary doctrines were professed. The people were excited, and disturbances broke out; a priest, who was carrying the holy sacrament, was assailed with volleys of stones.<sup>2</sup> The civil authority interposed, and threw the most violent into prison.<sup>3</sup> Indignant at this proceeding, and impatient to justify themselves and state their complaint, Storck, Mark Thomas, and Stubner, repaired to Wittemberg.<sup>4</sup>

They arrived on the 27th December, 1521. Storck walked in front with the bearing and mien of a trooper.<sup>5</sup> Mark Thomas and Stubner followed him. The disquiet which prevailed in Wittemberg favoured their designs. The students and burghers deeply moved, and already in a state of fermentation, were a soil well fitted for the new prophets.

Thinking themselves sure of their support, they immediately repaired to the professors of the university, in order to obtain a testimony in their favour. "We," said they, "are sent by God to instruct the people. We hold familiar converse with the Lord; we know things to come<sup>6</sup>—in a word, we are apostles and

<sup>1</sup> Quod nos docemus, ille facit.  
getragen mit Steinen geworfen. (Seck. p. 482.)

(Mel. Corp. Ref. i, p. 513.)

<sup>4</sup> Huc advolarunt tres viri, duo lanifices, literarum rudes, literatus tertius est. (Ibid.) Three men hastened hither, two of them clothiers of no education, and the third educated.

<sup>5</sup> Incedens more et habitu militum, istorum quos *Lanzknecht* dicimus. (L. Ep. ii, p. 245.)

Corp. Ref. i, p. 514.)

<sup>2</sup> Ein Priester der das Venerabile getragen.  
<sup>3</sup> Sunt et illic in vincula conjecti.

(Mel. Corp. Ref. i, p. 513.)

<sup>6</sup> Esse sibi cum Deo

(Mel. Electori, 27th December, 1521.

prophets, and we appeal for the fact to Doctor Luther." This strange language astonished the professors.

"Who ordained you to preach?" asked Melancthon of Stubner, his old student, who had lodged in his house, "Our Lord God." "Have you written any books?"—"Our Lord God has forbidden me." Melancthon is moved, astonished, and alarmed.

"There are extraordinary spirits in these men," says he, "but what kind of spirits? Luther alone can determine. On the one hand, let us beware of extinguishing the Spirit of God, and on the other, of being seduced by the spirit of the devil." Storek, who was of a restless temper, soon quitted Wittenberg. Stubner remained. Animated with an ardent spirit of proselytism, he went up and down the town, speaking sometimes to one, and sometimes to another. Several acknowledged him as a prophet of God. He applied particularly to a Suabian, named Cellarius, a friend of Melancthon, who kept a school, in which he instructed a great number of young people in literature, and who soon became a firm believer in the mission of the new apostles.

Melancthon became the more uncertain and perplexed. The visions of the new prophets did not disturb him so much as their new doctrine on baptism. It seemed to him agreeable to reason, and he considered it a subject worthy of examination; "for," said he, "it is not right either to admit or reject any thing lightly."<sup>1</sup>

Such is the spirit of the Reformation. Melancthon's hesitancy and anxiety are proofs of the uprightness of his heart, and perhaps do him more honour than a systematic opposition could have done.

The Elector, whom Melancthon named "*the lamp of Israel*,"<sup>2</sup> was also hesitating. Prophets and apostles in the electorate of Saxony, as formerly at Jerusalem! "This is an important affair," said he, "and as a layman I cannot comprehend it. But sooner than act against God, I will take my staff in my hand and quit my throne."

At last he desired his counsellors to say to the professors that they had enough of trouble on their hands at Wittenberg, that in all probability the pretensions of the men of Zwickau were only a delusion of the devil, and that the wisest course seemed to be to let the whole affair go off; that nevertheless, in every case where his Electoral Highness saw the will of God clearly, he would not take counsel, either of brother or mother, but would be ready to suffer every thing for the cause of truth.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Censebat enim neque admittendum neque rejiciendum quicquam temere. (Camer Vit. Mel. p. 49.)

<sup>2</sup> Electori lucernæ Israel. (Ibid. p. 513.)

<sup>3</sup> Darüber auch leiden was S. C. G. leiden sollt. (Ibid. p. 537.)



Luther in the Wartburg was apprised of the agitation which prevailed at the court and at Wittemberg. Strange men had appeared, and it was difficult to say whence their message came. He instantly perceived that God had permitted these sad events to humble his servants, and urge them by trials to make greater endeavours after sanctification.

"Your Electoral Highness," wrote he to Frederick, "for many years made search for relics in all countries. God has listened to your desires, and sent you a *cross* quite entire, with nails, spears, and scourges . . . Grace and prosperity to the new relic! . . . Only let your Highness extend your arms without fear, and allow the nails to sink into your flesh! . . . I always expected that Satan would send us this sore plague . . ."

But at the same time nothing appeared to him more urgent than to secure others in the liberty which he claimed for himself. He had not two weights and two measures." "Beware," wrote he to Spalatin, "of throwing them into prison; let not the prince embroe his hands in the blood of these new prophets."<sup>1</sup> Luther was far before his age, and even before several other Reformers, on the subject of religious liberty.

Circumstances continued to become more serious at Wittemberg.<sup>2</sup>

Carlstadt rejected several of the doctrines of the new prophets, and in particular their anabaptism; but there is in religious enthusiasm something contagious, from which a head like his could not easily defend itself. No sooner had the men of Zwickau arrived at Wittemberg than Carlstadt quickened his pace in the prosecution of violent reforms. "It is necessary," said he, "to make an assault on all impious customs, and overturn them in one day."<sup>3</sup> Calling to mind all the passages of Scripture against images, he declaimed with increasing energy against the idolatry of Rome. They bow and crouch before these idols," exclaimed he, "they kindle tapers to them, and present offerings to them. . . . Let us arise and pluck them from their altars!"

These words did not sound in vain in the ears of the people. They entered the churches, carried off the images, broke them in pieces, and burnt them.<sup>4</sup> It would have been better to wait till their abolition had been legally determined; but it was thought that the tardiness of the leaders was compromising the Reformation itself.

Shortly, to hear these enthusiasts, there were no longer any true

<sup>1</sup> Ne principes manus cruentet in prophetis. (L. Epp. ii, p. 135.)

omnia in dies difficiliora. (Camer. Vit. Mel. p. 49.)

<sup>2</sup> Irruendum et demolendum statim. We must rush in and demolish them instantly. (Ibid.)

<sup>3</sup> Die Bilder zu stürmen und aus den Kirchen zu werfen. (Math. p. 31.)

<sup>4</sup> Ubi fiebant



Christians in Wittemberg save those who did not confess, who assailed the priests, and ate flesh on forbidden days. Any one suspected of not rejecting all the observances of Rome as inventions of the devil was a worshipper of Baal. "It is necessary," exclaimed they, "to form a church composed only of saints."

The citizens of Wittemberg presented certain articles to the Council for their adoption. Several of these articles were conformable to evangelical morality. In particular, they asked that all places of public amusement should be shut.

But Carlstadt soon went still farther; he began to despise learning; and the old professor was heard from his chair counselling his students to return to their homes, resume the hoe, hold the plough, and quietly cultivate the ground, since it was by the sweat of his brow that man was to eat bread. George Mohr, master of the school-boys at Wittemberg, led astray by the same crotchet, called from his school window to the assembled citizens, to come and take away their children. What was the use of making them study? Storck and Stubner had never been at the university, and yet they were prophets. In preaching the gospel, therefore, a citizen was worth as much, perhaps worth more than all the teachers of the world.

Thus arose doctrines in direct opposition to the Reformation, which the revival of letters had prepared. It was with the armour of theological science that Luther had attacked Rome; and yet the enthusiasts of Wittemberg, like the fanatical monks, whom Erasmus and Reuchlin had combated, pretended to trample all human knowledge under their feet. Should Vandalism come to be established, the hope of the world was lost. A new invasion of barbarism would quench the light which God had again kindled in Christendom.

The effects of these strange harangues were soon seen. Men's minds were prejudiced, agitated, turned aside from the gospel; the university was disorganised, and the students becoming demoralised were dispersed—the governments of Germany recalling such as belonged to them.<sup>1</sup> Thus the men who wished to reform, and give life to every thing, were proceeding in a course of destruction. "One last effort more," exclaimed the friends of Rome, who were every where resuming courage—"one last effort more, and all will be gained."<sup>2</sup>

The only means of saving the Reformation was a prompt suppression of the excesses of the fanatics; but who could do it? Melancthon? He was too young, too feeble, too much agitated himself

<sup>1</sup> Etliche Fürsten ihre Bewandten abgefordert. (Corp. Ref. i, p. 560.)  
et funditus diruta. (Cam. Vit. Mel. p. 52.)

<sup>2</sup> Perdita

by these strange apparitions. The Elector? He was the most pacific man of his age. To build the castles of Altenburg, Weimar, and Coburg, to adorn the churches with the fine paintings of Lucas Cranach, to perfect the music of his chapels, to promote the prosperity of his university, to render his people happy; to stop in the midst of the children whom he met playing on the road, and distribute little presents among them,—such were the sweetest occupations of his life. And now, as he advanced in life, would he come to close quarters with fanatics, and oppose violence to violence! How could the good, the pious Frederick resolve to do so?

Accordingly the evil continued, and none appeared to arrest it. Luther was away from Wittenberg. Trouble and ruin had invaded the city. The Reformation had seen an enemy arise in its bosom, more formidable than popes and emperors, and now stood on the brink of the precipice.

“Luther! Luther!” was the universal cry at Wittenberg. The burghers urgently called for him, the professors longed for his counsels; the prophets themselves appealed to him. All implored him to return.<sup>1</sup>

We can conceive what was passing in the mind of the Reformer. All the severities of Rome were nothing in comparison of the distress which now afflicted his soul. The enemies of the Reformation were coming forth from her own bosom. She was tearing her own vitals; and the doctrine, which alone gave peace to his agitated heart, was becoming an occasion of fatal disaster to the Church.

He had said, “If I knew that my doctrine was hurtful to man, to any one simple obscure man—(this it cannot be, since it is the gospel itself)—I would sooner die ten times than not retract it.”<sup>2</sup>

And now a whole town, and this town Wittenberg, was falling into error. The doctrine was no way to blame; but from all quarters of Germany voices were raised to accuse him. Sorrows keener than any he had ever felt now assailed, and new temptations agitated him. “Can this, then,” he asked himself, “be the end to which the work of the Reformation was to lead?” But he repels these doubts. God began, and God will accomplish. “I creep and keep dragging on towards the grace of the Eternal,” exclaims he, “and entreat that His name may remain attached to this work, that if any thing impure has mingled with it, He would remember that I am but a sinful man.”<sup>3</sup>

The account sent to Luther of the inspiration of the new prophets and their sublime converse with God did not shake him for

<sup>1</sup> *Lutherum revocavimus ex heremo suo magnis de causis.* (Corp. Ref. i, p. 563.)  
 For strong reasons we recalled Luther from his hermitage.  
 zehn Toden leyden. (*Wieder Emser*, L. Op. xviii, p. 613.)  
 Gnaden. (L. Op. xviii, p. 615.)

<sup>2</sup> *Möchte ich ehe*

<sup>3</sup> *Ich krieche zu seiner*

one moment. He knew the depths, the agonies, and humiliations of the spiritual life. At Erfurth and Wittemberg he had had experience of the power of God—experience which did not allow him to believe so easily that God should appear to the creature, and hold converse with him. “Ask them,” wrote he to Melancthon, “if they have experienced those spiritual tortures, those creations of God, those deaths and hells which accompany a true regeneration.<sup>1</sup> And if they tell you only of enjoyment of what they call tranquil impressions of devotion and piety, believe them not, even should they pretend to have been carried to the third heaven. Christ, in order that he might arrive at his glory, behoved to pass through death; so must the believer pass through the anguish of sin before he arrive at peace. Would you know the time, the place, the manner in which God speaks with men? Listen: *He has broken all my bones like a lion; I am rejected before his face, and my soul is humbled to the lowest hell.* No! the divine majesty (as they term it) does not speak to man so directly, that man can visibly behold it; *for no man, says He, can see me and live.*”

But the conviction that the prophets were deluded only served to augment Luther's grief. Is it true, then, that the great doctrine of salvation by grace has so soon lost its attractions that men turn aside from it to attach themselves to fables? He begins to experience that the work is not so easy as he had at first supposed. He stumbles over this first stone which the wanderings of the human mind have placed in his path. Distressed and in anguish, he is willing, at the cost of his life, to take it out of the way of his people, and determines on returning to Wittemberg.

Many were the dangers which then threatened him. The enemies of the Reformation were confident of destroying it. George of Saxony, whose wish was neither for Rome nor Wittemberg, had written, 16th October, 1521, to Duke John the Elector's brother, advising him to join the ranks of the enemies of reform. “Some,” said he, “deny the immortality of the soul. Others (and they are monks) drag the relics of St. Anthony with tinkling bells and swine, and cast them into the mire.<sup>2</sup> And all this comes of Luther's doctrine! Entreat your brother the Elector either to punish the impious authors of these innovations, or publicly to declare what his ultimate intentions are. The whitening of our locks warns us that we are drawing near the last stage of life, and urge us to put an end to all these evils.”

After this, George departed to take his seat in the imperial go-

<sup>1</sup> Quæras num experti sint spirituales illas angustias et nativitates divinas, mortes infernosque. (L. Ep. ii, p. 215.) Ask whether they have experienced these spiritual straits and divine births, deaths, and hells. <sup>2</sup> Mit Schweinen und Schellen . . . in Koth geworfen. (Weym. Ann. Seck, p. 482.)



vernment established at Nuremberg, and immediately on his arrival used every means he could to induce the adoption of severe measures. In fact, this body on the 21st January issued an edict, complaining bitterly that the priests said mass without being clothed in the sacerdotal dress, consecrated the holy sacrament in German, dispensed it without receiving the necessary confessions, placed it in the hands of laics, and did not even trouble themselves to inquire whether or not those who came forward to take it had broken their fast.<sup>1</sup>

The imperial government accordingly called upon the bishops to search out and rigorously punish all the innovators who might be found within their respective dioceses. The bishops hastened to comply with these orders.

Such was the moment which Luther chose to re-appear upon the scene. He saw the danger; he foresaw immense disasters. "In the empire," said he, "there will soon be a tumult, which will drag, pell mell, princes, magistrates, and bishops. The people have eyes: they neither will nor can be led by force. Germany will swim in blood."<sup>2</sup> Let us place ourselves in the breach, and save our country in this great and terrible day of the Lord."

---

## CHAPTER VIII.

Departure from the Wartburg—New Position—Luther and Primitive Catholicism—Meeting at the Black Bear—Luther to the Elector—Return to Wittenberg—Discourses at Wittenberg—Charity—the Word—How the Reformation was effected—Faith in Christ—Effect—Didymus—Carlstadt—The Prophets—Conference with Luther—End of the Struggle.

Such was Luther's thought, but he saw a still more pressing danger. At Wittenberg the fire, far from being extinguished, was becoming more violent from day to day. From the heights of the Wartburg, Luther could discover in the horizon the signs of devastation—frightful blazes darting up suddenly into the air. Is not he the only one who can bring assistance in this extremity? Will he not throw himself into the midst of the flames, to extinguish the conflagration? In vain do his enemies prepare to strike the last blow; in vain does the Elector implore him to continue in the Wartburg, and prepare his defence for the next Diet. He has something more important to do, he has to defend the gospel itself. "More

<sup>1</sup> In ihre laische Hände reiche. (L, Op. xviii, p. 285.)  
guine natare. (L, Ep. ii, p. 157.)

<sup>2</sup> Germaniam in san-



serious news reach me from day to day," writes he. "I am preparing to depart; circumstances demand it."<sup>1</sup>

In fact, on the morning of the 3rd of March he rises with the determination to quit the Wartburg for ever. He bids adieu to its old towers and gloomy forests,—crosses the walls where the excommunication of Leo X and the sword of Charles V were unable to reach him, and descends the mountain. The world which extends at his feet, and in which he is going to re-appear, will perhaps raise a death-cry against him. But no matter: he advances joyfully, for it is in the name of the Lord that he is rejoining the society of his fellow-men.<sup>2</sup>

Time had moved onward. Luther came out of the Wartburg for a different cause from that for which he had entered it. He had entered as the assailant of ancient tradition and ancient doctors; he left it as a defender of the doctrine of the apostles against new adversaries. He had entered as an innovator and assailant of the ancient hierarchy: he came out as its preserver, and for the defence of the Christian faith. Till now, Luther had only one aim in his work, viz., the triumph of justification by faith; with this weapon, he had struck down powerful superstitions. But if there had been a time to pull down, there behoved also to be a time to build up. Behind those ruins with which his arm had strewed the ground—behind those tattered letters of indulgences—those broken tiaras and torn cowls—behind all the abuses and errors of Rome, which lay in confused heaps on the field of battle, he discerned and exhibited the primitive Catholic Church, re-appearing always the same, and coming forth, after a long trial, with its immutable doctrines and heavenly accents. He knew how to distinguish between it and Rome: he hailed it and embraced it with joy. Luther did not, as he has been falsely accused, bring a novelty into the world. He did not build up an edifice for the future that had no connection with the past. He discovered and brought to light the old foundation, overgrown with thorns and brambles, and merely continuing the structure of the temple, built on the foundation which the apostles had laid. Luther understood that the ancient and primitive Church of the apostles required on the one hand to be re-built in opposition to the papacy, which had so long oppressed it, and on the other, to be defended against enthusiasts and unbelievers, who pretended not to see it, and who, making no account of all that God had done in times past, wished to begin a work entirely new. Luther was no longer exclusively the apostle of a single doctrine, that of justification, though he always

<sup>1</sup> Ita enim res postulat ipsa. (L. Ep. ii, p. 135.)

<sup>2</sup> So machte er sich mit unglaublicher Freudigkeit des Geistes, im Namen Gottes auf den Weg. (Seck. p. 458.)

reserved the first place for it;—he became the apostle of the whole Christian system, and while believing that the Church consists essentially of the whole body of the saints, he by no means despised the visible Church, but recognised the assembly of all who are called, as the kingdom of God. Thus a great change now took place in Luther's soul, in his theology, and in the work of renovation which God was accomplishing in the world. The hierarchy of Rome might perhaps have urged the Reformer into an extreme: the sects which then raised their heads so boldly helped to bring him to the proper medium. His residence in the Wartburg divides the history of the Reformation into two periods.

Luther was trotting along the road to Wittemberg on the second day of his journey, which was Shrove Tuesday. Towards evening a dreadful storm arose and inundated the roads. Two young Swiss, who were proceeding in the same direction, hastened on in order to take shelter in the town of Jena. They had studied at Bale, but were on their way to Wittemberg, attracted by the great celebrity of its University. Travelling on foot, fatigued, and drenched, John Kessler of St. Gall, and his companion, quickened their pace. The town was in the full gayety of the carnival: dances, masquerades, and noisy feasts occupied all the inhabitants of Jena, and when the two travellers arrived, every inn was occupied. At last the *Black Bear*, in front of the town gate, was mentioned to them. Jaded and out of spirits, they sadly repaired to it. The host received them kindly,<sup>1</sup> and they sat down near the door opening into the public room, without presuming to enter, being ashamed of the state into which the storm had put them. At one of the tables sat a solitary individual in the dress of a knight; his head was covered with a red cap, and his underdress was covered by the skirts of his doublet; his right hand rested on the pommel of his sword, while his left held it by the hilt. A book was open before him, and he seemed to be reading with great attention.<sup>2</sup> At the noise made by the two youths, he raised his head, saluted them courteously, and invited them to come forward and take a seat at table with him; then offering them a glass of beer, and referring to their accent, he said to them, "You are Swiss, I see, but of what Canton?" "St. Gall."—"If you are going to Wittemberg you will find a countryman there, Dr. Schurff." Encouraged by this kind reception, they asked, "Sir, are you not able to tell us where Martin Luther now is?" "I know for certain," replied the knight, "that Luther is not at Wittemberg, but is

<sup>1</sup> See Kessler's narrative with all its details, in the simple language of the period in Bernet, Johann Kessler, p. 27. Hanhard Erzählungen, iii, p. 300, and Marheinecke. Gesch. der Ref. ii, p. 321, 2nd edition. <sup>2</sup> In einem rothen Schläpfi, in blosser Hose und Wamma. . . . (Ibid.)

to be soon. Philip Melancthon is there. Study Greek and Hebrew, that you may have a good understanding of the Holy Scriptures." "If God spares our lives," replied one of the youths of St. Gall, "we shall not return home till we have seen and heard doctor Luther, for it is on account of him we have undertaken this long journey. We know that he wishes to overthrow the priesthood and the mass, and as our parents have, from our infancy, intended us for priests, we would fain know on what he bottoms his enterprise." The knight was silent for a moment, and then said, "where have you studied hitherto?" "At Bale." "Is Erasmus of Rotterdam still there?—what is he about?" They answered these questions, and there was a new pause. The two Swiss knew not what to think. "Is it not a strange thing," said they, "that this knight talks to us of Schurff, Melancthon, and Erasmus, and of the necessity of studying Greek and Hebrew." "Dear friends," said the stranger abruptly, "what is thought of Luther in Switzerland?" "Sir," replied Kessler, "opinions differ, as every where else; some cannot extol him sufficiently; others condemn him as an abominable heretic." "Ah, the priests, no doubt," said the stranger.

The knight's affability had put the two students at their ease. They longed eagerly to know what book he was reading at the moment of their arrival. The knight had closed it and laid it down near him. Kessler's companion was at length emboldened to take it up. What was the astonishment of the two youths! The Psalms in Hebrew. The student immediately laid down the book, and wishing to make his indiscretion be forgotten, said, "I would willingly give one of my fingers to know this language." "This you will certainly do," replied the stranger, "if you take the trouble to learn it."

Some moments after Kessler heard himself called by the host. The poor young Swiss feared something was wrong, but the host whispered to him, "I perceive you have a great desire to see and hear Luther; very well, he is sitting beside you." Kessler taking it for a joke said, "Ah, host, you want to hoax me." "It is he, certainly," replied the host, "only don't let it be seen that you know who he is." Kessler gave no answer, and returned to the table, burning with eagerness to repeat what he had heard to his companion. But how was he to do it? At last it occurred to him to lean forward as if he were looking to the door, when, being close to his friend's ear, he whispered to him, "the host assures me that this is Luther." "He perhaps said Hütten," replied his companion, "you may have misunderstood him." "It is quite possible," replied Kessler, "the host may have said Hütten: the two sounds are not unlike, I may have mistaken the one for the other."



At this moment the trampling of horses was heard in front of the hotel; and two merchants, who wished to pass the night there, entered the room. After taking off their spurs, and laying aside their cloaks, one of them put down on the table beside him an unbound volume, which immediately caught the eye of the knight. "What book is that?" said he. "An exposition of some gospels and epistles by Dr. Luther," replied the merchant: "it has just appeared." "I shall soon have it," replied the knight.

The host at this moment announced supper. The two students, fearing the expence of a repast in company with the chevalier, Ulrich Von Hütten and the rich merchants, took the host aside, and begged him to give them something by themselves. "Stay, my friends," replied the host of the Black Bear, "take your seat at table beside this gentleman; I will charge moderately." "Come," said the knight, "I will settle the charge."

During the repast the stranger knight made many simple and edifying observations. The merchants and students were riveted, and paid more attention to his conversation than to the dishes that were served up. "Luther must either be an angel from heaven or a devil of hell," said one of the merchants in the course of the conversation, and then added, "I would willingly give ten florins to meet Luther and be able to confess to him."

When the supper was ended the merchants rose up, and the two Swiss remained alone with the knight, who, taking a large glass of beer, lifted it and said gravely, according to the custom of the country, "Swiss, one glass more for thanks." As Kessler was going to take the glass, the stranger put it down and presented him with one filled with wine: "You are not accustomed to beer," said he.

He then rose up, threw a military cloak on his shoulders, shook hands with the students, and said to them, "When you arrive at Wittemberg, give my compliments to Doctor Jérôme Schurff."—"Willingly," replied they; "but from whom shall we say?" "Say simply," replied he, "He who is coming salutes you." On this he walked out, leaving them in admiration at his courtesy and meekness.

Luther, for it was indeed he, continued his journey. Be it remembered he had been put under the ban of the empire; whosoever met him and recognised him might lay hands upon him. But at the moment when he was executing an enterprise which exposed him to every risk, he discoursed gaily with those whom he met on his way.

It was not because he was under any illusion. He saw the future big with storms. "Satan," said he, "is transported with



rage, and all around me meditate death and hell.<sup>1</sup> I advance, nevertheless, and throw myself in the way of the emperor and the pope, having none to defend me save God in heaven. On the part of man power has been given to every one to slay me wheresoever I am found. But Christ is the Lord of all: if it is his will that I be slain, so be it!"

The same day, being Ash Wednesday, Luther arrived at Borne, a small town near Leipsic. Feeling that he ought to give notice to his prince of the bold step which he was going to take, he wrote him the following letter from the Conductor Tavern where he had alighted:—

"Grace and peace from God our Father and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

"Most serene Elector! gracious lord! what has happened at Wittemberg to the great shame of the gospel has filled me with such grief that if I were not certain of the truth of our cause I would have despaired of it.

"Your Highness knows, or if not, please to be informed. I received the gospel not from men but from heaven, by our Lord Jesus Christ. If I have asked for conferences, it was not because I had doubts of the truth, but from humility, and for the purpose of winning others. But since my humility is turned against the gospel, my conscience now impels me to act in a different manner. I have yielded enough to your highness in exiling myself during this year. The devil knows it was not from fear I did it. I would have entered Worms though there had been as many devils in the town as there were tiles on the roofs. Now Duke George with whom your Highness tries so much to frighten me, is far less to be feared than a single devil. Had that which has taken place at Wittemberg taken place at Leipsic (the duke's residence), I would instantly have mounted my horse and gone thither, even though (let your Highness pardon the expression,) for nine days it should have done nothing but rain Duke Georges, and every one of them been nine times more furious than he is. What is he thinking of in attacking me? Does he take Christ, my Lord, for a man of straw?<sup>2</sup> The Lord be pleased to avert the dreadful judgment which is impending over him!

"It is necessary for your Highness to know that I am on my way to Wittemberg under a more powerful protection than that of an elector. I have no thought of soliciting the assistance of your Highness: so far from desiring your protection, I would rather give

<sup>1</sup> *Furit Satanas; et fremunt vicini undique, nescio quot mortibus et infernis.* (L. Ep. ii. p. 153.) Satan rages, and the neighbours mutter on every side, with I know not how many deaths and hells.

<sup>2</sup> *Er hält meinen Herrn Christum für ein Mann aus Stroh geflochten.* (Ibid. p. 139.)

you mine. If I knew that your Highness could or would protect me, I would not come to Wittenberg. No sword can give any aid to this cause. God alone must do all without human aid or co-operation. He who has most faith is the best protector. Now I observe that your Highness is still very weak in the faith.

"But since your Highness desires to know what to do, I will answer with all humility. Your electoral Highness has already done too much, and ought to do nothing at all. God does not wish and cannot tolerate either your cares and labours, or mine. Let your Highness, therefore, act accordingly.

"In regard to what concerns myself, your Highness must act as elector. You must allow the orders of his imperial Majesty to be executed in your towns and rural districts. You must not throw any difficulty in the way, should it be wished to apprehend or slay me;<sup>1</sup> for none must oppose the powers that be save He who established them.

"Let your Highness then leave the gates open, and respect safe-conducts, should my enemies themselves, or their envoys, enter the states of your Highness in search of me. In this way you will avoid all embarrassment and danger.

"I have written this letter in haste that you may not be disconcerted on learning my arrival. He with whom I have to deal is a different person from Duke George. He knows me well, and I know something of him.

"Borne, the Conductor Hotel, Ash Wednesday, 1522.

"Your Electoral Highness's most humble Servant,

"MARTIN LUTHER."

Thus Luther was drawing near to Wittenberg. He wrote to the prince, but not to apologise. Immovable confidence filled his heart. He saw the hand of God in the cause, and this sufficed him. Never, perhaps, was the heroism of faith more conspicuously displayed. One of the editions of Luther's works has on the margin these words, "This is a marvellous production of the third and last Elias."<sup>1</sup>

On Friday, the 7th March, Luther again entered Wittenberg, having been five days in coming from Eisenach. Professors, students, citizens, all gave full utterance to their joy. They had recovered the pilot who alone could bring off the ship from the shallows on which it had been cast.

The elector, who was with his court at Lockau, was much affected on reading Luther's letter. He felt desirous to defend him before the Diet, and wrote to Schurff, "Let him send me a letter explaining his motives for returning to Wittenberg, and let him say

<sup>1</sup> Und ja nicht wehren . . . so sie mich fahen oder tödten will. (L. Ep. ii, p. 140.)

<sup>2</sup> Der wahre, dritte und letzte Elias . . . (L. Op. (L.) xviii, p. 271.)

also in it that he returned without my permission." Luther agreed to do so.

"I am ready," wrote he to the prince, "to endure the displeasure of your Highness and the anger of the whole world. Are not the inhabitants of Wittemberg my brood? Has not God entrusted them to me? And am not I bound to expose myself to death for them? I fear, moreover, the breaking out in Germany of some great revolution by which God will punish our country. Let your Highness be well assured that the decision in heaven has been very different from that at Nuremberg."<sup>1</sup> This letter was written the very day of Luther's arrival.

The next day being the eve of the first Sunday of Lent, Luther repaired to the house of Jérôme Schurff, where Melancthon, Jonas, Amsdorff, and Augustin Schurff were met. Luther eagerly asked them many questions, and they were informing him of all that had taken place, when it was announced that two foreign students wished to speak to Doctor Jérôme. On appearing in the midst of this meeting of doctors, the two youths of St. Gall were at first abashed, but they soon recovered on perceiving among them the knight of the Black Bear, who immediately went up to them, accosted them as old acquaintances, smiled to them, and pointing with his finger to one of the doctors, said, "That is Philip Melancthon of whom I spoke to you." In honour of the meeting at Jena, the two Swiss spent the whole day with the doctors of Wittemberg.

One great thought occupied the Reformer, and made him forget the joy he felt at being again in the midst of his friends. No doubt the theatre on which he now appeared was obscure: it was in a small town of Saxony that he was going to raise his voice, and yet his undertaking had all the importance of an event which was to influence the destinies of the world. Many nations and many ages were to feel its effects. The point to be determined was, whether this doctrine which he had drawn from the word of God, and which was destined to exert so powerful an influence on the future progress of humanity, would be stronger than the principles of destruction which threatened its existence—whether it was possible to reform without destroying, and to pave the way for further progress, without destroying that already made. To silence fanatics in the first heat of enthusiasm, to master a whole multitude broken loose, to calm them down, and bring them back to order, peace, and truth; to break the force of this impetuous torrent which was threatening to throw down the rising edifice of the Reformation, and scatter its wrecks around;—such was the work for which

<sup>1</sup> L. Ep. ii, p. 143. Luther had to change this passage in his letter at the request of the Elector.



Luther had returned to Wittenberg. But would his influence be sufficient? This events only could determine.

The soul of the Reformer shuddered at the thought of the combat which awaited him. He stood up like a lion goaded on to battle, and shaking his bushy mane, "Now is the time," said he, "to trample Satan under foot, and combat the angel of darkness. If our adversaries retire not of their own accord, Christ will constrain them. We are the masters of life and death, we who believe in the Master of life and death."<sup>1</sup>

But at the same time, the impetuous Reformer, as if subdued by a higher power, refused to make use of the anathemas and thunders of the Word, and became a humble pastor, a meek shepherd of souls. "It is by the Word," said he, "that we must fight, by the Word overturn and destroy what has been established by violence. I am unwilling to employ force against the superstitious or the unbelieving. Let him who believes approach; let him who believes not stand aloof. None ought to be constrained. Liberty is of the essence of faith."<sup>2</sup>

The next day was Sabbath, and on that day, in the Church, in the pulpit, the people were again to behold the teacher whom for nearly a year the Wartburg had concealed from every eye. The news spread in Wittenberg—Luther is returned—Luther is going to preach. These news passing from mouth to mouth were in themselves a powerful diversion to the notions by which the people had been led astray. The hero of Worms is going again to appear. Crowds press forward from all directions, and on Sabbath morning the church was filled with an attentive and excited audience.

Luther divines the feeling of his hearers: he mounts the pulpit, and there stands in presence of the flock whom he was wont to lead like one gentle sheep, but who had now broken loose and assumed the appearance of an untamed bull. His discourse is simple, yet dignified, replete at once with force and mildness. He might have been described as a tender parent just returned to his children, enquiring how they have behaved, and telling them kindly of what he had heard respecting them. He candidly acknowledges the progress which they had made in the faith. Having thus prepared and gained their minds, he continues in the following terms:—

"But there must be more than faith: there must be charity. When a man with a sword in his hand is by himself, it is of no consequence whether or not he keeps it in the scabbard, but if he is in the midst of a crowd, he must act in such a manner as not to hurt any one.

<sup>1</sup> Domini enim sumus vitæ et mortis. (L. Ep. ii, p. 150.)

<sup>2</sup> Non enim ad fidem ad ea quæ fidei sunt, ullus cogendus est. (Ibid., p. 151.) For no man must be driven by compulsion to faith and the things thereto appertaining.



"How does a mother do with her child? At first she gives it milk, and thereafter the most easily digested food. Were she to begin by giving it flesh and wine, what would the result be? . . .

"So ought we to do with our brethren. Have you had enough of the breast, my friend? very well; allow your brother to have it as long as you have had it yourself.

"Behold the sun. . . . There are two things he gives us—light and heat. There is no king so powerful as to be able to interrupt his rays: they come to us in a straight line; but the heat radiates and transfuses itself in all directions. Thus faith ought to be like light, straight and inflexible; but charity should, like heat, radiate in all directions, and bend to meet all the wants of our brethren."

Luther having thus prepared his hearers, comes to still closer quarters.

"The abolition of the mass, you say, is conformable to Scripture. Agreed. But what order, what decorum have you observed? You ought to have presented fervent prayers to the Lord: you ought to have applied to constituted authority, which, in that case, might have been able to perceive that the work was of God. . . ."

Thus spake Luther. The bold man who had at Worms withstood the princes of the earth, produced a powerful impression by these words of wisdom and peace. Carlstadt and the prophets of Zwickau, who for some weeks had been so high and mighty, and who had agitated and lorded it over Wittemberg, became dwarfs when placed beside the prisoner of the Wartburg.

"The mass," he continues, "is a bad thing: God is inimical to it: it must be abolished, and I could wish that over the whole world it were supplanted by the supper of the Gospel. But let nobody be driven from it by violence. The affair must be committed to God. His Word must act, not we. And why? you will say. Because I do not hold the hearts of men in my hand as the potter does the clay. We have a right to speak, but not to act. Let us preach—the rest belongs to God. If I employ force, what shall I obtain? Grimace, appearances, apishness, human ordinances, hypocrisy . . . . But there will be no sincerity of heart, no faith, no charity. Any work in which these three things are wanting wants every thing, and I would not give a pin for it.<sup>1</sup>

"The first thing to be gained from people is their heart, and for this it is necessary to preach the gospel. Then the Word will descend on one heart to-day, and on another to-morrow, and operate in such a way that each will withdraw from the mass, and abandon it. God does more by his mere Word than you and I, and

<sup>1</sup> Ich wollte nicht einen Birnstiel drauf geben. (L. Op. L. xviii, p. 255.)

all the world could do by uniting our utmost strength. God takes possession of the heart, and when the heart is taken every thing is taken.

"I do not say this in order to re-establish the mass. Since it is down, let it, in God's name, so remain. But was the matter gone about as it ought to have been? Paul, having one day arrived at Athens, a great city, found altars erected to false gods. He went from one to another, viewed them all, and touched none. But he quietly repaired to the market-place, and declared to the people that all their Gods were only idols. His words took possession of their hearts, and the idols fell without being touched by Paul.

"I wish to speak, to preach, to write, but I wish not to constrain any one, for faith is a voluntary matter. See what I have done! I have withstood the pope, indulgences, and the papists, but without tumult and violence. I have put forward the Word of God—have preached—have written, but this is all I have done. And while I was asleep, or seated in a friendly way at table with Amsdorff and Melancthon, conversing with them over a pot of Wittenberg beer, the Word which I had preached overthrew the papacy, assailing it more effectually than was ever done by prince or emperor. I have done nothing: the Word alone has done all. Had I chosen to appeal to force, perhaps Germany might have been bathed in blood. But what would have been the consequence? Ruin and desolation to soul and body. I therefore remained quiet, and allowed the Word itself to have free course in the world. Do you know what the Devil thinks when he sees recourse had to force in order to spread the gospel among men? Seated, with his arms across, behind the flames of hell, Satan, with malignant leer, and frightful smile, says—'Ah, how sagely these fools are playing my game.' But when he sees the Word running and wrestling alone on the field of battle, then it is he feels uneasy, and his knees tremble: he mutters, and swoons with terror."

Luther again appeared in the pulpit on Tuesday: his powerful eloquence again resounded in the midst of a deeply impressed audience. He preached successively on Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sabbath. He passed in review the destruction of images, the distinction of meats, the observances at the supper, the restoration of the cup, and the abolition of confession. He showed that those points were still more indifferent than the mass, and that the authors of the disorders, which had taken place at Wittenberg, had grossly abused their liberty. He gave utterance alternately to accents of Christian charity and to bursts of holy indignation.

In particular, he inveighed forcibly against those who com-

municated thoughtlessly at the Lord's Supper. "What makes the Christian," said he, "is not the external eating, but the internal and spiritual eating which is produced by faith, and without which, all forms whatsoever are only show and vain grimace. Now this faith consists in firmly believing that Jesus Christ is the Son of God; that being laden with our sins and iniquities, and having borne them upon the cross, he is himself the sole, the all-powerful expiation: that he is now continually in the presence of God, that he reconciles us with the Father, and has given us the sacrament of his body in order to confirm our faith in this ineffable mercy. If I believe these things, God is my defender: with him I defy sin, death, hell, devils—they cannot do me any harm, nor even ruffle a hair of my head. This spiritual bread is the consolation of the afflicted, the cure of the sick, the life of the dying, the food of the hungry, and the treasure of the poor. He, then, who is not sorry for his sins, ought not to come to this altar: what would he do there? Ah! let our conscience accuse us, let our hearts be torn at the thought of our faults, and we will not approach the holy sacrament with so much rashness."

Crowds ceased not to fill the temple: numbers even flocked from the neighbouring towns to hear the new Elias. Capito, among others, came and spent two days at Wittemberg, and heard two of the doctor's sermons. Never had Luther and the chaplain of cardinal Albert been so much of one mind. Melancthon, the magistrates, the professors, and all the people, were overjoyed.<sup>1</sup> Schurff, delighted at this issue of an affair which promised to be so serious, hastened to acquaint the Elector, to whom he wrote, Friday, 15th March, (the day on which Luther had delivered his sixth discourse.) "What joy the return of doctor Martin diffuses among us! His discourses, by the help of divine grace, are daily bringing back our poor erring souls into the way of truth. It is clear as the sun that the Spirit of God is in him, and that by his special appointment he has returned to Wittemberg."<sup>2</sup>

In fact these discourses are models of popular eloquence, though not of the sort which aroused men's minds in the days of Demosthenes or even Savonarola. The task which the orator of Wittemberg had to perform was more difficult. It is easier to rouse a wild beast than to calm its fury. The thing required was to appease a fanatical multitude; to tame passions which had been let loose: and this Luther did. In his eight discourses the Reformer did not allow a single painful allusion to escape, a single word calculated to offend the authors of the disturbances. But the more

<sup>1</sup> Grosse Freude und Frohlocken unter Gelehrten und Ungelehrten. (L. Op. xviii, p. 266.)

<sup>2</sup> Aus sonderlicher Schickung des Allmächtigen . . . (Ibid.)



moderate, the stronger he was; the greater the delicacy towards those who had gone astray, the more he avenged insulted truth. How could the people of Wittemberg resist his powerful eloquence? The discourses which recommend moderation are usually attributed to moderation, policy, or fear. Here there was nothing of the kind. Luther appeared before the people of Wittemberg braving the excommunication of the pope, and the proscription of the emperor. He returned, though forbidden by the Elector, who declared his inability to defend him. Even at Worms, Luther had not shown more courage. He was confronting the most threatening dangers, and accordingly his voice was not disregarded. This man who braved the scaffold was entitled to exhort others to submission. He may boldly preach obedience to God, who, in doing so, exposes himself to every kind of persecution from man. At Luther's preaching, objections vanished, tumult was appeased, sedition ceased its clamour, and the citizens of Wittemberg returned to their quiet homes.

Gabriel Didymus, an Augustin monk, and the one who had been most enthusiastic, had not lost a word spoken by the Reformer. "Dont you think Luther an admirable teacher?" asked a hearer, under deep emotion. "Ah!" replied Gabriel, "methinks I hear the voice not of a man, but an angel."<sup>1</sup> Shortly after, he openly acknowledged his error. "He is become another man," said Luther.<sup>2</sup>

The same effect was not at first produced on Carlstadt. Despising study, and affectedly visiting the workshops of mechanics, that he might there get a knowledge of the Scriptures, he felt hurt, when he saw his work crumbling to pieces before the appearance of Luther.<sup>3</sup> In his eyes this was equivalent to an arrest laid on the Reformation itself. Accordingly he had always a depressed, gloomy, and discontented look. He, however, sacrificed his self-love to peace, suppressed his vindictive feelings, was reconciled, apparently at least, with his colleague, and shortly after resumed his course at the University.<sup>4</sup>

The principal prophets happened not to be at Wittemberg when Luther arrived. Nicholas Storck had been scouring the country, and Mark Stubner had quitted the hospitable roof of Melancthon. It may be their prophetic spirit had vanished and they had neither "*voice*" nor "*answer*,"<sup>5</sup> from the moment they learned that this new Elias was bending his steps towards this new

<sup>1</sup> Imo, inquit, angeli, non hominis vocem mihi audisse video. (Camerarius, p. 12.)

<sup>2</sup> In alium virum mutatus est. (L. Ep. ii, p. 156.) <sup>3</sup> Ego Carlstadium offendi, quod ordinationes suas cessavi. (L. Ep. ii p. 177.) I offended Carlstadt, because I put a stop to his arrangements.

<sup>4</sup> Philippi et Carlstadii lectiones, ut sunt optime . . . (Ibid. p. 284.) The lectures of Philip and Carlstadt, as they are most excellent.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Kings, xviii, 29.



Carmel. The old schoolmaster Cellarius had been left alone. Meanwhile, Stubner having been informed that the sheep of his flock were dispersed, returned in all haste. Those who had remained faithful to the "heavenly prophecy" gathered round their master, relating Luther's discourses to him, and asking with uneasiness what they were to think.<sup>1</sup> Stubner exhorted them to remain firm in their faith. "Let him show himself," exclaimed Cellarius, "let him grant us a conference, let him allow us to explain our doctrine, and we shall see . . . ."

Luther had little inclination to meet with these men; he knew that there was in them a violent, impatient, haughty spirit, which could not endure warnings, however charitably given, and who claimed submission to their every word as a sovereign authority.<sup>2</sup> Such are the enthusiasts of all times. Still, as an interview was asked, the doctor could not refuse it. Besides, it might be useful to the simple ones of the flock to unmask the imposture of the prophets. The conference took place. Stubner spoke first, and explained how he proposed to renew the Church and change the world. Luther listened with great calmness.<sup>3</sup> "Nothing that you have said," replied he, at length, gravely, "rests on the Holy Scriptures. It is all fable." At these words Cellarius loses all self-possession; he raises his voice, gesticulates like a madman, stamps and strikes the table that was before him;<sup>4</sup> gets into a passion, and exclaims that it is an insult to presume to speak thus to a man of God. Then Luther resumes, "St. Paul declares that the proofs of his apostleship were manifested by miracles: prove yours by miracles." "We shall," replied the prophets.<sup>5</sup> "The God whom I worship," replied Luther, "will keep a bridle hand on your gods." Stubner, who had remained more calm, fixing his eyes on the Reformer, said to him with an air of inspiration, "Martin Luther, I am going to declare to you what is now passing in your soul. You are beginning to think that my doctrine is true." Luther, after a few moments' silence, replied. "The Lord rebuke thee, Satan." At these words all the prophets are transported. "The Spirit! the Spirit!" they exclaim. Luther, with that cool disdain, and that cutting, yet familiar language, which was one of his characteristics, says, "I care not a fig for your *spirit*."<sup>6</sup> The clamour is redoubled. Cellarius was especially

<sup>1</sup> *Rursum ad ipsum confluere . . . .* (Camerar. p. 52.) Again flocked to him.

<sup>2</sup> *Vehementer superbus et impatiens . . . . credi vult plena auctoritate, ad primam vocem . . . .* (L. Epp. ii, p. 179.) Excessively proud and impatient. . . . he insists on being believed implicitly on his first word.

<sup>3</sup> *Audivit Lutherus placide.* (Camer. p. 52.)

<sup>4</sup> *Cum et solum pedibus et propositam mensulam manibus feriret.* (Ibid.) Both struck the ground with his feet, and the little table before him with his hands.

<sup>5</sup> *Quid pollicentes de mirabilibus affectionibus.* (Ibid. p. 53.) Making some promise of miraculous affections.

<sup>6</sup> *Ihren Geist haue er über die Schnauze.* (L. Opp. Altenburg Augs. iii, p. 187.)

violent. He raged, roared, and foamed.<sup>1</sup> Not a word more could be heard. At length the prophets withdrew, and the same day quitted Wittemberg.

Thus Luther had accomplished the work for which he had left his retreat. He had withstood fanaticism, and chased from the bosom of the renovated church the enthusiasm and disorder which were trying to invade it. If with one hand the Reformation overthrew the musty decretals of Rome, with the other it repelled the pretensions of the mystics, and secured the living and immutable Word of God in possession of the territory which it had conquered. The character of the Reformation was thus well established. It behoved constantly to move between these two extremes, equally distant from the convulsive throes of fanatics and the lifeless state of the papacy.

A population aroused, misled, and broken loose from all restraint, is appeased, becomes calm and submissive, and the most perfect tranquillity is restored to a city which, a few days before, was like a raging sea.

Complete liberty was moreover established at Wittemberg. Luther continued to reside in the convent, and to wear the monastic dress; but every one was free to do otherwise. Communicants, in taking the supper, might content themselves with a general, or ask a particular absolution. One established principle was to reject nothing but what was opposed to a clear and formal declaration of the Holy Scriptures.<sup>2</sup> This was not indifference. On the contrary, religion was thus brought back to what constitutes its essence. Religious sentiment was drawn away from accessory forms when it had been well nigh lost, and again placed on its true basis. Thus the Reformation was saved, and doctrine could continue to be developed in the Church in accordance with charity and truth.

---

## CHAPTER IX.

Translation of the New Testament—Faith and Scripture—Opposition—Importance of Luther's Publication—Need of a Systematic Exposition—Melancthon's *Common Places*—Original Sin—Salvation—Free-will—Effect of the *Common places*.

No sooner was the calm re-established than the Reformer turned towards his dear Melancthon, and asks his assistance in putting the finishing hand to the version of the New Testament,

<sup>1</sup> Spumabat et fremebat et furebat. (L. Epp. ii, p. 179.)  
gründliche Schrift.

<sup>2</sup> Ganz klare und

which he had brought from the Wartburg.<sup>1</sup> Melancthon, as early as 1519, had laid down the grand principle, that the fathers ought to be explained according to Scripture, and not Scripture according to the fathers. Continuing thoroughly to investigate the writings of the New Testament, he felt at once enraptured with their simplicity, and struck with their profundity. "Here only," was the open declaration of one so familiar with all the philosophers of antiquity—"Here only is found the true food of the soul." Hence he gladly responded to Luther's invitation, and thereafter the two friends spent many long hours together, in studying and translating the inspired Word. Often did they interrupt their laborious researches to give vent to their admiration. "Reason thinks," said Luther, "Oh, if I could only once hear God; to hear Him I would run to the end of the world . . . . Listen, then, O man, my brother! . . . . God, the creator of heaven and earth is speaking to you. . . ."

The printing of the New Testament was begun and carried on with unexampled zeal.<sup>2</sup> It seemed as if the workmen themselves felt the importance of the work which they were preparing. Three presses were employed, and ten thousand sheets were printed daily.<sup>3</sup>

At length, on the 21st September, appeared the complete edition of three thousand copies, in two volumes, folio, with this simple title: *The New Testament—German—Wittenberg*. It bore no human name. Every German could thenceforth procure the Word of God for a moderate sum.<sup>4</sup>

The new translation, written in the very spirit of the sacred books, in a language still recent, and displaying its many beauties for the first time, seized, enraptured, and deeply impressed the humblest of the people, as well as the most elevated classes. It was a national work; it was the people's book: it was more, it was truly the book of God. Even enemies could not withhold their approbation of this admirable work, while some indiscreet friends of the Reformation, struck with the beauty of the work, imagined that they beheld in it a second inspiration. This translation did more to propagate Christian piety than all the other writings of Luther. The work of the sixteenth century was thus placed on a basis which could not be shaken. The Bible given to the people brought back the human mind which for ages had been wandering in the tortuous labyrinth of scholastics, to the divine source of salvation. Accordingly the success of the work was prodigious. In a short

<sup>1</sup> Verum omnia nunc eliminare cœpimus Philippus et ego. (L. Ep. ii, 176.) But Philip and I now began to revise the whole.

<sup>2</sup> Ingenti labore et studio. (Ibid., p. 236.) With immense labour and study.

<sup>3</sup> Singulis diebus decies millia chartarum sub tribus prelis. (Ibid.)

<sup>4</sup> A florin and a half, about half-a-crown sterling.

<sup>4</sup> A florin and a half, about half-a-



time all the copies were disposed of. A second edition appeared in December, and, in 1533, seventeen editions of Luther's New Testament had been printed at Wittenberg; thirteen at Augsburg; twelve at Bale; one at Erfurth; one at Grimma; one at Leipsic; thirteen at Strasburg.<sup>1</sup> . . . Such were the mighty engines which lifted and transformed the Church and the world.

The first edition of the New Testament was still at press when Luther engaged in the translation of the Old Testament. This work, begun in 1522, was prosecuted without interruption. It was published in parts as it was finished, in order more rapidly to satisfy the impatience which was manifested in all quarters, and make it more easy for the poor to purchase it.

From Scripture and faith, two sources, which, in substance, are only one, evangelical life flowed, and is still diffused in the world. These two principles combated two fundamental errors; faith was opposed to the Pelagian tendency of Catholicism; Scripture, to the tradition and authority of Rome. Scripture led to faith and faith led back to Scripture. "Man cannot do any meritorious work: the free grace of God, which he receives by faith in Christ, alone saves him." Such was the doctrine proclaimed in Christendom; and the tendency of this doctrine was to urge Christians to the study of Scripture. In fact, if faith in Christ is every thing in Christianity—if the practices and ordinances of the Church are nothing—what we ought to adhere to is not the word of the Church but the word of Jesus Christ. The tie which unites to Christ will become all in all to the believer. What cares he for the external tie which unites him to an external Church enslaved to human opinions? . . . Thus, as the doctrine of the Bible had urged Luther's contemporaries towards Jesus Christ; so the love which they had for Jesus Christ in its turn urged them towards the Bible. They returned to Scripture, not as is imagined in our day, from a philosophical principle, from a feeling of doubt or a longing for investigation, but because they found in it the word of Him whom they loved. "You have preached Christ to us," said they to the Reformer, "enable us now to hear his own voice." And they eagerly laid hold of the sheets which were delivered to them as they would a letter come from heaven.

But if the Bible was thus joyfully received by those who loved Christ, it was repulsed with hatred by those who preferred the traditions and practices of men. Violent persecution awaited this work of the Reformer. On hearing of Luther's publication, Rome trembled. The pen which transcribed the sacred oracles was the realisation of that which the Elector Frederick had seen in his

<sup>1</sup> Gesch. d. deutsch. Bibel Uebersetz.



dream, and which, reaching as far as the seven hills, had caused the tiara of the papacy to totter. The monk in his cell and the prince on his throne sent forth a cry of rage. Ignorant priests shuddered at the thought that every citizen, every peasant even, would now be in a condition to debate with them on sacred subjects. The King of England denounced the work to the Elector Frederick, and Duke George of Saxony. But, previous to this, as early as November, the duke had enjoined all his subjects to deliver every copy of Luther's New Testament into the hands of the magistrates. Bavaria, Brandenburg, Austria, all the states devoted to Rome, issued similar decrees. In some towns a sacrilegious pile was erected, and the books were burnt in the market-place.<sup>1</sup> Thus, in the sixteenth century, Rome renewed the attempts by which Paganism had tried to destroy the religion of Jesus Christ at the moment when the empire was escaping from priests and their idols. But who can arrest the triumphant progress of the gospel? "Even since my prohibition," wrote Duke George, "several thousand copies have been sold and read in my States."

God, in diffusing his Word, made use of the very hands which were endeavouring to destroy it. The Catholic theologians, seeing it impossible to suppress the Reformer's work, published the New Testament in a translation of their own. It was Luther's translation, with occasional corrections by the editors. No objection was made to the reading of it. Rome knew not as yet that, wherever the Word of God is established, her power is in danger. Joachim of Brandenburg gave full permission to his subjects to read any translation of the Bible, Latin or German, provided it came not from Wittenberg. The inhabitants of Germany, those of Brandenburg in particular, thus made a rapid advance in the knowledge of the truth.

The publication of the New Testament constitutes an important epoch in the Reformation. If the marriage of Feldkirchen was the first step in passing from doctrine to practice, if the abolition of monastic vows was the second, if the establishment of the Lord's Supper was the third, the publication of the New Testament was perhaps the most important of all. It effected a complete change in society—not only in the presbytery of the priest, the cell of the monk, and the service of the Church, but also in the mansions of the great, and the dwellings both of the citizens in towns, and of the rural population. When the Bible began to be read in the households of Christendom, Christendom was changed. There were thenceforth new customs, new manners, new conversations, a new life. With the publication of the New Testament the Re-

<sup>1</sup> Qui et alicubi in unum congesti rogam publicum combusti sunt.

formation came forth from the school and the Church, and took possession of the firesides of the people.

The effect produced was immense. The Christianity of the primitive Church, brought forth by the publication of the Holy Scriptures from the oblivion into which it had fallen for ages, was thus presented to the eyes of the nation, and this fact is sufficient to justify the attacks which had been made upon Rome. The humblest individuals, provided they knew the German alphabet, women, and mechanics, (this is the account given by a contemporary, a great enemy of the Reformation,) read the New Testament with avidity.<sup>1</sup> Carrying it about with them, they soon knew it by heart, while its pages gave full demonstration of the perfect accordance between the Reformation of Luther and the Revelation of God.

Still it was only by piecemeal that the doctrine of the Bible and of the Reformation had till then been established. Some one truth had been established in this writing, and some one error attacked in that. The remains of the ancient edifice and the materials of the new lay scattered in confusion over a large space of ground; but the new edifice itself was still wanting. The publication of the New Testament was fitted to supply this want. The Reformation, on receiving this work, could say,—There is my system! But as every person is ready to maintain that the system he holds is that of the Bible, the Reformation behoved to give a systematic form to what she had found in Scripture: This Melancthon did in her name.

He had advanced with cautious but sure steps in his theological career, and had always boldly published the results of his enquiries. So early as 1520, he had declared that in several of the seven sacraments he saw only an imitation of Jewish ceremonies; and, in the infallibility of the pope, only an arrogant pretence, equally at variance with Scripture and common sense. "To combat these dogmas," said he, "we have need of more than one Hercules."<sup>2</sup> Thus Melancthon had arrived at the same point with Luther, though by a calmer and more scientific path. The moment had arrived when it behoved him in his turn to make a confession of his faith.

In 1521, during Luther's captivity, his celebrated work '*On the Common Places of Theology*,' had presented Christian Europe with a body of doctrine solidly based, and admirably proportioned. A simple and majestic system was exhibited to the astonished view

<sup>1</sup> Ut sutores, mulieres, et quilibet idiotæ . . . avidissime legerent. (Cochlæus, p. 50.) So that shoe-makers, women, and the most illiterate read with the greatest avidity.

<sup>2</sup> Adversus quas non uno nobis, ut ita dicam, Hercule opus est. (Corp. Ref. i, p. 137.)

of the new generation. The translation of the New Testament vindicated the Reformation to the common people: the *Common Places* of Melancthon vindicated it to the learned.

The Christian Church was fifteen centuries old, and no similar work had yet appeared. Abandoning the ordinary methods of scholastic theology, Luther's friend at length presented Christendom with a theological system derived solely from Scripture, and exhibiting a spirit of life and intellect, a force of truth and simplicity of expression in striking contrast with the subtle and pedantic systems of the schools. The most philosophical minds and the strictest theologians alike agreed in admiring it.

Erasmus described the work as a host set in admirable array against the pharisaical tyranny of false teachers;<sup>1</sup> and, while declaring that he did not agree with the author on all points, he added, that, though he had always loved him, he never loved him so much as after reading this work. "So true is it," says Calvin, at a later period, in introducing the work to France, "that, in treating Christian doctrine, the greatest simplicity is the greatest virtue."<sup>2</sup>

But none was so much overjoyed as Luther. This work was, through life, the object of his admiration. Those isolated sounds which, in the deep emotion of his soul, his quivering hand had drawn from the harp of the prophets and apostles, were here arranged in enrapturing harmony. Those scattered stones, which he had laboriously quarried out of the Sacred volume, were now formed into a majestic building. Hence he invariably recommended the reading of this work to the youths who came to prosecute their studies at Wittenberg, saying to them, "If you would be theologians, read Melancthon."<sup>3</sup>

According to Melancthon, a deep conviction of the misery to which man has been reduced by sin, is the basis on which the structure of Christian theology must be reared. This incalculable calamity is the primary fact, the generating idea in theological science, the characteristic which distinguishes it from all sciences which have reason only for their instrument.

The Christian theologian, probing to the very bottom of man's heart, explained its laws and mysterious attractions, as the philosopher of a later period explained the laws and attractions of bodies. "Original sin," said he, "is an inclination born with us, a kind of

<sup>1</sup> Video dogmatum aciem pulchre instructam adversus tyrannidem pharisaicam. (Er. Ep. p. 949.) I see an array of doctrine admirably drawn up against pharisaical tyranny.

<sup>2</sup> La Somme de Théologie, par Philippe Melancthon. (Genève, 1521. Jehan Calvin aux lecteurs.)

<sup>3</sup> He elsewhere terms it "Librum invictum non solum immortalitate sed et canone ecclesiastico dignum." (De servo arbitrio.) An unanswerable work; worthy not only of immortality, but of the Sacred canon.



impulse which is pleasing to us, a kind of force which draws us into sin, and which has been transmitted by Adam to all his posterity. As there is in fire a native force which carries it upward, as there is in the magnet a natural power to attract steel, so there is in man a primary force disposing him to evil. I acknowledge that Socrates, Xenocrates, and Zeno, displayed constancy, temperance, and chastity: these shadows of virtue existed in impure minds, they proceeded from the love of self, and hence they must be regarded not as genuine virtues, but as vices."<sup>1</sup> These words may seem harsh; but they are so only when we misapprehend Melancthon's meaning. None was more disposed than he to recognise in the heathen virtues deserving of human esteem; but he laid down this great truth, that the sovereign law given by God to all his creatures is, to love him above all things. Now if man, in doing what God commands, does it, not from love to God, but from love to self, will God approve of his presuming to prefer himself to his infinite majesty, and will there be nothing vicious in an act containing indirect rebellion against his supremacy?

The theologian of Wittenberg afterwards shows how man is saved from this wretchedness. "The apostle," says he, "calls you to contemplate the Son of God on the right hand of his Father, as a powerful Mediator who intercedes for us; and he asks you to be assured that your sins are forgiven, and that you are accounted righteous, and received by the Father for the sake of his Son, offered as a victim on the cross."<sup>2</sup>

What makes this first edition of the *Common Places* particularly remarkable, is the manner in which the theologian of Germany speaks of free will. He perceives, perhaps, still more clearly than Luther had done, being more of a theologian than he, that this doctrine could not be separated from that which constituted the essence of the Reformation. The justification of man, before God, proceeds only from faith: this is the first point. This faith is produced in man's heart only by the grace of God: this is the second point. Melancthon is well aware that, by conceding to man any natural ability to believe, the great doctrine of grace established in the first point, will be destroyed in the second. He had too much discrimination and knowledge of the Scriptures to be mistaken in so weighty a matter. But he went too far. Instead of confining himself within the limits of the religious question, he takes up the metaphysical question, maintaining a fatalism,

<sup>1</sup> *Loci communes theologici*. Basil, 1521, p. 35. This edition is very rare. For the latter revisions, see the edition of Erlangen, 1528, formed in that of Bale, 1561.

<sup>2</sup> *Vult te intueri Filium Dei sedentem ad dextram Patris, mediatorem interpellantem, pro nobis*, (*Ibid.*) He wishes them to contemplate the Son of God sitting on the right hand of the Father, as a Mediator interceding for us.



which might cause God to be regarded as the author of evil, and which, consequently, has no foundation in Scripture. "All that happens," said he, "happening necessarily according to divine predestination, it is evident that our will has no liberty."<sup>1</sup>

But the object which Melancthon had especially in view, was to present theology as a system of godliness. The schoolmen had frittered doctrine away until they deprived it of life. The Reformer's task, therefore, was to bring it back to life. In subsequent editions, Melancthon saw the necessity of giving a clear exposition of doctrine.<sup>2</sup> But the case was somewhat different in 1521. "To know Christ," said he, "is to know his benefits. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, when wishing to give a summary of Christian doctrine, does not philosophise on the mystery of the Trinity, on the mode of the incarnation, on creation, action, and passion, etc. Of what, then, does he speak? Of the law—of sin—of grace. On these the knowledge of Christ depends."<sup>3</sup>

The publication of this system of doctrine was of inestimable service to the cause of the gospel. Calumny was refuted, and prejudice subdued. In churches, courts, and universities, Melancthon was admired for his genius, and loved for the beauties of his character. Even those who did not know the author were won to his creed by his work. Several had been repulsed by the harshness and occasional violence of Luther's language; but here was a man who, with great elegance of style, exquisite taste, admirable clearness, and the most exact method, expounded the powerful truths which had suddenly burst forth and shaken the world. The work was in general request, was read with avidity, and studied with ardour. So much meekness and modesty won all hearts. So much nobleness and force subdued them; while the upper classes of society, till then undecided, were gained by a wisdom which expressed itself in such beautiful language.

On the other hand, the enemies of the truth, whom Luther's formidable blows had not struck down, remained for some time mute and disconcerted after the appearance of Melancthon's Treatise. It told them that there was another man as worthy of their hatred as Luther. "Alas!" they exclaimed, "unhappy Germany! to what extremities must this new birth reduce you?"<sup>4</sup>

From 1521 to 1595, seventy-seven editions of the *Common*

<sup>1</sup> Quando quidem omnia quæ eveniunt, necessario eveniunt juxta divinam prædestinationem, nulla est voluntatis nostræ libertas. (Loc. comm. theol. Bale, 1521, p. 35.)

<sup>2</sup> See in the edition of 1561, reprinted in 1829, pages 14 to 44, the chapters entitled:—De tribus personis:—De divinitate Filii:—De duabus naturis in Christo:—Testimonia quod Filius sit persona:—Testimonia refutantia Arianos:—De discernendis proprietatibus humanæ et divinæ nature Christi:—De Spiritu sancto, etc. etc.

<sup>3</sup> Hoc est Christianum cognoscere, beneficia ejus cognoscere, etc. (Ibid.) <sup>4</sup> Heu! infelicem hoc novo partu Germaniam! . . . Cochl.)

*Places* appeared, without counting translations. After the Bible, it is, perhaps, the book which contributed most powerfully to the establishment of evangelical doctrine.

## CHAPTER X.

Opposition—Henry VIII.—Wolsey—The Queen—Fisher—Thomas More—Luther's Books burnt—Henry attacks Luther—Presentation to the Pope—Effect on Luther—Force and violence—His book—Reply of the Bishop of Rochester—Reply by More—Step by the King.

While the "grammarian," Melancthon, was by his mild accents giving such effectual aid to Luther, men in power, hostile to the Reformer, were turning with violence against him. Escaped from the Wartburg, he had again appeared on the stage of the world, and at the news his old enemies had resumed all their rage.

Luther had been three months and a half at Wittemberg, when rumour, with all its exaggerations, brought him the news that one of the greatest kings of Christendom had risen up against him. The head of the house of the Tudors, a prince, uniting in his person the houses both of York and Lancaster, and on whose head, after torrents of blood had been shed, the red rose and the white rose were at length combined,—Henry VIII, the powerful king of England, who aspired to re-establish the ancient influence of his crown on the continent, and especially in France, had just composed a book against the poor monk of Wittemberg. In a letter to Lange, 26th June, 1522, Luther writes, "A great boast is made of a little book by the king of England."<sup>1</sup>

Henry VIII was then thirty-one years of age: "he was tall, strong-built, and proportioned, and had an air of authority and empire;"<sup>2</sup> his features expressing the vigour of his intellect. Of a vehement temper, determined to make every thing bend to the violence of his passions, and thirsting for glory, he at first concealed his faults under a kind of boisterousness common to youth, and was surrounded by flatterers who encouraged them. He often repaired with his band of favourites to the house of his chaplain, Thomas Wolsey, son of a butcher of Ipswich. This man, gifted with great abilities, of an excessive ambition, and an arro-

<sup>1</sup> *Jactant libellum regis Angliæ; sed leum illum suspicor sub pelle tectum.* (L. Ep. ii, p. 213.) They boast of a little book by the king of England, but I suspect a lion (play upon the name Lee, Henry's chaplain) hid under his skin. <sup>2</sup> Collier's Recl. Hist. of Great Britain, fol. ii, p. 1.

gance which knew no bounds, being patronised by the bishop of Winchester, chancellor of the kingdom, had rapidly advanced in the favour of his master, whom he attracted to his house by the seduction of pleasures and irregularities, in which the young prince would not have ventured to indulge in his own palace. Such is the account given by Polydore Virgil, at that time the pope's sub-collector in England.<sup>1</sup> At these licentious meetings the chaplain outstripped the young courtiers who accompanied Henry VIII. He was seen forgetting the gravity of a minister of the altar, singing, dancing, laughing, frolicking, using obscene language, and fencing.<sup>2</sup> In this way he soon obtained the first place in the king's council, and governing the kingdom with absolute sway, was courted by all the princes of Christendom.

Henry, living in a round of balls, festivities, and jousts, foolishly squandered the treasures which had been slowly amassed by the avarice of his father. Magnificent tournaments succeeded each other without interruption. The king, who, in manly beauty, surpassed all the combatants,<sup>3</sup> invariably took the lead. If, for an instant, the contest appeared doubtful, the dexterity and strength of the prince, or the adroit policy of those opposed to him, assured him the victory; and the arena resounded with shouts of applause. The vanity of the young prince was inflated by these easy triumphs; and there was no species of success to which he did not think himself entitled to aspire. The queen was occasionally present among the spectators. Her grave figure, her downcast look, her sedate and melancholy air, contrasted with the boisterous sounds of these festivities. Henry VIII, shortly after his accession to the throne, had, for reasons of state, married Catherine of Arragon, who was five years older than himself, the widow of his brother, Arthur, and aunt to Charles V. While her husband was giving himself up to pleasure, the virtuous Catherine, with a piety truly Spanish, rose at midnight to take silent part in the prayers of the monks.<sup>4</sup> She threw herself upon her knees, without cushion or carpet. At five o'clock in the morning, after a short repose, she was again up: she was clad in the habit of St.

<sup>1</sup> *Domi suæ voluptatum omnium sacrarium fecit, quo regem frequenter ducebat* (Polyd. Virgilius, Angl. Hist. Bale, 1570, fol. p. 635.) He made his house the abode of voluptuousness, and often led the king thither. Polydore Virgil had apparently suffered from Wolsey's pride, and been hence disposed to exaggerate the misdeeds of this minister.

<sup>2</sup> *Cum illis adolescentibus una psallebat, saltabat, sermones leporis plenos habebat, ridebat, jocabatur.* (Ibid.) <sup>3</sup> *Eximia corporis forma præditus, in qua etiam regię majestatis augusta quædam species elucebat.* (Sanderus de Schismate Anglicano, p. 4.) The work of Sanders, papal nuncio in Ireland, must be read with caution: for false and calumnious assertions are not wanting in it, as has been observed, even by Cardinal Quirini and the Roman Catholic Dr. Lingard. (See Hist. of England, by latter, t. vi, p. 173.) <sup>4</sup> *Surgebat media nocte ut nocturnis religiosorum precibus interesset.* (Sander. p. 5.)



Francis, for she had entered the tertiary order of this saint; then, hastily covering it with royal vestments,<sup>1</sup> she repaired to the church at six, to the holy offices.

Two beings, living in two such different worlds, could not remain long united.

Romish piety, however, had other representatives besides Catherine, at the court of Henry VIII. John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, on the borders of seventy, equally distinguished by his learning and the purity of his morals, was the object of general veneration. He had been the oldest counsellor of Henry VII, and the Duchess of Richmond, the grandmother of Henry VIII, when on her death-bed, had sent for Fisher and recommended to his care the youth and inexperience of her grandson. Amidst his irregularities the king long venerated the bishop as a father.

A man much younger than Fisher, a layman and lawyer, had begun to attract general attention by his genius and the nobleness of his character. He was named Thomas More, and was the son of a judge of the King's Bench. Poor, austere, indefatigable in exertion, he had endeavoured at twenty to extinguish the passions of youth, by wearing a hair shirt and subjecting himself to discipline. One day, when attending mass, being sent for by the king, he replied, that the service of God must take precedence of that of his majesty. Wolsey brought him under the notice of Henry VIII, who employed him on different embassies, and vowed to have a great affection for him. He often sent for him and conversed with him about the planets, Wolsey, and theology.

In fact, the king himself was no stranger to the Romish doctrines. It would even appear that, if Arthur had lived, Henry would have been destined to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. Thomas Aquinas, St. Bonaventura;<sup>2</sup> tournaments, festivals; Elizabeth Blunt, and other mistresses besides, all mingled in the thoughts and actions of this prince, who caused masses of his own composition to be chanted in his chapel.

As soon as Henry VIII heard of Luther, his wrath was kindled against him; and scarcely was the decree of the Diet of Worms known in England, when he ordered the papal bull to be executed against the Reformer's books.<sup>3</sup> On the 12th May, 1521, Thomas Wolsey, who, to the office of Chancellor of England, united those of Cardinal and Roman legate, repaired to St. Paul's in solemn procession. This man, whose pride knew no bounds, thought him-

<sup>1</sup> Sub regio vestitu *Divi Francisci* habitu utebatur. (Sander., p. 5.)

<sup>2</sup> Legebat studioso libris divi Thomæ Aquinatis. (Polyd. Virgil, p. 634.) He studiously read the books of Thomas Aquinas.

<sup>3</sup> Primum libros Lutheranos, quorum magis jam numerus pervenerat in manus suorum Anglorum, comburendos curavit. (Ibid. 664.) His first care was to burn Luther's books, a great number of which were in the hands of his subjects.



self the equal of kings. His chair was of gold, his bed of gold, and cloth of gold covered the table at which he dined.<sup>1</sup> On this occasion he displayed great pomp. The haughty prelate walked, surrounded by his household, consisting of eight hundred individuals, among whom were barons, knights, and cadets of the most distinguished families, who hoped by serving him to obtain public appointments. Gold and silk were not only conspicuous on his dress, (he was the first ecclesiastic who had ventured to clothe so sumptuously,<sup>2</sup>) but also on the trappings and harness of his horses. Before him a priest of a stately figure carried a rod, surrounded by a crucifix; behind him another, no less stately, carried the archiepiscopal cross of York: a nobleman walking at his side carried his cardinal's hat.<sup>3</sup> He was attended by nobles, prelates, ambassadors of the pope and the emperor, and these were followed by a long train of mules, carrying trunks with the richest and most splendid coverings. At London, amidst this magnificent procession, the writings of the poor monk of Wittemberg were carried to the flames. On arriving at the cathedral, the proud priest made even his cardinal's hat be placed upon the altar. The virtuous Bishop of Rochester took his station at the foot of the cross, and there, in an animated tone, inveighed against heresy. The impious writings of the heresiarch were then brought forward and devoutly burned in presence of an immense crowd. Such was the first news which England received of the Reformation.

Henry did not choose to stop here. This prince, whose sword was ever raised against his enemies, his wives, and his favourites, in a letter to the Elector Palatine thus expresses himself, "It is the devil who, by Luther as his organ, has kindled this immense conflagration. If Luther will not be converted, let the flames consume him and his writings."<sup>4</sup>

Even this was not enough. Henry, convinced that the progress of heresy was owing to the ignorance of the German princes, thought that the moment was come for displaying all his learning. The conquests of his battle-axe allowed him not to doubt of the conquests reserved for his pen. But another passion still—one which is always strong in little minds—vanity, spurred on the king. He felt humbled at having no title to oppose those of "Catholic" and "Most Christian," borne by the kings of Spain and France, and he was long a suppliant at the Romish court for a similar distinction. What better fitted to procure such a title than an attack upon

<sup>1</sup> Ut sella aurea, ut pulvino aureo, ut velo aureo ad mensam. (Ibid.)

<sup>2</sup> Primus episcoporum et cardinalium, vestitum exteriorem sericum sibi induit. (Ibid. p. 633.)

<sup>3</sup> Galerum cardinalium, ordinis insignem, sublime a ministro præferebat . . . super altare collocabat. (Ibid. p. 645.) The cardinal's hat, the badge of his rank, was carried aloft by a servant . . . and placed on the altar.

<sup>4</sup> Knapp's *Nachlese*, ii, p. 458.

heresy? Henry, therefore, threw aside the royal purple, and descended from his lofty throne into the arena of theologians. He made a compilation from Thomas Aquinas, Peter Lombard, Alexander Hales, and Bonaventure, and the world beheld the publication of the *Defence of the Seven Sacraments against Martin Luther, by the most invincible King of England, France, and Ireland, Henry, Eighth of the name.*

"I will throw myself before the Church," said the King of England in this writing, "I will receive in my breast the poisoned darts of the enemy who is assailing her.<sup>1</sup> To this the present state of affairs calls me. Every servant of Jesus Christ, whatever be his age, rank, or sex, must bestir himself against the common enemy of Christendom."<sup>2</sup>

"Let us arm ourselves with double armour—with heavenly weapons, that by the arms of truth we may vanquish him who combats with the arms of error. But let us also arm ourselves with terrestrial armour, in order that, if he proves obstinate in his wickedness, the hand of the executioner may constrain him to silence; and he may thus, for once at least, be useful to the world by his exemplary punishment."<sup>3</sup>

Henry VIII could not conceal the contempt which he felt for his able opponent. "This man," said the crowned theologian, "seems as if he were in labour: he makes incredible efforts, but only brings forth wind.<sup>4</sup> Pluck off the dress of arrogant expression in which his absurdities are clothed, just as an ape is clothed in purple, and what will remain? . . . Miserable, empty sophistry!"

The king defends, in succession, the mass, penance, confirmation, orders, and extreme unction. He spares no insulting epithets, calling his opponent by turns an infernal wolf, a venomous viper, a limb of the devil. Even Luther's honesty is assailed. Henry VIII crushes the mendicant monk with his royal anger, and, in the words of a historian, "writes as 'twere with his sceptre."<sup>5</sup>

Still, however, it must be admitted, the work was not bad for the author and his age. The style is not without vigour. But the public could not content themselves with merely doing it justice. A burst of applause received the theological treatise of the powerful king of England. "The most learned work that ever the sun saw,"<sup>6</sup> exclaimed some. "It deserves," rejoined others, "to be compared with the works of St. Augustin. He is a Constantine,

<sup>1</sup> Meque adversus venenata jacula hostis eam oppugnantis objicerem (*Assertio septem sacramentorum adv. M. Lutherum*, in prologo.)

<sup>2</sup> Omnis Christi servus, omnis ætas, omnis sexus, omnis ordo consurgat. (*Ibid.*)

<sup>3</sup> Et qui nocuit verbo malitiæ, supplicii prosit exemplo. (*Ibid.*)

<sup>4</sup> Mirum est quanto nixu parturiens, quam nihil peperit, nisi merum ventum. (*Ibid.*)

<sup>5</sup> Collier. *Eccl. Hist. Gr. Br.*, p. 17.

<sup>6</sup> Burnet, *Hist. of the Ref. of England*, i, p. 30.

a Charlemagne." "He is more," exclaimed a third party, "he is a second Solomon!"

These exclamations were soon heard beyond the limits of England. Henry desired the Dean of Windsor, John Clarke, his ambassador to the pope, to deliver his book to the sovereign pontiff. Leo X received the ambassador in full consistory. Clarke, in presenting the royal work, said, "The king, my master, assures you that, after refuting the errors of Luther with his pen, he is ready to combat his adherents with the sword." Leo X, deeply gratified with this promise, replied that the book of the king of England could only have been composed with the aid of the Holy Spirit, and named Henry "*Defender of the Faith*," a title which the kings of England still bear.

The reception given to the king's work at Rome contributed greatly to its circulation. In a few months several thousands of copies issued from different presses.<sup>1</sup> "The whole Christian world," says Cochleus, "was filled with admiration and joy."<sup>2</sup>

These extravagant praises increased the vanity of the Chief of the Tudors. He was brought to fancy he had written with some degree of inspiration.<sup>3</sup> Afterwards he would not submit to the least contradiction. To him the papacy was no longer at Rome but at Greenwich, and infallibility rested on his own head. At a later period this contributed greatly to the Reformation of England.

Luther read Henry's book with mingled disdain, impatience, and indignation. The falsehood and insults which it contained, but especially the air of contempt and pity affected by the king, irritated the doctor of Wittenberg in the highest degree. The thought that the pope had crowned the writing, and that the enemies of the Gospel were everywhere trampling on the Reformation and the Reformer, as already overthrown and vanquished, increased his indignation. Besides, what occasion had he for delicacy? Was he not fighting for a king greater than all the kings of the earth? Evangelical mildness seemed to him out of season: eye for eye, tooth for tooth. He kept no measure. Pursued, goaded, tracked, and wounded, the raging lion turned round and prepared to tear his enemy. The Elector, Spalatin, Melancthon, and Bugenhagen, tried in vain to appease him. They would have prevented him from replying, but he was not to be stopped. "I will not deal mildly with the King of England;" said he, "it is in vain, (I know it is,) to humble myself, to yield, beseech, and try the ways of peace. I will at length show myself more terrible than the ferocious beasts who are constantly butting me with their horns. I will

<sup>1</sup> *Intra paucos menses, liber ejus a multis chalcographis in multa millia multiplicatus.* (Cochleus, p. 44.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ut totum orbem christianum et gaudio et admiratione repleverit.* (Ibid.)

<sup>3</sup> Burnet's Preface.



let them feel mine: I will preach and irritate Satan until he wears himself out, and falls down exhausted.”<sup>1</sup> If this heretic retracts not, says the new Thomas, Henry VIII, he must be burnt. Such are the weapons now employed against me: first, the fury of stupid asses and Thomastical swine, and then the fire.<sup>2</sup> Very well! Let these swine come forward, if they dare, and burn me! Here I am, waiting for them. My wish is, that my ashes, thrown after my death into a thousand seas, may arise, pursue, and engulf this abominable crew. Living, I will be the enemy of the papacy: burnt, I will be its destruction! Go, swine of St. Thomas, do what seemeth to you good. You shall ever find Luther as a bear in your way, and a lion in your path. He will thunder upon you from all quarters, and leave you no peace until he has brayed your brains of iron, and ground to powder your foreheads of brass.”

At the outset Luther upbraids Henry VIII with having based his doctrines only on the decrees and sentences of men. “For me,” says he, “I cease not to cry, the Gospel! the Gospel!—Christ! Christ! while my opponents cease not to reply—Customs! Customs!—Ordinances! Ordinances!—Fathers! Fathers! “*Let your faith,*” says St. Paul, “*stand not in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.*” And the apostle, by this thunderbolt from heaven, overthrows and scatters, like the dust before the wind, all the silly crotchets of this Henry. In confusion and consternation the Thomists, the papists, and the Henrys fell to the ground, before the thunder of these words.”<sup>3</sup>

He afterwards refutes the king's production in detail, overthrowing his arguments, one by one, with clearness, ability, and a thorough knowledge of the Holy Scriptures and the history of the Church, but also with a confidence, disdain, and occasionally a violence at which we must not be surprised.

On arriving at the conclusion, Luther again expresses indignation at his opponent for drawing arguments only from the fathers: this was the essence of the whole controversy. “To all the sayings of fathers, men, angels, devils,” says he, “I oppose not the antiquity of custom, not the multitude, but the Word of the Eternal Majesty, the Gospel, which they themselves are constrained to approve. By it I hold; on it I rest; in it I glory, triumph, and exult over papists, Thomists, Henrys, and all the hellish styce.”<sup>4</sup> The King

<sup>1</sup> Mea in ipsos exercebo cornua, irritaturus Satanam, donec effusus viribus et conatibus corruat in se ipso. (L. Ep. ii, p. 236.)

<sup>2</sup> Ignis et furor insulsissimorum asinorum et Thomisticorum porcorum. (Contra Henricum Regem, Op. (L.) ii, p. 331.) This tract occasionally reminds us of the great agitator of Ireland, only there is more strength and mildness in the orator of the sixteenth than in that of the nineteenth century. (See the British Critic, Nov. 1835, Art. Reign of O'Connell.)

“Soaped swine of civilised society,” etc., p. 30. <sup>3</sup> Confusi et prostrati jacent a facie verborum istius tonitru. (Contra Henricum regem. Op. (L.) ii, p. 336.)

<sup>4</sup> Hic sto, hic sedeo, hic maneo, hic glorior, hic triumpho, hic insulto papistis . .



of Heaven is with me, and therefore I fear nothing even should a thousand Augustins, a thousand Cyprians, and a thousand churches, of which Henry is the defender, rise up against me. It is a small matter for me to despise and lash an earthly king who himself has not feared, in his writing, to blaspheme the King of Heaven and profane his holiness by the most audacious falsehood.<sup>2</sup>

"Papists," exclaims he, in concluding, "will you not desist from your vain pursuits? Do as you please: the result, however, must be, that before the Gospel which I, Martin Luther, have preached, popes, bishops, priests, monks, princes, devils, death, sin, and whatever is not Jesus Christ, or in Jesus Christ, shall fall and perish."<sup>3</sup>

Thus spoke the poor monk. His violence, certainly, cannot be excused, if it is judged by the rule to which he himself appeals, viz., the Word of God. We cannot even justify it by alleging either the coarseness of the age—for Melancthon was able to discover his courtesy in his writings—or the energy of his disposition, for, if this energy had some effect on his language, passion had still more. The best course, therefore, is not to attempt to defend it. However, to be just, let it be observed, that in the sixteenth century this violence did not seem so strange as it appears in the present day. The learned were then one of the existing powers as well as princes. Henry had attacked Luther by becoming an author. Luther replied conformably to the law received in the Republic of Letters, viz., that the thing to be considered is the truth of what is said, and not the quality of him who says it. Let us also add, that when this very king turned against the pope, the insults which he received from the Romish writers, and the pope himself, far exceeded anything that had been said by Luther.

Besides, if Luther called doctor Eck an ass, and Henry VIII a hog, he indignantly rejected the intervention of the secular arm, whereas Dr. Eck wrote a dissertation to prove that heretics ought to be burned: and Henry erected scaffolds agreeably to the precepts of the doctor of Ingolstadt.

A deep sensation was produced at the king's court. Surrey, Wolsey, and the tribe of courtiers broke off the pomps and festivities of Greenwich, to vent their indignation in contumely and sarcasm. The venerable bishop of Rochester, who had been delighted when he saw the young prince, who had been early committed to his charge, breaking a lance for the Church, was deeply wounded by the monk's attack, and immediately replied to it. His words are very characteristic of his time and his Church.

(Contra Henricum regem. Op. (L.) ii, p. 342.) Here I stand, here I sit, here I remain, here I glory, here I triumph, here I trample on the papists.

<sup>1</sup> Nec magnum si ego regem terræ contemno. (Ibid., p. 344, verso.)

<sup>2</sup> L. Op

Leipz. xviii, p. 209.

"Catch for us the small foxes that spoil the vines, says Christ in the Song of Songs. This shows," says Fisher, "that we must lay hands on heretics before they grow up. Now Luther has become a great fox,—a fox so old, and cunning, and malicious, that it is very difficult to catch him. What do I say? a fox! . . . he is a mad dog, a ravening wolf, a cruel bear, or rather all these animals at once; for the monster has several beasts in his bosom."<sup>1</sup>

Thomas More also descended into the arena to encounter the monk of Wittemberg. Although a layman, he pushed his zeal against the Reformation the length of fanaticism, if he did not push it the length of blood. When young noblemen undertake the defence of the papacy, their violence often outstrips that of ecclesiastics themselves. "Reverend brother, father, drunkard, deserter of the Augustin order, mi shapen bacchanalian as to both kinds of law, untaught teacher of sacred theology."<sup>2</sup> Such are the terms addressed to the Reformer by one of the most illustrious men of his time. Then explaining the mode in which Luther has composed his book against Henry, he says, "He called together his companions, and asked each to go his way, and rummage for buffoonery and insult. One went to waggoners and boatmen, another to baths and gambling houses, a third to barbers' shops and taverns, a fourth to mills and brothels. Every thing they heard most insolent, filthy, and infamous, they noted down, and bringing it back, threw it into that impure sink called the mind of Luther." "If he retracts his lies and calumnies," he continues, "if he lays aside his folly and fury, if he again swallows his abominations,<sup>3</sup> he will find some one to debate gravely with him. But if he continues as he has begun, jesting, raging, playing the mountebank, slandering, vomiting nothing but filth,<sup>4</sup> . . . then let others do as they will; for us, we prefer leaving the little friar alone with his fury and his filth."<sup>5</sup> Thomas More had better have reserved his own. Luther had never stooped so low in his style. He made no reply.

This production increased Henry's attachment to More. He once paid him a visit in his modest dwelling at Chelsea. After dinner, the king walked with him in his garden, with his arm resting on the shoulder of his favourite, while Lady More and her children, concealed behind the lattice, could not withdraw their astonished eyes. After one of these walks, More, who knew Henry's character,

<sup>1</sup> Canem dixissem rabidum, imo lupum rapacissimum, aut sævissimam quamdam ursam. (Cochlæus, p. 60.)

<sup>2</sup> Reverendus frater, pater, potator, Lutherus. (Ibid., p. 61.)

<sup>3</sup> Si . . . suas resorbeat et sua relingat stercora. (Ibid., p. 62.)

<sup>4</sup> Sentinas, eloacas, latrinas . . . stercora. (Ibid., p. 63.)

<sup>5</sup> Cum suis . . . et stercoribus . . . relinquere. (Ibid., p. 62.) Cochlæus quotes these passages exultingly, as being, to his taste, the finest in Sir Thomas More's production. M. Nisard, on the contrary, in his work on More, whose apology he makes with so much warmth and learning, admits "that the filth inspired by the passion of the Catholic is such as to render translation impossible." (Revue des deux Mondes, v, p. 592.)

said to his wife, "If my head could gain him a single castle in France, he would never hesitate."

The king, thus defended by the Bishop of Rochester and his future chancellor, had no occasion to resume his pen. Confounded at seeing himself treated in the face of Europe as a mere author, Henry abandoned the dangerous position he had taken up, and throwing away his theological pen, had recourse to the more efficacious methods of diplomacy.

An ambassador set off from the court at Greenwich with a letter from the king to the Elector and the Dukes of Saxony. Henry thus expressed himself: "Luther, the true dragon fallen from heaven, is pouring out his venomous floods on the earth. He is stirring up revolt in the Church of Jesus Christ, abolishing the laws, insulting the powers, exciting laymen against priests, laymen and priests against the pope, and subjects against kings, his only wish being to see Christians fighting together and destroying each other, and the enemies of our faith grinning with delight over the scene of carnage."<sup>1</sup>

"What is this doctrine which he terms evangelical but the doctrine of Wickliffe? Now, most honoured uncles, I know what your ancestors did to destroy it. They pursued it in Bohemia as if it had been a wild beast, and causing it to fall into a trap, there enclosed and barricaded it. You will not allow it to escape by your negligence, steal into Saxony, and take possession of all Germany, sending forth from its fuming nostrils the fire of hell, and spreading far and wide the conflagration which your country so often desired to extinguish in its blood."<sup>2</sup>

"Wherefore, most excellent friends, I feel myself called to exhort you, and even to implore you by all that is most sacred, speedily to strangle the cursed sect of Luther. Put no one to death if it can possibly be avoided; but if heretical obstinacy continues, shed blood without fear in order that this abominable sect may cease from under heaven."<sup>3</sup>

The Elector and his brother referred the king to the future Council. Thus Henry was far from succeeding in his object. "So great a man mingling in the dispute," says Paul Sarpi, "served to excite more curiosity and procure universal favour for Luther, as usually happens in combats and tournaments, where the spectators always incline to the weakest party, and take pleasure in giving a higher place to his humble exploits."

<sup>1</sup> So ergießt er, gleich wie eine Schlange vom Himmel geworfen. (L. Op. xviii, p. 212.) The original is in Latin—*Velut a cœlo dejectus serpens, virus effundit in terras.*

<sup>2</sup> Und durch sein schädlich Anblasen das höllische Feuer aussprühe. (Ibid., p. 213.)

<sup>3</sup> Oder aber auch mit Blut vergiessen. (Ibid.)

<sup>4</sup> History of the Council of Trent, pp. 15, 16.



## CHAP. XI.

General Movement—The Monks—How the Reformation is Accomplished—Ordinary Believers—The Old and the New Teachers—Printing and Literature—Booksellers and Hawkers.

In fact, an immense movement was taking place. The Reformation which, after the Diet of Worms was supposed to be shut up with its first teacher within the narrow chamber of a strong castle, burst forth, spreading throughout the empire, and even throughout Christendom. The two parties, till then confounded, began to stand apart from each other, and the partisans of a monk who had nothing on his side but his eloquence, fearlessly took up their position confronting the servants of Charles V, and Leo X. Luther had just quitted the walls of the Wartburg, the pope had excommunicated all who had adhered to him, the imperial diet had condemned his doctrine, princes were hastening to crush it in the greater part of the Germanic States, the ministers of Rome were tearing it to pieces before the people by their violent invectives, the other states of Christendom were calling upon Germany to sacrifice an enemy, whose attacks they dreaded even at a distance; and yet this new and not numerous party, without organisation, without connecting ties, with nothing, in short, to concentrate the common strength, had already, by the energy of their faith and the rapidity of their conquests, spread terror over the vast, ancient, and mighty domain of Rome. Every where, as in the first breathings of Spring, the seed was seen bursting forth from the ground without effort, and, as it were, spontaneously. Every day gave evidence of new progress. Individuals, villages, burghs, whole towns, united in the new confession of the name of Jesus Christ. There was stern resistance and dreadful persecution; but the mysterious power which urged forward the people was irresistible, and the persecuted hastening on and advancing, amid exile, imprisonment, and scaffolds, were every where succeeding against the persecutors.

The monastic orders, which Rome had stretched over Christendom, like a net destined to take souls and hold them captive, were the first to break these bonds, and rapidly propagate the new doctrine throughout the Western Church. The Augustins of Saxony had advanced with Luther, having, like him, that intimate experience of the divine Word which gives an interest in God himself, and so dispenses with Rome and her arrogant pretensions. But in the other convents of the order, evangelical light had also arisen. Sometimes it was old men who, like Staupitz, had preserved the sound



doctrines of truth in the bosom of ill-used Christendom, and were now asking God to let them depart in peace because their eyes had seen his salvation. At other times, it was young men who, with all the eagerness of early life, had received the lessons of Luther. At Nuremberg, Osnabruck, Dettingen, Ratisbon, Hesse, Wurtemberg, Strasburg, Antwerp, the Augustin convents turned towards Christ, and by their courage provoked the wrath of Rome.

But the movement was not confined to the Augustins. They were imitated in the monasteries of the other orders by bold individuals, who, in spite of the clamour of such monks as were unwilling to abandon their carnal observances, in spite of wrath, contempt, and sentences of condemnation, in spite of discipline and cloistral prisons, fearlessly raised their voice for this holy and precious truth, which, after so many painful searches, so many distressing doubts, so many internal struggles, they had found at last. In the greater part of the cloisters, the most spiritually minded, the most pious and best informed of the inmates declared in favour of Reform. In the Franciscan convent at Ulm, Eberlin and Kettenbach attacked the servile works of monachism, and the superstitious practices of the Church, with an eloquence which might have carried a nation, calling, in one breath, for the suppression of the abodes of monks and the abodes of debauchery. Stephen Kemp, another Franciscan, standing alone, preached the gospel at Hamburg, and with undaunted breast, withstood the hatred, envy, menaces, snares, and attacks of priests, irritated when they saw the people forsaking their altars and crowding with enthusiasm to his sermons.<sup>1</sup>

Often even the heads of convents were the first to move in the direction of Reform. At Halberstadt, Neuenwerk, Halle, and Sagan, the priors set their monks the example, or at least declared that if any monk felt his conscience burdened by monastic vows, so far from detaining him in the convent, they would take him on their shoulders to carry him out.<sup>2</sup>

In fact, throughout Germany, monks were seen depositing their frocks and cowls at the door of their monastery. Some were expelled by the violence of the friars or abbots; others of a mild and pacific character could not endure the disputes which were perpetually springing up, the insult, clamour, and hatred which pursued them even in their sleep. The majority were convinced that the monastic life was opposed to the will of God and the Christian life. Some had arrived gradually at this conviction, and others

<sup>1</sup> Der ubrigen Prediger Feindschaft, Neid, Nachstellungen, Praticken und Schrecken. (Seckendorf, p. 457.)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 811. Stentzel Script. Rer. S. es, i, p. 457.

all at once while reading some passage of the Bible. Idleness, coarseness, ignorance, and meanness, the essential characteristics of the mendicant orders, produced ineffable disgust in men of an exalted spirit, who felt it impossible any longer to endure the company of their vulgar associates. A Franciscan begging his round presented himself one day, with his box in his hand, at a smithy in Nuremberg, "Why," said the smith to him, "do you not rather gain your bread by working with your own hands? At these words the sturdy monk threw away his dress, and seizing the hammer with a vigorous hand, made it fall with force on the anvil. The useless mendicant had become an honest mechanic. His box and frock were sent back to the monastery.<sup>1</sup>

Nor were monks the only persons who ranged themselves under the standard of the gospel; priests in still greater numbers preached the new doctrine. \* But it did not even need preachers to diffuse it: it often acted on the minds of men, and awoke them from their deep sleep before any one had addressed them.

In towns, burghs, and even villages, Luther's writings were read in the evening at the fireside, or in the house of the schoolmaster. Some of the inhabitants were **struck by this reading**; they applied to the Bible to **clear up** their doubts, and were astonished when they saw **the strange contrast** between their Christianity and the Christianity of the Bible. Hesitating for a time between Rome **and** the Holy Scriptures, they took refuge in that living word which shed a sudden and delightful light on their souls. Meanwhile, some evangelical preacher appeared, perhaps a priest, perhaps a monk. He spoke with eloquence and conviction; <sup>2</sup> he declared that Christ had satisfied fully for the sins of the people, proving from Scripture the vanity of human works and penances. A formidable opposition burst forth. The clergy and frequently the magistrates used every effort to bring back those souls which they would have destroyed; but there was in the new preaching an accordance with Scripture, and a hidden energy which won men's hearts, subduing the most rebellious. At the risk of their goods, or, if need were, at the risk of their lives, they embraced the cause of the gospel, and abandoned the barren, fanatical orators of the papacy.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes the people irritated at being so long imposed upon compelled the priests to withdraw, but more frequently the priests, abandoned by their flocks, without tithes, without offerings, went off in sadness, of their own accord, to go and seek a living else-

<sup>1</sup> Ranke Deutsche Geschichte, ii, p. 70.

eloquenter (Cochlæus, p. 52.)

<sup>2</sup> Eaque omnia prompte, alacriter.

<sup>3</sup> Populo odibiles catholici concionatores. (Ibid.)  
The catholic preachers were odious to the people.

where.<sup>1</sup> And while the props of the ancient hierarchy withdrew sullen and downcast, sometimes taking leave of their old flocks in words of malediction, the people overjoyed at having found truth and liberty, gathered round the new preachers with acclamation, and eager to hear the word, carried them, as it were, in triumph into the church and the pulpit.<sup>2</sup>

A powerful doctrine which came from God was then renovating society. The people or their leaders frequently wrote for some man of known faith to come and enlighten them, and he, for the love of the gospel, forthwith abandoned all—family, friends, and country.<sup>3</sup> Persecution often forced the friends of the Reformation to quit their homes. Arriving in some place where it was not yet known, finding some house which offered an asylum to poor travellers, they spoke of the gospel, read some pages of it to the attentive burghers, and obtained leave, perhaps at the request of their new friends, to preach one sermon in the church. Then a vast conflagration burst forth in the town, and the utmost efforts were unable to extinguish it.<sup>4</sup> If permission to preach in the church was denied, they preached elsewhere. Every place became a church. At Husum in Holstein, Herman Tast, who was on his way from Wittemberg, and against whom the parish clergy had shut the church, preached to an immense crowd in the burying-ground, under the shade of two large trees, not far from the spot where, seven centuries before, Anschar had proclaimed the gospel to the pagans. At Arnstadt, the Augustin, Gaspard Güttel, preached in the market place. At Dantzic, the gospel was preached on a hill in the neighbourhood of the town. At Gosslar, a student of Wittemberg preached the new doctrine in a grove of linden trees, a circumstance which procured for the evangelical Christians the name of *Linden Brothers*.

While the priests were exhibiting in the eyes of the people a sordid avidity, the new preachers thus addressed them—"We received it freely, and we give it to you freely."<sup>5</sup> An idea often proclaimed from the pulpit by the new preachers, viz., that Rome had, of old, sent the Germans a corrupted gospel, and that Germany was now, for the first time, hearing the Word of Jesus Christ in its divine and primitive beauty, produced a profound impression.<sup>1</sup> The great idea of the equality of all men, and of an

<sup>1</sup> Ad extremam redacti inopiam, aliunde sibi victum quærere cogerentur. (Cochleus, p. 53.) Being reduced to extreme want they were obliged to seek their living elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> Triumphantibus novis prædicatoribus, qui sequacem populum verbo novi Evangelii sui ducebant. (Ibid.) To the exultation of the new preachers who drew the people after them by the preaching of the new gospel.

<sup>3</sup> Multi, omnia re domestica, in speciem veri Evangelii, parentes et amicos relinquebant. (Ibid.) Many abandoning their domestic affairs for a show of the true gospel forsook their parents and friends.

<sup>4</sup> Ubi vero aliquos nacti fuissent amicos in ea civitate. (Ibid., p. 54.) When they had found some friends in that city.

<sup>5</sup> Mira eis erat liberalitas. (Ibid., p. 53.) Their liberality was wonderful.



universal brotherhood in Jesus Christ, enraptured those who had long been weighed down under the yoke of feudalism and the papacy of the middle ages.<sup>2</sup>

Often unlettered Christians, with the New Testament in their hands, offered to defend the Reformed doctrine. The Catholics, adhering to Rome, withdrew in alarm; for the business of studying the Holy Scriptures was committed to priests and monks only. These accordingly saw themselves obliged to come forward. A discussion commenced, but the priests and monks, overwhelmed by laymen with quotations from the Holy Scriptures, soon knew not what to oppose to them.<sup>3</sup> . . . . "Unfortunately," says Cochleus, "Luther had persuaded his followers that faith was to be given only to the oracle of the sacred books." A shout arose in the assembly, and proclaimed the shameful ignorance of these old theologians, who, till then, had passed with their party for men of learning.<sup>4</sup>

The humblest individuals, even the weaker sex, with the help of the Word, persuaded and gained converts. Extraordinary acts are done in extraordinary times. At Ingolstadt, under the very eyes of Doctor Eck, a young weaver read the writings of Luther to the assembled multitude. In the same place, the university having resolved to force a retraction from a pupil of Melancthon, a female, named Argula of Staufen, undertook his defence, and challenged the professors to a public disputation. Women and children, artisans and soldiers, were more learned in the Bible than teachers in schools, and priests at altars.

Christendom was divided into two camps, whose appearance presented a striking contrast. Confronting the old supporters of the hierarchy, who had neglected the acquisition of languages and the cultivation of letters (this is the account given by one of themselves), stood a generous youth, accustomed to study, deeply read in the Scriptures, and familiar with the masterpieces of antiquity.<sup>5</sup> Gifted with a ready understanding, an elevated mind, and an intrepid heart, these youths soon acquired such knowledge, that for a long time none could compete with them. Their superiority to their contemporaries consisted, not merely in their living faith, but also in an elegance of style, a savour of antiquity, a true philosophy, a knowledge of the world, completely unknown to the

<sup>1</sup> Eam usque diem nunquam germane prædicatam. (Coch. p. 53.) That till that day it never had been preached in Germany. <sup>2</sup> Omnes æquales et fratres in Christo. (Ibid.) <sup>3</sup> A laicis Lutheranis, plures scripturæ locos, quam a monachis et presbyteris. (Ibid. p. 54.) More passages of Scripture were quoted by Lutheran laics than by monks and presbyters. <sup>4</sup> Reputabantur Catholici ab illis ignari Scripturarum. (Ibid.) The Catholics were reported by them to be ignorant of the Scriptures.

<sup>5</sup> Totam vero juventutem, eloquentiæ litteris, linguarumque studio deditam . . . in partem suam traxit. (Ibid.) All the youth devoted to eloquence, literature, and the study of languages, he drew over to his party.



theologians, *veteris farinæ*, (of the old stock) as Cochleüs himself designates them. Accordingly, when these young defenders of the Reformation happened to come in contact, at some public meeting, with the Roman doctors, they attacked them with so much ease and confidence, that the illiterate doctors hesitated, became confused, and fell, deservedly, into universal contempt.

The ancient edifice gave way under the weight of superstition and ignorance, and the new edifice was reared up on the basis of faith and knowledge. New elements were introduced into common life. Lethargy and stupidity were every where succeeded by a spirit of inquiry and thirst for instruction. An active, enlightened, and living faith took the place of superstitious observances and ascetic contemplation. Devout works succeeded devotee practices and penances. The pulpit was preferred to the ceremonies of the altar, and the ancient and sovereign authority of the Word of God was again established in the Church.

Printing, that mighty engine which the fifteenth century had invented, seconded all these efforts, and by means of its powerful projectiles, was continually making breaches in the walls of the enemy.

In Germany an immense impulse was given to popular literature. Up to 1517, only thirty-five publications had appeared; but the number increased with astonishing rapidity after the publication of Luther's theses. In 1518, we find seventy-one different works; in 1519, a hundred and eleven; in 1520, two hundred and eight; in 1521, two hundred and eleven; in 1522, three hundred and forty-seven; in 1523, four hundred and ninety-eight. . . . And where were all these published? Almost invariably at Wittenberg. And who was their author? Most frequently, Luther. In 1522, two hundred and thirty writings of the Reformer appeared; and, in the following year, one hundred and eighty-three. This same year, the whole of the Catholic publications amounted only to twenty.<sup>1</sup> The literature of Germany was thus formed at the same time as its religion, amidst contention; and already gave promise of being learned, profound, bold, and active, as it has since appeared. The national mind was thus displayed, for the first time, in an unsophisticated form, and at the very moment of its birth was baptised with the fire of Christian enthusiasm.

What Luther and his friends composed, others disseminated. Monks, convinced of the unlawfulness of monastic ties, desirous to substitute a life of activity for long idleness, but too ignorant to be themselves preachers of the Word, traversed the provinces, and

<sup>1</sup> Panzer's *Annalen der Deutsch. Litt.*—Ranke's *Deutsch. Gesch.* ii, p. 79.

visited the hamlets and huts, selling the works of Luther and his friends. Germany was soon covered with these bold *colporteurs*.<sup>1</sup> Printers and booksellers eagerly received all the writings in defence of the Reformation, but declined those of the opposite party, which were usually a mere compound of ignorance and barbarism.<sup>2</sup> When any one of them ventured to sell a book in favour of the papacy, and to expose it at fairs, at Frankfort, or elsewhere, dealers, purchasers, or literary men, assailed him with a shower of derision and sarcasm.<sup>3</sup> In vain had the emperor and the princes issued severe edicts against the writings of the Reformers. Whenever an inquisitorial visit was to be made, the merchants, who had secret notice of it, concealed the books which were proscribed; and the people, always eager for what is sought to be kept from them, afterwards got possession of these writings, and read them more greedily than before. These things were not confined to Germany. Luther's writings were translated into French, Spanish, English, and Italian, and disseminated among these nations.

---

## CHAP. XII.

Luther at Zwickau—The Castle of Freyberg—Worms—Frankfort—Universal movement—Wittenberg, the centre of the Reformation—Luther's sentiments.

If the humblest individuals inflicted such heavy blows on Rome, what must it have been, when the monk of Wittenberg made his own voice be heard? Shortly after the defeat of the new prophets, Luther, dressed as a layman, crossed the territory of Duke George in a car. His frock was concealed, and his appearance was that of an ordinary citizen of the country. Had he been recognised, or had he fallen into the hands of the angry duke, perhaps it would have been all over with him. He was going to preach at Zwickau, the cradle of the new prophets. No sooner was this known at Schneeberg, Annaberg, and the neighbourhood, than crowds began to flock to it. Fourteen thousand persons arrived in the town, and as there was no church capable of containing such a multitude, Luther got up on the balcony of the town-house, and preached to an audience of twenty-five thousand, who covered the public square,

<sup>1</sup> Apostatarum, monasteriis relictis, infinitus jam erat numerus, in speciem bibliopolarum. (Cochlæus, p. 54.) An infinite number of apostates who had left their monasteries, now appeared in the form of booksellers.

<sup>2</sup> Catholicorum, velut indocta et veteris barbariei trivialia scripta, contemnebant. (Ibid.) They despised the writings of the Catholics as unlearned, or filled with the trifles of ancient barbarism.

<sup>3</sup> In publicis mercatibus Francofordiæ et alibi, vexabantur ac ridebantur. (Ibid.)

some of them seated on a heap of building materials, which happened to have been laid down.<sup>1</sup> The servant of Christ was speaking with fervour on the election of grace, when suddenly some cries were heard from the middle of the audience. An old woman, with haggard looks, was stretching out her bony arms from the top of the stone on which she stood, and seemed desirous, by her earnest gesture, to keep back the crowd, who were going to throw themselves at the feet of Jesus Christ. Her wild cries interrupted the preacher. Seckendorff says, "It was the devil in the shape of an old woman, trying to excite a disturbance."<sup>2</sup> But it was in vain: the voice of the Reformer having silenced the evil spirit, thousands of hearers were seized with a feeling of enthusiasm, exchanging looks, and shaking hands with each other. The monks, struck dumb, could not quell the storm, and shortly saw themselves obliged to quit Zwickau.

Duke Henry, the brother of Duke George, was residing in the castle of Freyberg. He was married to a princess of Mecklenburg, who, the year before, had given him a son, named Maurice. To a love of the table and pleasure, Henry joined the bluntness and rudeness of a soldier. He was, moreover, pious, after the fashion of the times, and had made one pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and another to St. James of Compostella. "At Compostella," he was wont to say, "I placed a hundred gold florins on the altar of the saint, saying to him, O! St. James, it was to please you I came hither; I make you a present of this money: but if those rogues (the priests) take it from you, I cannot help it: look then to yourself."<sup>1</sup>

A Franciscan and a Dominican, disciples of Luther, had for some time been preaching the gospel at Freyberg. The duchess, whose piety had inspired her with a horror at heresy, listened to their discourses, wondering how that sweet doctrine of a Saviour could be the doctrine which she had been made to dread so much. Her eyes were gradually opened, and she found peace in Jesus Christ. No sooner did it reach the ears of Duke George, that the gospel was preached at Freyberg, than he prayed his brother to set his face against these novelties. Chancellor Strehlin and the canons seconded him with their fanaticism. There was a great explosion at the court of Freyberg. Duke Henry harshly reprimanded and upbraided the pious duchess, who, on more than one occasion, shed tears over the cradle of her child. Her prayers and gentleness gradually won the duke's heart; the harshness of his nature was

<sup>1</sup> Von dem Rathhaus unter einem Zulauf von 25,000 Menschen. (Seck., p. 539.)

<sup>2</sup> Der Teufel indem er sich in Gestalt eines alten Weibes . . . (Ibid.) <sup>3</sup> Lass du dir's die Buben nehmen . . . (Ibid., p. 430.)

softened; and complete harmony was established between the spouses, who could now pray together beside their son. A great destiny was reserved for this child; from this cradle, over which a Christian mother had so often poured forth her griefs, God was one day to bring forth the defender of the Reformation.

The inhabitants of Worms had been deeply moved by Luther's intrepidity. The magistrates durst not contravene the imperial decree, and all the churches were shut; but in an open space, covered with an immense assemblage, a preacher from a pulpit of rude construction preached the gospel with power. If the authorities made their appearance, the crowd dispersed in a moment, secretly carrying off the pulpit; but, when the storm blew over, it was immediately erected in some more distant spot, whither the crowd again flocked to hear the Word of Christ. This temporary pulpit was daily carried from place to place, and served to confirm the people in the impression which they had received from the grand scene at the Diet <sup>1</sup>

In one of the free towns of the empire, Frankfort on the Maine, the greatest agitation prevailed. Ibach, a courageous evangelist, was there preaching salvation by Jesus Christ. The clergy, of whom Cochläus, so well known by his writings and his hatred, was one, enraged at this audacious colleague, denounced him to the Archbishop of Mentz. The council, though timid, tried to defend him, but in vain: he was deposed by the clergy and banished. Rome triumphed, and all seemed lost. The faithful in humble life thought themselves for ever deprived of the Word. But at the moment when the citizens seemed disposed to yield to those tyrannical priests, several of the nobility declared in favour of the gospel. Max of Molnheim, Harmuth of Cronberg, George of Stockheim, Emerick of Reiffenstein, whose estates were in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, wrote to the council, "We are constrained to oppose these wolves." In an address to the clergy, they say, "Embrace the evangelical doctrine, recal Ibach, or we will withhold our tithes . . ."

The people who relished the Reformed doctrine were emboldened by this language of the nobles; and, one day, when Peter Mayer, the priest most opposed to the Reformation and the persecuter of Ibach, was going to preach against the heretics, a great tumult suddenly arose. Mayer took fright, and rushed out of the church. This commotion decided the Council, who issued an order enjoining all preachers simply to preach the Word of God, or quit the town.

The light which had radiated from Wittenberg as its centre, was thus diffused over the whole empire. In the west,—the dis-

<sup>1</sup> So liessen sie eine Canzel machen, die man von einem Ort zum andern . . . .  
Seck., p. 436.)



tricts of Berg, Cleves, Lippstadt, Munster, Wesel, Miltenberg, Mentz, Deux-Ponts, and Strasburgh, heard the gospel. In the south,—Hof, Schlesstadt, Bamberg, Esslingen, Hall in Suabia, Heilbronn, Augsburg, Ulm, and may other places hailed it with joy. In the east,—the duchy of Liegnitz, Prussia, and Pomerania opened their gates to it. In the north,—Brunswick, Halberstadt, Gosslar, Zell, Friesland, Bremen, Hamburgh, Holstein, and even Denmark and other neighbouring countries were moved at the sound of the new doctrine.

The Elector had declared that he would give the bishops full liberty to preach in his States, but that he would not deliver any person up to them. Accordingly the evangelical preachers, persecuted in other countries, soon began to take refuge in Saxony. Ibach of Frankfort, Eberlin of Ulm, Kauxdorf of Magdeburg, Valentine Musteus, whom the canons of Halberstadt had horribly mutilated,<sup>1</sup> and other faithful ministers from all parts of Germany, flocked to Wittemberg as the only asylum in which they could feel secure. There, by intercourse with the Reformers, they had their own faith strengthened, and communicated the results of their experience and of the light which they had received; just as the water of rivers is brought back by the clouds from the boundless ocean, to feed the glaciers from which it formerly flowed into the plain.

The work, which was in course of development at Wittemberg, thus composed of many different elements, was constantly becoming more and more the work of the nation—of Europe—of Christendom. This school, founded by Frederick, and animated by Luther, was the centre of the vast revolution which was renewing the Church, and imprinted on it a real and living unity, far superior to the apparent unity of Rome. The Bible reigned at Wittemberg, and its oracles were every where heard. This university, the most recent of all, had acquired, in Christendom, the rank and influence which had hitherto belonged to the ancient university of Paris. The crowds who flocked to it from every part of Europe, told the wants of the Church and the nations, and, on quitting its walls, now become sacred in their eyes, carried back to the Church and to the people the word of grace, destined to cure and save the nations.

Luther, at the sight of this success, felt his courage strengthened. He saw a feeble enterprise, begun amid numerous fears and agonies, changing the face of the Christian world, and he was astonished.

<sup>1</sup> Aliquot ministri canonicorum capiunt D. Valentinum Mustæum et vinctum manibus pedibusque, injecto in ejus os freno, deferunt per trabes in inferiores cœnobii partes, ibique in cella cerevisiaria eum castrant. (Hamelmann. Hist. renati Evangelii, p. 880.) Some servants of the canons lay hold of Valentine Musteus, and, after tying his hands and feet, and gagging him, carry him on a barrow to the lower vaults of the monastery, and there, in a cell, mutilated him.

He had foreseen nothing of the kind when he first rose up against Tezel. Prostrating himself before the God whom he adored, he acknowledged that this work was His work, and he triumphed in the conviction of having gained a victory which could not again be wrested from him. "Our enemies threaten us with death," said he to the Chevalier Harmuth of Cronberg, "had they as much wisdom as they have folly, it would, on the contrary, be life that they would threaten us with. It is not mere jest or insult to threaten Christ and Christians with death, in other words, those who are the masters and the conquerors of death.<sup>1</sup> It is as if I were to try to frighten a man by saddling his steed and helping him to mount it. Do they not know, then, that Christ is risen from the dead? As to them, he is still lying in the sepulchre. Where do I say? In hell. But we, we know that he lives!" He was indignant at the idea of being regarded as the author of a work, in the minutest details of which, he recognised the hand of God. "Several," said he, "believe on my account; but those only are in the truth who would remain faithful, though they were to believe (which God forbid) that I had denied Jesus Christ. The true disciples believe not in Luther, but in Jesus Christ. For my own part, I care not for Luther.<sup>2</sup> Be he saint, or be he rogue, what is it to me? It is not him I preach, it is Christ. If the devil can take him, let him take him. But let Christ remain with us, and we shall remain also."

In fact it were vain to attempt to explain this movement by natural means. The literati, it is true, whetted their pens, and threw sharp darts at the monks and the pope: the cry of freedom, which Germany had so often raised against the tyranny of the Italians, again resounded in castles and provinces: the people rejoiced when they heard the notes of the "nightingale of Wittemberg," a prelude of the spring which was every where beginning to bud.<sup>3</sup> But the movement which was then taking place was not similar to that which a longing for earthly freedom produces. Those who say that the Reformation was produced by offering the property of convents to princes, marriage to priests, and liberty to the people, strangely misapprehend its nature. No doubt, a useful employment of the funds which had till then fostered the idleness of monks, no doubt marriage and liberty, both of them gifts from God, might favour the development of the Reformation, but the moving force was not there. An internal revolution was then produced in the depths of the human heart. The Christian people again learned to love, forgive, pray, suffer, and even die for

<sup>1</sup> Herren und Seigmänner des Todes. (L. Ep. ii, p. 164.)  
selbst nicht den Luther. (Ibid., p. 168.)

<sup>2</sup> Ich kenne auch  
<sup>3</sup> *Wittemberger Nachtigal*, a collection of poetry by Hans Sachs, 1523.

a truth which promised repose only in heaven. The Church was transformed. Christianity burst the swathes which had so long enwrought it, and again returned full of life to a world which had forgotten its ancient power. The hand which made the world was again at work upon it, and the gospel re-appearing amidst the nations, pursued its course in spite of the powerful and reiterated efforts of kings and priests, in the same way as the ocean, when the hand of God presses on its waves, rises calmly and majestically along the shore, while no human power is capable of arresting its progress.

## BOOK TENTH.

### CHAP. I.

#### AGITATION, REVERSES, AND PROGRESS

(1522—1526.)

Political element—Want of Enthusiasm at Rome—Siege of Pampeluna—Courage of Inigo—Transformation—Luther and Loyola—Visions—The two principles.

The Reformation, which at first had existed only in the heart of some pious individuals, had entered the worship and life of the Church. It was natural for it to take a new step—to penetrate into civil relations and the movements of nations. Its progress was invariably from within to without. We shall now see this great revolution taking its place in the political world.

For nearly eight centuries Europe formed a vast sacerdotal state. Emperors and kings were under the patronage of popes. Though there had been in France and especially in Germany energetic resistance to audacious claims, Rome had finally succeeded, and princes had been seen acting as the docile executioners of her horrible judgments, fighting in order to secure her empire against private Christians subject to their sway, and on her account profusely shedding the blood of their people.

No assault could be made on this vast ecclesiastical state, of which the pope was the head, without powerfully affecting political relations.

At this time two great ideas agitated Germany: on the one hand, a renovation of faith was desired; on the other, a national government, in which the Germanic states should be represented, and a counterpoise thereby formed to the power of the emperors.<sup>1</sup>

The Elector Frederick had insisted on this at the election which had given a successor to Maximilian, and young Charles had acceded to it. A national government, consisting of the emperor

<sup>1</sup> Pfeffel, *Droit publ. de l'All.*, 590.—Robertson's *Charles V.*, iii, 114.—Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.*



and the representatives of the electors, and circles had in consequence been formed.

Thus Luther reformed the Church, and Frederick of Saxony reformed the state.

But while in correspondence to the religious reform, important political modifications were introduced by the heads of the nation, there was a danger that "the commonalty" might also begin to move, and, by religious and political excesses, compromise both reformations.

This violent and fanatical intrusion of the populace and certain of their leaders, which seems inevitable whenever society is shaken and transformed, failed not to be manifested in Germany at the time of which we now treat.

There were other causes besides which gave rise to these agitations.

The emperor and the pope had leagued against the Reformation, which seemed destined to fall under the blows of such mighty adversaries. Policy, interest, and ambition, prompted Charles V and Leo X to attempt its destruction. But these are poor champions against the truth. Devotedness to a cause, which is regarded as sacred, can only be overcome by counter devotedness. Now Rome, docile to the impulse of Leo X, was enthusiastic for a sonnet or a melody, but insensible to the religion of Jesus Christ. Even when visited with some less frivolous thought, instead of purifying herself and returning to the Christianity of the Apostles, she became engrossed with alliances, wars, conquests, treaties, under which she might save her provinces, while with cool disdain she left the Reformation to revive religious enthusiasm, and move forward in triumph to still nobler conquests. The enemy, whose destruction had been vowed in the cathedral of Worms, presented himself, full of courage and might: the struggle behoved to be keen; blood must flow.

Meanwhile, some of the most pressing dangers with which the Reformation was threatened seemed to diminish. One day, before the publication of the edict of Worms, young Charles, when standing at a window with his confessor, had said, putting his right hand upon his heart, "I swear that I will cause the first person, who, after the publication of my edict, will declare himself a Lutheran, to be hung at this window."<sup>1</sup> But ere long his zeal had become greatly cooled. His project of re-establishing the ancient glory of the holy empire had been received with coldness.<sup>2</sup> Dissatisfied with

<sup>1</sup> Sancte juro. . . . eum ex hac fenestra meo jussu suspensum iri. (Pallavini, i, p. 130.)

<sup>2</sup> Essendo tornato dalla Dieta che sua Maestà haveva fatta in Wormatia escluso d'ogni conclusion buona d'ajuti e di favori che si fussi proposto d'ottenere in essa. (Istruzione al Card. Farnese. M.S. in the Bibl. Corsini, published by Ranké.)

Germany, he quitted the banks of the Rhine, proceeded to the Low Countries, and took advantage of the period of his residence there to give the monks some gratifications, which he found himself unable to grant them within the empire. Luther's works were burnt at Ghent by the hands of the executioner with all possible solemnity. More than fifty thousand spectators were present at this auto-da-fe, and the emperor himself countenanced it with an approving smile.<sup>1</sup> He next proceeded to Spain, when wars and troubles compelled him, for some time at least, to let Germany alone. Since the power which he claims in the empire is refused, let others pursue the heretic of Wittemberg. He is engrossed by graver cares.

In fact, Francis I, impatient to come to blows with his rival, had thrown down the gauntlet. Under the pretext of reinstating the children of John of Albert, king of Navarre, in their patrimony, he had begun a long and bloody struggle, which was to last as long as his life, by sending into that kingdom, under the command of Lesparre, an army, whose rapid conquests were not arrested till they arrived before the fortress of Pampeluna.

On these strong fortifications an enthusiasm was to be kindled, which should one day oppose the enthusiasm of the Reformer, and breathe into the papacy a new spirit of energy, devotedness, and power. Pampeluna was to be the cradle of the rival of the monk of Wittemberg.

The chivalric spirit which had so long animated the Christian world now existed only in Spain. The wars against the Moors scarcely ended in the Peninsula and still constantly renewed in Africa, distant and adventurous expeditions in foreign lands, kept alive in the Castilian youth that enthusiastic and spirited valour of which Amadis had been the *beau ideal*.

Among the defenders of Pampeluna was a young gentleman named Don Inigo Lopez of Recalde, the cadet of a family of thirteen children. Brought up at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic, Recalde, richly endowed with personal graces,<sup>2</sup> skilful in the use of the sword and the lance, was ardent in the pursuit of chivalric renown. To deck himself in glittering armour, to mount a noble steed,<sup>3</sup> to expose himself to the brilliant dangers of a tourney, to run hazardous adventures, to take part in the impassioned debates of factions,<sup>4</sup> and display as much devotion to St. Peter as to his mistress—such was the life of this young knight. The governor

<sup>1</sup> Ipso Cæsare, ore subridenti, spectaculo plausit. (Pallavicini, i, p. 130.)

<sup>2</sup> Cum esset en corporis ornatu elegantissimus. (Maffæi, Vita Loyolæ, 1586, p. 3.)

<sup>3</sup> Equorumque et armorum usu præcelleret. (Ibid.) <sup>4</sup> Partim in factionum rixarumque periculis, partim in amatoria vesania . . . tempus consumeret. (Ibid.) Spent his time partly in the perils of brawls and factions, and partly in amours.

of Navarre having gone into Spain to ask assistance, had left Pampeluna in the charge of Inigo and a few nobles. The latter, seeing the superiority of the French troops, resolved to withdraw. Inigo conjured them to make head against Lesparre. Finding that their purpose could not be shaken, he turned upon them with looks of indignation, accused them of cowardice and perfidy, and then threw himself single handed into the fortress, determined to defend it at the cost of his life.<sup>1</sup>

The French, who had met with an enthusiastic reception in Pampeluna, having summoned the governor of the citadel to capitulate, "Let us," said the fiery Inigo to his companions, "bear any thing sooner than surrender."<sup>2</sup> The French began to batter the walls with their powerful engines, and soon after attempted an assault. The Spaniards, animated by the courage and words of Inigo, repulsed the assailants with their arrows, swords, and halberds. Inigo fought at their head. Standing on the wall with blazing eye, the young knight brandishing his sword, dealt blows on the enemy. All at once a bullet struck the wall at the place where he was defending; a shivered stone severely wounded the knight in his right leg, and the shot, in rebounding, broke his left. Inigo fell insensible.<sup>3</sup> The garrison immediately surrendered, and the French, filled with admiration at the courage of their young opponent, caused him to be carried in a litter to his friends and parents in the Castle of Loyola. In this seignorial mansion, from which he afterwards took his name, Inigo was born, eight years after Luther, of one of the most distinguished families in the kingdom.

A painful operation had become necessary. Amidst the most acute sufferings, Inigo clenched his hands, but did not utter a single cry.<sup>4</sup>

Constrained to a painful repose, he behaved somehow to employ his lively fancy. In the absence of romances of chivalry, which he had hitherto been accustomed to devour, he was furnished with the Life of Christ, and the Flowers of the Saints. This reading, in his solitary and sickly condition, produced an extraordinary impression on his mind. He thought he saw the noisy life of tournaments and battles, which till then had completely engrossed his youth, withdrawn, effaced, and extinguished, and, at the same time, a more glorious career opened on his astonished sight. The humble actions of the saints and their heroic sufferings suddenly appeared to him more deserving of praise than all the feats

<sup>1</sup> Ardentibus oculis, detestatus ignaviam perfidiamque, spectantibus omnibus, in arcem solus introit. (Maffei, Vita Loyolæ, 1586, p. 6.)

<sup>2</sup> Tam acri ac vehementi oratione commilitonibus dissuasit. (Ibid.)

<sup>3</sup> Ut e vestigio semianimis alienata mente corripit. (Ibid.)

<sup>4</sup> Nullum aliud indicium dedit doloris, nisi ut eoactus in pugnum digitos valde constringeret. (Ibid.)



of chivalry. Stretched on his feverish bed, he gave himself up to the most contradictory thoughts. The world which he was abandoning, and the other whose holy macerations he was welcoming, appeared to him at the same moment, the one with its pleasures, the other with its severities. These two worlds carried on a fierce combat in his soul. "What," said he, "if I were to do what St. Francis or St. Dominic have done?"<sup>1</sup> Then the image of the mistress to whom he had devoted his heart presenting itself to his imagination, he exclaimed with natural vanity, "She is not a countess, she is not a duchess; but she is more."<sup>2</sup> But these thoughts left a feeling of bitterness and weariness, whereas his plan of imitating the saints filled him with peace and joy.

From that time his choice was fixed. When scarcely recovered, he resolved to bid adieu to the world. After having, like Luther, partaken of an entertainment with his companions in arms, he set out alone,<sup>3</sup> in the greatest secrecy, for the solitary abodes which the hermits of St. Benedict had hewn out in the rock in the mountains of Montserrat. Urged on, not by a conviction of his sins or the need of divine grace, but by a longing to become the "knight of Mary," and gain renown by mortifications and pious works, like all the army of the saints, he confessed during three days, gave his rich clothing to a beggar, put on sackcloth, and girded himself with a cord.<sup>4</sup> Then calling to mind the celebrated vigil of Amadis of Gaul, he hung up his sword before an image of Mary, and passed the night watching in his new and strange costume. Sometimes on his knees, sometimes standing, but always in prayer, and with the pilgrim's staff in his hand, he employed himself in all the devout exercises which Amadis of Gaul had of old performed. "Thus," observes the jesuit, Maffei, one of the biographers of the saint, "while Satan was arming Martin Luther against all laws, human and divine, and while this infamous heresiarch was appearing at Worms, and there declaring impious war on the apostolic see, Christ, in the exercise of his divine providence, was raising up this new champion, and binding him—him, and at a later period, all his followers,—to the service of the Roman pontiff, opposing him to the licentiousness and fury of heretical perverseness."<sup>5</sup>

Loyola, still lame in one leg, dragged along through winding and desert paths to Manresa, and there entered a convent of

<sup>1</sup> Quid si ego hoc agerem quod fecit b. Franciscus, quid si hoc quod b. Dominicus? (Acta Sanct., vii, p. 634.)

<sup>2</sup> Non era condessa, ni duquessa, ma era su estado mas alto . . . (Ibid.)

<sup>3</sup> Ibi duce amicisque ita salutatis, ut arcana consiliorum suorum quam accuratissime tegeret. (Maf., p. 16.) Then having saluted his commander and friends so as most carefully to hide his secret plans.

<sup>4</sup> Pretiosa vestimenta quibus erat ornatus, pannoso cuidam largitus, sacco sese alacer induit ac fine præinxit. (Ibid., p. 20.)

<sup>5</sup> Furori ac libidini hæreticæ pravitatis opponeret. (Ibid., p. 21.)



Dominicans, that he might devote himself, in this obscure spot, to the severest penances. Like Luther, he daily begged his bread from door to door.<sup>1</sup> He remained seven hours on his knees, and flagellated himself thrice every day; at midnight he was again at prayer. He allowed his hair and nails to grow, and it would have been impossible to recognise the young and brilliant knight of Pampeluna in the pale wan monk of Manresa.

Meanwhile, the moment had arrived, when the religious ideas which had hitherto been to Inigo merely a sport of chivalry, were to reveal themselves to him with greater seriousness, and make him feel a power of which he was still ignorant. Suddenly, without any presentiment of what was to happen, the joy which he had hitherto experienced disappeared.<sup>2</sup> In vain did he apply to prayer and the singing of hymns—he could find no rest.<sup>3</sup> His imagination had ceased to surround him with amiable illusions: he was left alone with his conscience. He could not comprehend a state which was so novel to him; and he asked, in alarm, whether God, for whom he had made so many sacrifices, was still angry with him. Night and day terrors agitated his soul: he shed bitter tears, and with loud cries called for the peace which he had lost . . . . but all in vain.<sup>4</sup> He then resumed the long confession which he had made at Montserrat. “It may be,” thought he, “I have forgotten something.” But the confession only increased his agony, by reminding him of all his faults. He wandered gloomy and depressed: his conscience cried aloud, that during his whole life he had done nothing but heaped sin upon sin; and the unhappy man, overwhelmed with terror, made the cloister echo with his groans.

Strange thoughts then found admission into his heart. Experiencing no comfort in confession and the various ordinances of the Church,<sup>5</sup> he began, like Luther, to doubt their efficacy. But, instead of turning aside from human works and applying to the all-sufficient work of Christ, he asked if he ought not again to pursue worldly glory. His soul darted impetuously towards the world from which he had fled;<sup>6</sup> but he immediately drew back in alarm.

Was there, then, some difference between the monk of Manresa

<sup>1</sup> *Victum ostiatim precibus infimis emendicare quotidie.* (Maf. p. 23.) <sup>2</sup> *Tunc subito nulla præcedente significatione prorsus exui nudarique se omni gaudio sentiret.* (Ibid. p. 27. Then, suddenly, without any previous warning, he felt himself divested of all joy.

<sup>3</sup> *Nec jam in precibus, neque in psalmis. . . . ullam inveniret delectationem aut requiem.* (Ibid.) Nor could he now find any delight, or rest in prayers or psalms.

<sup>4</sup> *Vanis agitari terroribus, dies noctesque fletibus jungere* (Ibid. p. 28.) He was agitated by vain terrors, weeping night and day.

<sup>5</sup> *Ut nulla jam res mitigare dolorem posse videretur.* (Ibid. p. 29.) That now nothing seemed able to mitigate his pain. <sup>6</sup> *Et sæculi commodis repetendismaguo quodam impetu cogitaverit.* (Ibid. p. 30.)

and the monk of Erfurth? In secondary features, doubtless, there was, but the state of their souls was the same. Both had a deep conviction of the magnitude of their sins. Both sought reconciliation with God, and wished to have the assurance of it in their hearts. Had a Staupitz, with the Bible in his hand, presented himself at the convent of Manresa, Inigo might, perhaps, have become the Luther of the Peninsula. These two great men of the sixteenth century—these two founders of the two spiritual powers, which, for three hundred years, have been warring with each other, were at this time brethren; and, perhaps, had they met, Luther and Loyola would have fallen into each other's arms, and mingled their tears and their vows.

But these two monks were, from this moment, to follow very different paths.

Inigo, instead of perceiving that his remorse was sent to urge him to the foot of the cross, persuaded himself that these internal upbraidings came not from God, but from the devil; and adopted the resolution of thinking no more of his sins, of effacing them, and consigning them to eternal oblivion.<sup>1</sup> Luther turned toward Christ, Loyola only fell back upon himself.

Inigo was shortly after confirmed in the conclusion at which he had arrived, by visions. His own resolutions had been substituted for the grace of Christ, and his own imagination for the Word of Christ. The voice of God, in his conscience, he had regarded as the voice of a demon; and, accordingly, his future history exhibits him as given up to the inspirations of the spirit of darkness.

One day Loyola met an old woman, just as Luther, in the time of his agony, had been visited by an old man. But the Spanish female, instead of telling the penitent of Manresa of the remission of sins, foretold him of apparitions of Jesus. Such was the Christianity to which Loyola, like the prophets of Zwickau, had recourse. Inigo did not seek the truth in the Holy Scriptures, but in their stead imagined immediate communications from the kingdom of spirits. His life soon consisted only of extacies and contemplations.

One day, while going to the church of St. Paul, which is situated outside the town, plunged in meditation, he followed the banks of the Llobregat. At last he sat down. His eyes were fixed on the river, which was slowly rolling its deep waters at his feet, and he became completely absorbed in meditation. Suddenly he was seized with extacy: he saw, with his eyes, what men scarcely

<sup>1</sup> *Sine ulla dubitatione constituit præteritæ vitæ labe perpetua oblivione conterere. (Maf. p. 31.)* He unhesitatingly resolved to bury the pollutions of his past life in perpetual oblivion.

comprehend, after much reading, watching, and labour.<sup>1</sup> He rose up, stood on the brink of the river, and seemed to himself to become a new man: he afterwards put himself upon his knees before a cross, which happened to be in the neighbourhood, disposed to sacrifice his life in the cause, the mysteries of which had just been revealed to him.

From that time his visions became more frequent. One day, while seated on the stair of St. Dominic, at Manresa, he was singing hymns to the Holy Virgin. Suddenly his soul was seized with extacy; he remained motionless, absorbed in contemplation; the mystery of the Holy Trinity was revealed to his eyes under magnificent symbols.<sup>2</sup> He shed tears, sobbed aloud; and during the whole day ceased not to speak of the ineffable vision.

These numerous apparitions had dissipated all his doubts. Unlike Luther, he believed, not because the things of faith were written in the Word of God, but in consequence of the visions which he had seen. "Even though there had been no Bible," say his apologists, "even had these mysteries never been revealed in Scripture,<sup>3</sup> he would have believed them, for God had been unveiled to him."<sup>4</sup> Luther, on receiving his degree of doctor, had taken an oath to the Holy Scriptures, and the authority of the Word of God, the only infallible authority, had become the fundamental principle of the Reformation. Loyola took his oath to dreams and visions; and fantastical apparitions became the principle of his life and of his faith.

The residence of Luther in the convent of Erfurth, and that of Loyola in the convent of Manresa, explain to us respectively the Réformation and the modern papacy. We shall not follow the monk who was to re-animate the exhausted powers of Rome to Jerusalem, whither he repaired on quitting the cloister. We shall meet with him again in the course of this history.

---

## CHAP. II.

Victory of the Pope—Death of Leo X—Oratory of Divine Love—Adrian VI—Schemes of Reform—Opposition.

While these things were passing in Spain, Rome herself seemed to assume a more serious character. The great patron of music,

<sup>1</sup> Quæ vix demum solent homines intelligentia comprehendere. (Maf. p. 32.)

<sup>2</sup> En figuras de tres teclas. <sup>3</sup> Quod etsi nulla scriptura, mysteria illa fidei doceret. (Acta Sancta.) For, were there no scripture, he would teach these mysteries of faith.

<sup>4</sup> Quæ Deo sibi aperiente cognoverat. (Maf. p. 34.)

hunting, and festivity disappeared from the pontifical throne to give place to a grave and pious monk.

Leo X had felt great delight on hearing of the edict of Worms, and the captivity of Luther, and forthwith, as a token of his victory, had caused the effigy and writings of the Reformer to be given to the flames.<sup>1</sup> This was the second or third time that the papacy had enjoyed this pleasure. At this time, Leo, wishing to testify his gratitude to Charles V, united his army to that of the emperor. The French were obliged to quit Parma, Placenza, and Milan, which latter town was entered by a cousin of the pope, Cardinal Giulio de Medici. The pope was thus mounting to the pinnacle of power.

This was at the beginning of the winter of 1521. Leo X was accustomed to pass the autumn in the country, and at this time left Rome without his surplice, and, what, says his master of the ceremonies, was still more scandalous, in boots. He had hawking at Viterbo, and stag-hunting at Corneto, enjoyed the sport of fishing in the lake of Bolsena, and then went to pass some time in the midst of festivities at Malliana, his favourite residence. Musicians, improvisatori, all artists whose talents could enliven this delicious villa surrounded the sovereign pontiff. He was here at the time when news reached him of the taking of Milan. The whole villa was immediately astir. The courtiers and officials could not restrain their joy. The Swiss fired *feux de joie*, and Leo, in transport, walked up and down his room the whole night, often looking out of his window at the rejoicings of the Swiss and the people. He returned to Rome, fatigued, but intoxicated with delight. Scarcely had he returned to the Vatican when he was suddenly taken ill. "Pray for me," said he to his servants. He had not even time to receive the holy sacrament, and died in the vigour of life (forty-seven), in the hour of triumph, and amid the noise of festivity.

The people, while accompanying the hearse of the sovereign pontiff, gave utterance to invectives. They could not forgive his having died without the sacraments, and left debts consequent on his great expenditure. "Thou didst rise to the pontificate as a fox," said the Romans, "there thou playedst the lion, and now thou art gone like a dog."

Such was the mourning with which Rome honoured the pope who excommunicated the Reformation, and whose name serves to mark one of the great epochs in history.

<sup>1</sup> Comburi jussit alteram vultus in ejus statua, alteram animi ejus in libris. (Palavicini, i, p. 128.) He caused two images to be burned, the one of his person in his effigy, the other of his mind in his books.



Meanwhile a feeble re-action against the spirit of Leo and Rome had already begun in Rome herself. Some pious individuals had there founded an oratory for their common edification,<sup>1</sup> near the place where tradition bears that the meetings of the primitive Christians were held. Contarini, who had heard Luther at Worms, took the lead among these priests. In this way a species of Reformation began at Rome almost at the same time as at Wittenberg. It has been truly said that wherever there are germs of piety, there are also germs of reform. But these good intentions were soon to be dissipated.

At other times the choice of a successor to Leo X would have fallen on a Gregory VII, or an Innocent III, if they could have been found, but the interest of the empire now took precedence of that of the Church, and Charles V behoved to have a pope who was devoted to himself. The Cardinal de Medici, afterwards pope under the name of Clement VII, seeing that he could not yet obtain the tiara, exclaimed, "Take the Cardinal of Tortosa, who is old and universally regarded as a saint." This prelate, born at Utrecht, of burgher parentage, was, in fact, elected, and reigned under the name of Adrian VI. He had formerly been a professor at Louvain, and afterwards became preceptor to Charles, by whose influence, as emperor, he was, in 1517, invested with the Roman purple. The Cardinal de Vio seconded the proposal. "Adrian," said he, "had, through the doctors of Louvain, a great share in Luther's condemnation."<sup>2</sup> The cardinals, worn out and off their guard, appointed this stranger; but shortly on recovering themselves, "they were," says a chronicler, "as it were dead with amazement." The idea that the rigid Netherlander would not accept the tiara, at first, somewhat solaced them; but this was of short duration. Pasquin caricatured the pontiff elect under the figure of a schoolmaster, and the cardinals under that of boys whom he was chastising. The populace were so enraged that the members of the conclave were happy to escape without being thrown into the river.<sup>3</sup> In Holland, on the contrary, there were great rejoicings at having given a pope to the Church. "Utrecht planted—Louvain watered—the emperor has given the increase," was displayed on tapestry hung in front of the houses. Some one wrote beneath, "And God did nothing at all in the matter!"

Notwithstanding the dissatisfaction originally expressed by the people of Rome, Adrian VI repaired thither in August, 1522, and

<sup>1</sup> Si unirono in un oratorio, chiamato del divino amore, circa sessanta di loro. (Caracciolo Vita da Paolo IV, MS., Ranke.) About sixty of them formed an oratory, named the Oratory of Divine Love.

<sup>2</sup> Doctores Lovanienses accepisse consilium a tam conspicuo alumno. (Pallavicini, p. 136.) That the doctors of Louvain had been counselled by their distinguished alumnus.

<sup>3</sup> Sleidan. Hist of the Ref., i, p. 124.

was well received. It was said, that he had more than five thousand benefices at his disposal, and every one counted on obtaining a share. For long the papal throne had not been occupied by such a pontiff. Just, active, learned, pious, simple, of irreproachable manners, he did not allow himself to be blinded either by favour or anger. He arrived at the Vatican with his old housekeeper, whom he charged to continue to provide for his modest wants in the magnificent palace which Leo had filled with luxury and dissipation. He had none of the tastes of his predecessor. When shown the magnificent statue of the Laocoon, which had been discovered a few years before, and purchased, for a large sum, by Julius II, he turned away coldly, saying, "these are pagan idols." "I would far rather," he wrote, "serve God as provost of Louvain, than as pope of Rome."

Adrian, struck with the danger with which the Reformation menaced the religion of the middle ages, and not, like the Italians, with those to which it exposed Rome and its hierarchy, was sincerely desirous to combat and arrest it; and it seemed to him that the best method of succeeding was, a reform of the Church produced by the Church herself. "The Church," said he, "is in need of a reform, but we must proceed in it step by step." "The opinion of the pope," says Luther, "is, that between two steps there must be an interval of several ages." In fact, there were ages when the Church was moving towards a Reformation. It was no longer time to temporise, it was necessary to act.

Adrian, faithful to his plan, was engaged in clearing the city of the profane, of forgers, and usurers. The task was not easy; for they formed a considerable part of the population.

At first the Romans jeered at him, but shortly they hated him. Sacerdotal ascendancy, and the immense profits which it produced—the might of Rome—the sports, luxury, and festivities which abounded in it, would all be irrecoverably lost by a return to apostolic manners.

In particular, the restoration of discipline encountered energetic opposition. "To succeed in it," said the grand Penitentiary, (a cardinal,) "it would first be necessary to bring back Christian fervour. The cure is too much for the strength of the patient, and will be his death. Have a care that, in trying to preserve Germany, you do not lose Italy."<sup>1</sup> In fact, Adrian had soon much more to dread from Romanism than from Lutheranism.

Attempts were made to bring him back to the path which he was desirous to quit. The old and wily Cardinal Soderino de Volterra, an intimate friend of Alexander VI, Julius II, and

<sup>1</sup> Sarpi Hist. of the Coun. of Trent, p. 20.

Leo X,<sup>1</sup> often expressed himself to honest Adrian in terms fitted to acquaint him with the part, to him so novel, which he was called to perform. "The heretics," said he to him one day, "have at all times spoken of the corrupt manners of the court of Rome; notwithstanding, the popes have never changed them." On another occasion he said, "Hitherto it has not been by reforms that heresies have been extinguished, but by crusades." "Ah," replied the pontiff, with a deep sigh, "how unfortunate the condition of the popes, since they have not even the liberty of doing good."<sup>2</sup>

---

### CHAP. III

Diet of Nuremberg—Invasion of Solymán—The Nuncio demands the Death of Luther  
—The Preachers of Nuremberg—Promise of Reform—National Grievances—Decree  
of the Diet—Thundering Letter of the Pope—Luther's Advice.

On the 23rd March, 1522, before Adrian's arrival at Rome, the Diet had assembled at Nuremberg. Previous to this, the Bishops of Mersburg and Misnia had asked permission from the Elector of Saxony to make a visitation of the convents and churches in his states. Frederick, thinking that the truth should be strong enough to resist error, had given a favourable answer. The visitation took place. The bishops and their doctors preached fiercely against reform. They exhorted, threatened, supplicated: but their arguments seemed without force, and, when wishing to recur to more efficacious weapons, they asked the secular arm to execute their decrees, the Elector's ministers replied, that the affair required to be examined by the Bible, and that the Elector could not, at his advanced age, sit down to the study of theology. These efforts of the bishops did not bring back a single soul to the fold of Rome; and Luther who, a short time after, travelled over these countries and made his powerful eloquence be heard, effaced any feeble impressions which they had produced.

There was reason to fear that Archduke Ferdinand, the emperor's brother, would do what Frederick had refused. This young prince, who presided at part of the sittings of the Diet, gradually assuming more resolution, might, in his zeal, rashly draw the sword which his more prudent and politic brother wisely left in its sheath. In fact, Ferdinand had commenced a cruel persecution of the partisans of the Reformation in his hereditary states of Austria. But for the deliverance of reviving Christianity, God repeatedly employed the same instrument which he had used in destroying corrupted

<sup>1</sup> Per lunga esperienza delle cose del mundo, molto prudente e accorto. (Nardi Hist. Fior., lib. 7.)

<sup>2</sup> Sarpi, p. 21.



Christianity. The crescent appeared in the terrified provinces of Hungary. On the 9th of August, after a siege of six weeks, Belgrade, the bulwark of that kingdom and of the empire, yielded to the assaults of Solyman. The followers of Mahomet, after their evacuation of Spain, seemed desirous to re-enter Europe by the East. The Diet of Nuremberg forgot the monk of Worms to think only of the Luther of Constantinople. But Charles V kept both adversaries in his view. Writing the pope from Valladolid on the 31st October, he said, "It is necessary to arrest the Turks and punish the partisans of the poisonous doctrines of Luther with the sword."<sup>1</sup>

The storm which seemed to have turned away from the Reformation, and proceeded toward the East, gathered anew over the head of the Reformer. His return to Wittemberg, and the zeal which he then displayed, had awakened the old hatred. "Now that we know where to take him," said Duke George, "let the decree of Worms be carried into execution!" It was even confidently affirmed in Germany that both the emperor and Adrian would appear together at Nuremberg to advise this.<sup>2</sup> "Satan feels the wound which he has received," said Luther, "and, therefore, puts himself into all this rage. But Christ has already stretched forth his hand, and will trample him under his feet in spite of the gates of hell."<sup>3</sup>

In December, 1522, the Diet again assembled at Nuremberg. Every thing appeared to announce that, if Solyman was the great enemy who engrossed the attention of the Spring Session, Luther would be the engrossing one of the Winter Session. Adrian VI, being of German origin, flattered himself his countrymen would give him a more favourable reception than a pope of Italian origin could hope for.<sup>4</sup> He accordingly charged Chieragati, whom he had known in Spain, to repair to Nuremberg.

No sooner was the Diet met than several princes made violent speeches against Luther. The Cardinal Archbishop of Salzburg, who was in the full confidence of the emperor, was desirous that prompt and decisive measures should be taken before the arrival of the Elector of Saxony. The Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, always resolute in his course, and the Chancellor of Treves, were equally pressing for the execution of the edict of Worms. The other princes were in a great measure undecided and divided in opinion. The state of turmoil in which the Church was placed,

<sup>1</sup> Dass man die Nachfolger derselben vergiften Lehre, mit dem Schwert strafen mag. (L. Op. xvii, p. 321.)

<sup>2</sup> Cum fama sit fortis et Cæsarem et Papam Nurnbergam conventuros. (L. Ep. ii, p. 214.)

<sup>3</sup> Sed Christus qui cepit conte et eum. (Ibid, p. 215.)

<sup>4</sup> Quod ex ea regione venirent, unde nobis secundum carnem origo est (Papal Brief, (L.) Op. L. ii, p. 352)



filled her most faithful servants with anguish. The Bishop of Strasburg broke out in full Diet with the exclamation, "I would give one of my ten fingers not to be a priest."<sup>1</sup>

Chieregati, in unison with the Archbishop of Salzburg, demanded the death of Luther. "It is necessary," said he, on the part of the pope, and with a papal brief in his hands, "it is necessary to amputate this gangrened limb from the body."<sup>2</sup> Your fathers at Constance put to death John Huss and Jerome of Prague; but they revive in Luther. Follow the glorious example of your ancestors, and, with the assistance of God and St. Peter, carry off a magnificent victory over the infernal dragon."

On hearing the brief of the pious and moderate Adrian, the most of the princes were seized with terror.<sup>2</sup> Several were beginning to have a better understanding of the arguments of Luther, and had hoped other things of the pope. So then, Rome, under an Adrian, refuses to acknowledge her faults: she is still preparing her thunder, and the Germanic provinces are to be covered with desolation and blood. While the princes kept a mournful silence, the prelates and the members of the Diet were in an uproar. "Let him be put to death,"<sup>3</sup> exclaimed they, within hearing of the envoy of Saxony, who was present at the sitting.

Very different expressions were heard in the churches of Nuremberg. Crowds flocked into the chapel of the Hospital and the churches of the Augustins, St. Sibbald and St. Laurence, to the preaching of the gospel. Andrew Osiander preached powerfully in the latter church. Several princes, and, in particular, Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg, who, in his quality of Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, took rank immediately after the archbishop, was a frequent attendant. Monks quitting the convents of the town, learned trades, in order to gain a livelihood by their own hands.

Chieregati could not tolerate this boldness. He demanded that the rebellious priests and monks should be cast into prison. The Diet, notwithstanding strong opposition from the envoys of the Elector of Saxony and the Margrave Casimir, resolved to order the apprehension of the monks, but agreed previously to communicate the nuncio's complaints to Osiander and his colleagues. A committee, with the fanatical Cardinal Salzburg for its president, was entrusted with the execution of it. The danger was imminent: the struggle was on the eve of commencing; and it was with the National Council that it was to commence.

However, the citizens prevented it. While the Diet was de-

<sup>1</sup> Er Wollte einen Finger drum geben. (Seck., p. 568.)

membra jam putrida a sano corpore. (Pallav., i, 158.)

eingejagt. (Seck., p. 552.)

(L. Op. xviii, 367.)

<sup>2</sup> Resecandos ut

<sup>3</sup> Einen grossen Schrecken

<sup>4</sup> Nicht anders geschrien denn: *Crucifige! Crucifige!*

liberating as to what should be done in regard to their ministers, the town council was deliberating as to what should be done in regard to the resolution of the Diet. The decision was, that, if it was attempted, by the strong hand, to carry off the ministers of the town, they would with the strong hand set them at liberty. Such a resolution was significant. The Diet, in astonishment, intimated to the nuncio that it was contrary to law to apprehend the ministers of the free town of Nuremberg without having convicted them of heresy.

Chieregati was deeply moved at this new affront to the omnipotence of the pope. "Very well," said he proudly to Ferdinand, "do nothing but leave me to act. I will seize these heretical preachers in the pope's name."<sup>1</sup> No sooner had the Cardinal Archbishop of Mentz, and the Margrave Casimir been apprised of this strange resolution than they repaired in haste to the legate, and implored him to abandon it. The nuncio showed himself inflexible, declaring that within the bosom of Christendom the pope must be obeyed. The two princes took leave of the legate, saying, "If you persist in your design, we call upon you to give us intimation; for we will quit the town before you have proceeded to lay hands on these preachers."<sup>2</sup> The legate abandoned his project.

Having no longer any hope of succeeding in the way of authority, he resolved to have recourse to other expedients, and with this view communicated to the Diet the intentions and injunctions of the pontiff, which he had hitherto concealed.

But honest Adrian, who was a stranger to the world, by his very frankness injured the cause which he had so much at heart. "We know well," said he, in the resolutions transmitted to his legate, "that for several years many abuses and abominations have existed in the holy city.<sup>3</sup> The contagion has spread from the head into the members; it has descended from the popes to the other ecclesiastics. We desire the reformation of this Roman court whence proceed so many evils; the whole world desires it, and it was with a view to its accomplishment that we were resigned to mount the pontifical throne."

The partisans of Rome blushed for shame when they heard these strange words. Like Pallavicini, they thought the confession too frank.<sup>4</sup> On the contrary, the friends of the Reformation rejoiced

<sup>1</sup> Sese auctoritate pontifica curaturum ut isti caperentur. (Corp. Ref., i, p. 606.)

<sup>2</sup> Priusquam illi caperentur, se urbe cessuros esse. (Ibid.) <sup>3</sup> In eam sedem aliquot jam annos quædam vitia irrepsisse, abusus in rebus sacris, in legibus violationes, in cunctis denique perversionem. (Pallav., i, p. 160.) That for several years past certain vices had crept into that see—abuses in sacred matters, violations of law, and perversion in every thing. (See also Sarpi, p. 25. L. Op. xviii, p. 329, etc.)

<sup>4</sup> Liberioris tamen quam par erat, sinceritatis fuisse visum est, ea conventui pato-  
facere. (Ibid., p. 162.)

on hearing Rome proclaiming her corruption. There was no longer any doubt that Luther was right since the pope himself declared it.

The reply of the Diet showed how much the authority of the sovereign pontiff had fallen in the empire. The spirit of Luther seemed to have passed into the hearts of the representatives of the nation. The moment was favourable, Adrian's ear was open; the emperor was absent; the Diet resolved to collect into one body all the grievances which Germany complained of against Rome, and dispatch them to the pope.

The legate, alarmed at this determination, supplicated and menaced by turns, but in vain. The secular estates were decided, and the ecclesiastical offered no opposition. Eighty-four grievances were specified. The abuses and stratagems of the Roman court in making extortions on Germany,—the scandals and profanations of the clergy,—the irregularities and simony of the ecclesiastical tribunals,—the encroachment on the secular power in enslaving consciences, were exposed with equal frankness and force. The states hinted that human traditions were the source of all this corruption. They concluded thus: "If these grievances are not redressed within a limited time, we will consider other means of escaping from all this oppression and suffering."<sup>6</sup> Chieregati, foreseeing the fearful detail into which the Diet would enter, quitted Nuremberg in haste, that he might not be the bearer of so disagreeable and insolent a message.

Still, was there not room to apprehend that the Diet might be willing to compensate for their boldness by sacrificing Luther? It was thought so at first; but a spirit of truth and justice had fallen on this assembly. They, like Luther, demanded that a free council should be convened in the empire, and added, that until it took place the pure gospel only should be preached, and nothing should be printed without the approbation of certain individuals of character and learning.<sup>2</sup> These resolutions enable us to apprehend the immense progress which the Reformation had made since the Diet of Worms; and yet the Saxon envoy, the Chevalier von Feilitsch protested solemnly against any censure which the Diet might pronounce, how moderate soever the terms might be. The decision of the Diet was regarded as a first victory gained by the Reformation, and was to be succeeded by others still more decisive. Even the Swiss, in their mountains, thrilled with joy. "The Roman pontiff is vanquished in Germany," said Zuinglius: "all that remains is to wrest his arms from him. This

<sup>1</sup> Wie sie solcher Beschwerde und Drangsal entladen werden. (L. Op. xviii, p. 354.)

<sup>2</sup> Ut pie placideque purum Evangelium prædicaretur. (Pallav., i, p. 166.) That the pure gospel should be wisely and quietly preached. (See also Sleidan, i, p. 135.)



is the battle we have now to wage, and it will be the fiercest; but we have Christ as witness of the combat.”<sup>1</sup> Luther declared aloud that God had inspired the edict of the princes.<sup>2</sup>

There was great wrath in the Vatican among the ministers of the papacy. What! it is not enough to have a pope who disappoints all the hopes of the Romans, and in whose palace there is neither music nor play; must secular princes, moreover, hold a language which Rome detests, and refuse the death of the heretic of Wittemberg!

Adrian himself was very indignant at the proceedings in Germany. It was on the Elector of Saxony he discharged his anger. Never, perhaps, did Rome sound an alarm more energetic, sincere, and even more impressive.

“We have waited long, perhaps too long,” said the pious Adrian, in the brief which he addressed to the Elector, “we were desirous to see if God would not be pleased to visit your soul, and enable you at last to escape from the snares of Satan. But where we hoped to gather grapes, we have gathered only sour grapes. The spirit has blown in vain. Your iniquities have not melted away. Open your eyes then, and see the greatness of your fall!

“If the unity of the Church has been broken, if the simple have been turned aside from the faith which they had sucked at the breasts of their mother, if the churches are deserted, if the people are without priests, and the priests no longer receive the honour which is due to them, if Christians are without Christ—to whom do we owe it, if not to yourself?<sup>3</sup> . . . If Christian peace has fled the earth, if the world is full of discord, rebellion, robbery, assassination, conflagration, if the cry of war resounds from east to west, if a universal battle is preparing, you, still you are the cause!

“Do you not see that sacrilegious man (Luther), tearing to pieces the images of the saints, and even the sacred cross of Jesus Christ, with his guilty hands, and trampling them under his impure feet? . . . Do you not see him, in his impious wrath, stirring up the laity to wash their hands in the blood of the priests, and throw down the churches of the Lord?

“What matters it, though the priests whom he attacks be bad priests? Has not the Lord said, ‘*Do what they say, and not what they do,*’ thus pointing at the honour which is due to them, even when their conduct is culpable.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Victus est ac ferme profligatus e Germania romanus pontifex. (Zw. Ep. 313, 11th Oct., 1523.) The Roman pontiff was almost conquered and driven from Germany.

<sup>2</sup> Gott habe solches E. G. eingeben. (L. Op. xviii, 476.) <sup>3</sup> Dass die Kirchen ohne Volk sind, dass die Völker ohne Priester sind, dass die Priester ohne Ehre sind, und dass die Christen ohne Christo sind. (Ibid. p. 371.) <sup>4</sup> Wenn sie gleich eines verdamnten Lebens sind. (Ibid. p. 379.)



"Rebellious apostate, he is not ashamed to defile the vessels consecrated to the Lord; he plucks from their sanctuaries the holy virgins consecrated to Christ, and gives them to the devil; he takes the priests of the Lord and gives them up to infamous prostitutes . . . . Frightful profanation, at which the pagans even would have been horrified, had they seen it in the pontiffs of their idols!"

"Of what punishment, of what suffering, think you, then, we shall deem you worthy? . . . . Take pity on yourself, take pity on your miserable Saxons; for if you are not speedily converted, God will cause his vengeance to descend upon you.

"In the name of God Almighty and of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose representative on the earth I am, I declare to you, that you will be punished in this world, and plunged into the eternal fire in that which is to come. Repent and be converted! . . . Two swords are suspended over your head, the sword of the empire, and the sword of the popedom. . . ."

The pious Frederick trembled on reading this menacing brief. A short time before he had written to the Emperor to say, that old age and sickness rendered him incapable of occupying himself with these affairs; and the reply given to him was the most arrogant letter that ever a sovereign prince had received. Weakened by age, he cast his eyes on that sword which he had carried to the holy sepulchre in the days of his strength. He began to think it might be necessary to unsheath it in defence of the consciences of his subjects, and that already on the brink of the grave, he would not be able to go down to it in peace. He immediately wrote to Wittemberg for the advice of the fathers of the Reformation.

There, also, troubles and persecutions were foreseen. "What shall I say," exclaimed the mild Melancthon, "to what side shall I turn? We are overwhelmed with hatred, and the world is transported with rage against us."<sup>1</sup> Luther, Linck, Melancthon, Bugenhagen, and Amsdorff, consulted together, as to the answer to be returned to the Elector. They all proposed nearly the same answer. Their opinion is very striking.

"No prince," said they, "can undertake a war without the consent of the people from whose hands he received the government.<sup>2</sup> Now, the people have no wish to fight for the gospel, for they do not believe it. Let the princes, then, not take up arms; they are princes of the nations, in other words, of unbelievers." Thus it

<sup>1</sup> Quid dicam? quo me vertam? (Corp. Ref. i, p. 627.)

<sup>2</sup> Principi nullum licet suscipere bellum, nisi consentiente populo, a quo accepit imperium. (Ibid. p. 601.)

was the impetuous Luther who asked sage Frederick to put up the sword into its sheath. He could not give a better answer to the charge brought against him by the pope, of stirring up the laity to wash their hands in the blood of the clergy. Few characters have been less understood than his. This opinion is dated the 8th February, 1523. Frederick restrained himself.

The wrath of the pope soon bore its proper fruits. The princes who had expounded their grievances against Rome, frightened at their boldness, sought to appease him by compliance. Several besides declared that victory must remain with the pontiff of Rome, as he appeared to be the stronger. "In our day," said Luther, "princes content themselves with saying, three times three make nine, or twice seven make fourteen: the account is correct the affair will succeed. Then our Lord God rises up and says—'For how much, then, do you count me? . . . For a cipher, perhaps?' Then he turns their calculations upside down, and their accounts prove erroneous."

---

## CHAP. IV.

Persecution—Efforts of Duke George—The Convent of Antwerp—Miltenberg—The three Monks of Antwerp—The Scaffold—Martyrdom at Brussels.

The flame breathed forth by the humble and meek Adrian kindled the conflagration. His remonstrance caused an immense sensation throughout Christendom. Persecution, which had for some time been arrested, again commenced. Luther trembled for Germany, and strove to lay the storm. "If the princes," said he, "set themselves in opposition to the truth, the result will be a tumult, which will destroy princes, magistrates, priests, and people. I tremble at the thought of soon seeing all Germany swim in blood.<sup>2</sup> Let us interpose as a wall and preserve our people from the Lord's anger. The people are no longer what they have been hitherto.<sup>3</sup> The sword of civil war is suspended over the heads of kings. They wish to destroy Luther, but Luther wishes to save them. Christ lives and reigns: I shall live and reign with him."<sup>4</sup>

These words were without effect: Rome was hastening on towards scaffolds and blood. The Reformation, like Jesus Christ, had not come to bring peace, but a sword. For the purposes of God, persecution was necessary. As objects are hardened by fire,

<sup>1</sup> So kehrt er ihnen auch die Rechnung gar um. (L. Op. xxii, 1831.)

<sup>2</sup> Ut videar mihi videre Germaniam in sanguine natam. (L. Ep. ii, p. 156.)

<sup>3</sup> Cogitent populos non esse tales modo, quales hactenus fuerunt. (Ibid. p. 157.)

<sup>4</sup> Christus meus vivit et regnat, et ego vivam et regnabo. (Ibid. p. 158.)

to protect them from the influence of the atmosphere, so a trial by fire was to secure evangelical truth against the influence of the world. But this fire did more: it served, as in the early days of Christianity, to kindle an universal enthusiasm for the cause so virulently persecuted. There is in man, when he begins to know the truth, a holy indignation against injustice and violence. An instinctive feeling, which comes from God, urges him to take part with the oppressed, and, at the same time, the constancy of martyrs raises and captivates him, and hurries him on towards the saving doctrine which gives so much courage and so much peace.

Duke George headed the persecution. But he deemed it a small matter to employ it in his own states. He wished, above all, to see its ravages in electoral Saxony—the focus of heresy—and he did every thing to shake the Elector Frederick, and Duke John. Writing them from Nuremberg, he says, “Merchants just come from Saxony relate, with regard to it, things which are strange and contrary to the honour of God and the saints: the sacrament of the supper is there received with the hand. The bread and wine are consecrated in the *vulgar tongue*; the blood of Christ is put in ordinary vessels; and, at Eulenberg, to insult the priest, a man even entered the church mounted on an ass! . . . What is the consequence? The minerals with which God had enriched Saxony begin to be exhausted since the innovating preachings of Luther. Oh! would to God that those who boast of having raised up the gospel in the electorate had rather carried it to Constantinople. Luther has a soft and pleasant voice, but a venomous tail, which stings like that of the scorpion. Let us prepare for the battle. Let us throw these apostate monks and profane priests into chains and that without delay: for our remaining locks as well as beards grow white, and remind us that we have only a few days for action.”<sup>1</sup>

Thus wrote Duke George to the Elector, who replied firmly and mildly, that whosoever should do a criminal act within his States should not escape condign punishment; but that matters of conscience must be left to God.<sup>2</sup>

George not being able to persuade Frederick, hastened, in his own neighbourhood, to give proof of his severity against the cause which he hated. He imprisoned the monks and priests who adhered to Luther. He ordered back the students belonging to his states who were studying at the universities tainted with the Reformation, and he ordered all New Testaments in the vulgar tongue to be delivered up to the magistrates. The same course was followed in Austria, Wurtemberg, and the Duchy of Brunswick.

<sup>1</sup> Wie ihre Bärt und Haare ausweisen. (Seck., p. 482.)

<sup>2</sup> Müsse man solche Dinge Gott überlassen. (Ibid. 485.)



But it was in the Low Countries which were under the immediate authority of Charles V, that the persecution burst forth with greatest fury. The Augustin convent at Antwerp was full of monks who had received the truth of the gospel. Several of the friars had resided some time at Wittemberg, and from 1519 preached salvation by grace in their church, with great energy. The prior, James Probst, who was of a fiery temperament, and Melchior Mirisch, who was, on the other hand, distinguished for ability and prudence, were arrested and carried to Brussels, about the end of 1521. Probst, surprised and terrified, recanted. Melchior Mirisch found means of softening his judges, and escaped both condemnation and recantation.

These persecutions did not intimidate the monks who were left in the convent of Antwerp. They continued vigorously to preach the gospel. The people flocked to hear them, and the church of the Augustins proved too small, as that of Wittemberg had done. In October, 1522, the storm which was gathering over their heads burst: the convent was shut up, and the monks were imprisoned and condemned to death.<sup>1</sup> Some made their escape. Some females, forgetting the timidity of their sex, rescued one of them, Henry of Zuphten, from his executioners.<sup>2</sup> Three young monks, Henry Voes, John Esch, and Lambert Thorn, for some time eluded the search of the inquisitors. All the vessels of the convent were sold, the building was barricaded, and the holy sacrament removed from it as from a place become infamous. Margaret, the regent of the Low Countries, received it solemnly into the church of the holy Virgin.<sup>3</sup> Orders were given, that this heretical monastery should be razed to its foundations; and several citizens and females who had received the gospel with joy were cast into prison.<sup>4</sup>

Luther was much grieved on learning these tidings. "The cause which we defend," said he, "is no longer a simple game: it wishes blood: it demands life."<sup>5</sup>

The fates of Mirisch and Probst were to be very different. The prudent Mirisch soon became the docile servant of Rome, and the executioner of the imperial decrees against the adherents of the Reformation.<sup>6</sup> On the contrary, Probst, who had escaped from the inquisitors, bewailed his fault, withdrew his recantation, and, at Bruges in Flanders, boldly preached the doctrine which he had abjured. Arrested anew and imprisoned at Brussels, his death seemed inevitable.<sup>7</sup> A franciscan, moved with pity, aided his escape, and Probst "saved by a miracle of God," says Luther, arrived at

<sup>1</sup> Zum Tode verurtheilet. (Seck., p. 548.)

liberant. (L. Ep. ii, p. 265.)

<sup>2</sup> Quomodo mulieres vi Henricum

(Ibid.) <sup>4</sup> Cives aliquos, et mulieres vexatæ et puniæ. (Ibid.)

<sup>5</sup> Et vitam exigit et sanguinem. (Ibid. p. 181.)

<sup>6</sup> Est executor Cæsaris contra nostros. (Ibid. p. 207.)

<sup>7</sup> Domo captum, exustum credimus, (Ibid. p. 214.)



Wittenberg, where his double deliverance filled the hearts of the friends of the Reformation with joy.<sup>1</sup>

The Romish priests were every where in arms. The town of Miltenberg on the Maine, belonging to the Elector-Archbishop of Mentz, was one of the Germanic cities which had received the Word of God with the greatest readiness. The inhabitants were strongly attached to their pastor, John Draco, one of the most enlightened men of his time. He was compelled to retire, but the Roman ecclesiastics quitted at the same time, dreading the popular vengeance. An evangelical deacon alone remained to administer spiritual consolation. At the same time troops from Mentz entered and spread over the town, uttering blasphemies, brandishing their swords, and giving themselves up to debauchery.<sup>2</sup>

Some evangelical Christians fell under their blows,<sup>3</sup> others were seized and thrown into dungeons, the Romish rites were again set up, the reading of the Bible was prohibited, and the inhabitants were forbidden to speak of the gospel, even in their most private intercourse. On the entry of the troops the deacon had taken refuge in the house of a poor widow. He was denounced to the rulers, who sent a soldier to seize him. The humble deacon hearing the soldier, who was seeking his life, advancing with hasty steps, quietly waited for him, and when the door was hastily opened he rose mildly to meet him, and embracing him cordially said, "I salute you, my brother; here I am, plunge your sword into my bosom."<sup>4</sup> The fierce soldier, astonished, let his sword fall from his hand, and would not allow any harm to be done to the pious evangelist.

Meanwhile the inquisition of the Low Countries, thirsting for blood, scoured the country, and searched every where for the young Augustins who had escaped from the persecution of Antwerp. Esch, Voes, and Lambert, were at last discovered, chained, and carried to Brussels. Egmondanus, Hochstratten, and some other inquisitors, summoned them before them. Hochstratten asked, "Do you retract your assertion that the priest has not power to pardon sins, and that pardon belongs to God only?" He next enumerated all the evangelical doctrines, and summoned them to abjure them. "We recant nothing," exclaimed Esch and Voes firmly; "we will not abjure the Word of God; we will sooner die for the faith!"

<sup>1</sup> Jacobus, Dei miraculo liberatus qui nunc agit nobiscum. (L. Ep. ii, p. 182.) This letter, which in Wette's collection bears the date of 14th April, must be posterior to June. For Luther, on the 27th June, says, that Probst has been taken a second time, and is to be burnt. It may be admitted that Probst was in Wittenberg between his two imprisonments, for Luther would not have said of a Christian who had saved himself by a recantation that he had been delivered by a miracle of God. Perhaps the date should be read, not '*in die S. Tiburtii*,' but '*in die Turias*,' which would bring it to 13th July, which seems to me the more probable date.

<sup>2</sup> So sie doch schändlicher leben denn Huren und Buben. (Ibid., ii, p. 482.)

<sup>3</sup> Schlug etliche tod.

(Seck., p. 604.)

<sup>4</sup> Sey gegriest, mein Bruder. (Sculter., ann. i, p. 173.)

*Inquisitor*.—"Do you confess that you have been led astray by Luther?"

*The Young Augustins*.—"Just as the apostles were led astray by Jesus Christ."

*The Inquisitors*.—"We pronounce you heretics, who deserve to be burnt alive; and we hand you over to the secular arm."

Lambert was silent: he was afraid of death: anguish and doubt agitated his soul. "I ask four days," said he, in a suppressed tone. He was taken back to prison. As soon as this period was expired, the sacerdotal consecration was formally withdrawn from Esch and Voes, who were handed over to the council of the Regent of the Low Countries. The council handed them over hand-cuffed to the executioner. Hochstratten, and three other inquisitors accompanied them even to the scaffold.<sup>1</sup>

When arrived near the scaffold, the young martyrs eyed it calmly; their constancy, their piety, their youth,<sup>2</sup> drew tears even from the inquisitors. When they were bound, the confessors approached: "We ask you once more, Will you receive the Christian faith?"

*The Martyrs*.—"We believe in the Christian Church; but not in your Church."

A half hour passed away: it was hoped that the prospect of so frightful a death would intimidate the youths. But, the only persons who were calm amidst the agitated crowd which covered the public square, they sung psalms, occasionally interrupting this employment to say boldly, "We wish to die for the name of Jesus Christ."

"Be converted, be converted," exclaimed the inquisitors, "or you will die in the name of the devil."—"No," replied the martyrs: "we will die as Christians for the truth of the gospel."

The pile was set on fire. While the flame ascended slowly, divine peace filled their hearts; and one of them even went so far as to say, "I feel as if reclining on a bed of roses."<sup>3</sup> The solemn hour had come: death was at hand: the two martyrs, with loud voice, exclaimed, "*O Domini Jesu, Fili David, miserere nostri!*" "Lord Jesus, Son of David, have mercy on us!" Then they began in a solemn voice to repeat the creed.<sup>4</sup> At length the flames reached them; but, before depriving them of life, burned the cords with which they were bound to the pile. One of them taking advantage of his liberty, threw himself on his knees, and thus worshipping his Master,<sup>5</sup> with clasped hands, exclaimed,—“ Lord Jesus, Son

<sup>1</sup> Facta est hæc res Bruxellæ in publico foro. (L. Ep. ii, p. 361.) The execution took place at Brussels in the public market place.

<sup>2</sup> Nondum triginta annorum. (ibid.) Not yet thirty years of age.

(Brandt Hist. der Reformatie i. p. 79)

<sup>4</sup> Admoto igni, canere coeperunt symbolum fidei, says Erasmus. (Ep. i, p. 1278.)

Knie gefallen. (L. Op. xviii, p. 481.)

<sup>3</sup> Dit schijnen mij als roosen te zijn.

<sup>5</sup> Da ist der eine im Feuer auf die

of David, have mercy on us!" The fire surrounded their bodies: they sung the *Te Deum laudamus*. Shortly after their voice was stifled by the flames, and all that remained of them was their ashes.

The execution had lasted four hours. It was on the 1st July, 1523, that the first martyrs of the Reformation thus gave their lives for the gospel.

All good men shuddered when they heard of it. The future excited great alarm. "Executions begin," said Erasmus.<sup>1</sup> "At length," exclaimed Luther, "Jesus Christ gathers some fruit from our doctrine. He forms new martyrs."

But the joy which Luther felt at the fidelity of these two Christian youths was damped by the thought of Lambert. He was the most learned of the three, and had taken the place of Probst, as preacher, at Antwerp. Agitated in his dungeon, and afraid of death, he was still more alarmed by his conscience, which reproached him with his cowardice, and urged him to confess the gospel. Shortly after having got the better of his fears, he boldly proclaimed the truth, and died like his brethren.<sup>2</sup>

A rich harvest was produced from the blood of these martyrs. Brussels turned towards the gospel.<sup>3</sup> "Wherever Aleander raises a scaffold," said Erasmus, "the effect is the same as if he sowed heretics."<sup>4</sup>

"Your bonds are my bonds," exclaimed Luther, "your dungeons my dungeons, and your scaffolds my scaffolds!"<sup>5</sup> "We are all with you and the Lord is at our head." He then wrote a beautiful poem in celebration of the death of the young monks. In a short time the poem was sung in Germany and the Netherlands, in town and country, every where producing an enthusiastic feeling for the faith of the martyrs:—

No! their ashes will not die;  
Abroad their holy dust will fly,  
And scatter'd o'er earth's farthest strand,  
Raise up for God a warlike band.  
Satan, by taking life away,  
May keep them silent for a day;  
But death has from him victory wrung,  
And Christ in every clime is sung.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cœpta est carnificina. (Ep. p. 1429.)

<sup>2</sup> Quarta post exustus est tertius frater Lambertus. (L. Ep. ii, p. 361.)

<sup>3</sup> Ea mors multos fecit Lutheranos. (Er. Ep. p. 952.) That death made many Lutherans. Tum demum cœpit civitas favere Luthero. (Ibid., p. 1676.) Erasmus to Duke George. Ea civitas antea purissima. (Ibid., p. 1430.)

<sup>4</sup> Ubique fumos excitavit nuntius, ibi diceres fuisse factam hæreson sementem. (Ibid.)

<sup>5</sup> Vestra vincula mea sunt, vestri carceres et ignes mei sunt. (L. Ep. ii, p. 464.)

<sup>6</sup> Die Asche will nicht lassen ab,

Sie stäubt in allen Landen,

Die hilft kein Bach, Loch, noch Grab . . . (L. Op. xviii, p. 484.)



## CHAP. V.

New Pope—The Legate Campeggio—Diet of Nuremberg—Demand of the Legate—Reply of the Diet—Project of a Secular Council—Alarm and efforts of the Pope—Bavaria—League of Ratisbon—Rigour and Reform—Political Schisms—Opposition—Intrigues of Rome—Edict of Bruges—Rupture.

Adrian would doubtless have persisted in violent courses. The inefficacy of his attempts to arrest the Reformation, his orthodoxy, his zeal, his rigour, his conscience even would have made him a cruel persecutor. Providence put it out of his power. On the 14th September, 1523, he died, and the Romans, delighted at their deliverance from this rigid stranger, decked the gate of his physician with flowers, placing over them the inscription—"To the saviour of his country."

Julius de Medici, cousin of Leo X, succeeded, under the name of Clement VII. From the day of his election, no more was heard of religious reform. The new pope, like many of his predecessors, thought only of upholding the privileges of the papacy, and employing them as the means of extending his power.

Wishing to repair the faults of Adrian, Clement sent to Nuremberg a legate of his own temper, one of the ablest prelates of his court, the Cardinal Campeggio, a man of great experience in business, and acquainted with almost all the princes of Germany. The legate, who had been received with great pomp in the towns of Italy, soon became aware of the change which had taken place in the empire. On entering Augsburg, wishing, according to custom, to give his benediction to the people, he was received with laughter. He held it as pronounced, and entered Nuremberg incognito, without repairing to the Church of St. Sebald, where the clergy were in attendance. No priests went before him in sacerdotal garments, no crucifix was carried before him in state.<sup>1</sup> One would have said it was an ordinary individual walking along the street. Every thing announced to the papacy that its reign was drawing to a close.

The Diet had again been opened at Nuremberg, in January, 1524. A storm threatened the national government, which had owed its existence to the firmness of Frederick. The Suabian league, the wealthiest towns of Germany, and, above all, Charles V, had vowed its destruction. It was accused of favouring the new heresy.

<sup>1</sup> *Communi habitu, quod per sylvas et campos ierat, per mediam urbem . . . sine clero, sine prævia cruce.* (Cochl., p. 82.)



Accordingly, it was resolved to renew the administration without retaining one of the old members. Frederick, in vexation, immediately quitted Nuremberg.

The festival of Easter being at hand, Osiander and the evangelical preachers redoubled their zeal. The former preached openly, that antichrist entered Rome the very day Constantine the Great quitted it to take up his residence at Constantinople. The consecration of branches, and several of the other ceremonies of the festival were omitted; four thousand persons received the Supper in both kinds, and the Queen of Denmark, the emperor's sister, received it publicly in the same form in the castle. "Ah!" exclaimed the Archduke Ferdinand in a transport of rage, "I wish you were not my sister." "The same womb carried us," replied the queen, "and I will sacrifice every thing to please you except the Word of God."<sup>1</sup>

Campeggio shuddered on beholding so much hardihood, but affecting to despise the laughter of the people, and the sermons of the preachers, trusting to the support of the emperor and the pope, he reminded the Diet of the edict of Worms, and demanded that the Reformation should be suppressed by force. At these words several of the princes and deputies expressed their indignation. "What," said they to Campeggio, "have become of the grievances presented to the pope by the Germanic nation?" The legate, in accordance with his instructions, assumed an air of simple astonishment. "Three copies of that production," said he, "reached Rome, but we had no official communication of it, and I could not believe that a document so unbecoming could have emanated from your lordships."

The Diet was indignant at this reply. If this is the way in which their representations are received by the pope, they, too, in their turn, will know how to receive those which he may be pleased to address to them. "The people," said several deputies, "are thirsting for the Word of God, and to force it from them, as ordered by the edict of Worms, were to cause torrents of blood to be shed."

The Diet immediately proceeded to prepare an answer to the pope. Not having power to abolish the edict of Worms, they appended a clause which virtually annulled it. "It is necessary," said they, "to conform to it *so far as possible*."<sup>2</sup> Several States had declared that it was impossible. At the same time evoking the importunate shade of the Councils of Constance and Basle, the

<sup>1</sup> Wollte sich des Wortes Gottes halten. (Seckend. p. 613.)  
sibile sit . . . (Cochl., p. 84.)

<sup>2</sup> Quantum eis pos-

Diet demanded that an universal Council of Christendom should be convened in Germany.

The friends of the Reformation did not stop here. What was to be expected from a council, which, perhaps, never would be called, and which, in all events, would be composed of bishops from all nations? Would Germany submit its anti-Roman feelings to prelates from Spain, France, England, and Italy? The national government having been overthrown, its place must be supplied by a national assembly to protect the interests of the people.

In vain did Hannaart, who had been sent from Spain by Charles V, and all the partisans of Rome and the empire, oppose this project. The majority of the Diet were inflexible. It was agreed that a Diet, a secular assembly, should meet at Spires in November, to regulate all religious questions, and that the States should direct their theologians forthwith to prepare a list of the controverted points, to be submitted to this august assembly.

The task was immediately commenced. Each province prepared its document. Never had Rome been threatened with a mightier explosion. Franconia, Brandenburg, Henneberg, Windsheim, Wertheim, Nuremberg, declared, in evangelical terms, against the seven sacraments, the abuses of the mass, the worship of saints, and the supremacy of the pope. "Here," said Luther, "is money of a good stamp." Not one of the questions generally agitated will be passed over in silence in this national council. The majority will obtain general measures. . . . The unity of Germany, its independence, and Reformation will be secured.

At this news the pope could not restrain his anger. What! Is it dared to establish a secular tribunal to decide on religious matters, and that contrary to his authority?<sup>1</sup> If this monstrous resolution is executed, no doubt, Germany is saved, but Rome is destroyed! A consistory was assembled in all haste, and from the agitated state of the senators, it might have been supposed that the Germans were marching on the Capital. "The thing necessary," said Aleander, "is to pluck the electoral hat from the head of Frederick." "The kings of England and Spain," said another cardinal, "must threaten to break off all intercourse with the free towns." At last the congregation decided, that the only means of safety was to stir up heaven and earth, in order to prevent the meeting at Spires.

The pope immediately wrote the emperor. "If I am the first to face the storm, it is not because I am the only person threatened

<sup>1</sup> Pontifex ægerrime tulit . . . intelligens novum de religione tribunal eo pacto excitari citra ipsius auctoritatem. (Pallav. i, p. 182.) The pontiff took it very ill . . . when he heard that, in that way, a new religious tribunal was erected without his authority.

by it, but because I sit at the helm. The rights of the empire are attacked even more than the dignity of the court of Rome."

While the pope sent this letter into Castille, he laboured to obtain allies in Germany. He had soon gained one of the most powerful houses of the empire, that of the Dukes of Bavaria. The edict of Worms had not been better observed there than elsewhere, and the evangelical doctrine had made great progress; but, about the end of 1521, the princes of the country having been shaken by Dr. Eck, the Chancellor of the University of Ingolstadt, had approximated to Rome, and issued an edict, by which they enjoined all their subjects to remain faithful to the religion of their fathers.<sup>1</sup>

The Bavarian bishops testified their alarm at the proposed encroachment of the secular power; and Eck set out to Rome to petition the pope to extend the influence of the princes. The pope granted every thing, and even bestowed on the dukes a fifth of the ecclesiastical revenues of their country.

Thus, at a time when the Reformation had not assumed any organised form, Roman Catholicism had recourse to powerful institutions for its support; and Catholic princes, sanctioned by the pope, laid hands on the revenues of the Church long before the Reformation ventured to touch them. What, then, must be thought of the charges which the Roman Catholics have so often made in this respect?

Clement VII could count upon the Dukes of Bavaria in quelling the formidable assembly of Spires. Shortly after, the Archduke Ferdinand, the Archbishop of Salzburg, and several other princes were also gained.

But this did not satisfy Campeggio. Germany must be divided into two camps. Germans must be set against Germans.

During his stay at Stuttgart, the legate, in concert with Ferdinand, had sketched the plan of a league against the Reformation. "There is every thing to be feared," said he, "from an assembly, where the popular voice will be heard. The Diet of Spires may destroy Rome and save Wittemberg. Let us close our ranks and arrange our order of battle."<sup>2</sup> Ratisbon was fixed on as the place of rendezvous.

Notwithstanding of the jealousy between the houses of Bavaria and Austria, Campeggio succeeded, in the end of June, 1524, in bringing about a meeting in this town, between the Dukes of Bavaria and the Archduke Ferdinand. The Archbishop of Salzburg, and the bishops of Trent and Ratisbon, joined them. The bishops

<sup>1</sup> Erstes baierisches Religions Mandat. (Winter, Gesch. der Evang. Lehre in Baiern, i, p. 310.)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 156.



of Spire, Bamberg, Augsburg, Strasburg, Basle, Constance, Freisingen, Passau, and Brixen, were represented by deputies.

The legate opened the meeting, with an energetic picture of the dangers to which the Reformation exposed the princes and clergy. "Let us extirpate heresy, and save the Church," exclaimed he.

The conferences continued during fifteen days in the town-house of Ratisbon. A grand ball, which was kept up during a whole night, enlivened this first Catholic assembly, held by the papacy against the rising Reformation.<sup>1</sup> The measures intended to destroy the heretics were afterwards resolved.

The princes and bishops engaged to execute the edicts of Worms and Nuremberg—to allow no change in public worship—to give no toleration within their States to any married ecclesiastic—to recall all the students belonging to their States who might be at Wittenberg, and to employ all the means in their power for the extirpation of heresy. In regard to difficult passages of Scripture, preachers were enjoined to confine themselves to the interpretation given by the fathers of the Latin Church, viz., Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory. Not daring, in presence of the Reformation, to re-establish the authority of the schoolmen, they contented themselves with laying the first foundations of Roman orthodoxy.

On the other hand, not being able to shut their eyes to the scandals and corrupt manners of the priests,<sup>2</sup> they agreed on a scheme of reform, in which they agreed to pay regard to those German grievances in which the court of Rome were least concerned. Priests were forbidden to engage in trade, to haunt taverns, frequent dances, and engage over the bottle in discussing articles of faith.

Such was the result of the confederation of Ratisbon.<sup>3</sup> While taking up arms against the Reformation, Rome conceded somewhat to it. In these resolutions may be observed the first influence of the Reformation of the sixteenth century, in effecting an internal revival in catholicism. The gospel cannot display its power without compelling its opponents in some way to imitate it. Emser had opposed a translation of the Bible to the translation of Luther, and Eck *Common Places* to those of Melancthon;<sup>4</sup> and now Rome opposed to the Reformation those partial attempts at reform to which we owe modern catholicism. But all these acts of Rome were in reality only subtle expedients to escape from the danger which threatened her, branches plucked,

<sup>1</sup> Ranke, *Deutsche Gesch.* ii, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> *Improbis clericorum abusibus et perditis moribus.* (Cochl. p. 91.) The wicked abuses and abandoned morals of the clergy.

<sup>3</sup> *Ut Lutheranae factioni efficacius resistere possint, ultronea confederatione sese constrinxerunt.* (Ibid.) That they might the more effectually resist the Lutheran faction, they voluntarily entered into a confederacy.

<sup>4</sup> *Enchiridion, seu Loci Communes contra Hæreticos.* 1525.



it is true, from the tree of the Reformation, but planted in a soil in which they could only die. Life was wanting, and always will be wanting, to similar attempts.

We are here presented with another fact. At Ratisbon the Roman party formed the first league which destroyed German unity. It was in the camp of the pope that the signal for battle was given. Ratisbon was the cradle of that schism—that political disruption of Germany, which still, in our day, so many Germans deplore. The national assembly of Spires might, by sanctioning and generalising the Reformation of the Church, have secured the unity of the empire. The separatist conventicle of Ratisbon rent the nation for ever into two parties.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile the projects of Campeggio did not at first succeed so well as had been imagined. Few princes responded to the call. The most decided opponents of Luther, Duke George of Saxony, the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, the ecclesiastical electors, and the imperial towns took no part in it. The feeling was, that the pope's legate was forming in Germany a Roman party against the nation itself. The popular sympathies counterbalanced the religious antipathies, and the *Reformation of Ratisbon* soon became the object of popular derision. But the first step was taken: the example was given. It was thought that there would afterwards be little difficulty in strengthening and extending the Roman league. Those who still hesitated would find it impossible to avoid being hurried along by the progress of events. To the legate Campeggio belongs the honour of having discovered the mine which brought the Germanic liberties within a finger's breadth of destruction. Thenceforth Luther's cause ceased to be entirely of a religious nature; the dispute of the monk of Wittemberg held a place in the politics of Europe. Luther is going to be eclipsed, and Charles V, the pope, and the princes will be the principal characters on the theatre where the great drama of the sixteenth century is to be performed.

The assembly of Spires, however, was still in perspective: it might repair the mischief which Campeggio had done at Ratisbon. Rome, therefore, used every effort to prevent it. "What!" said the deputies of the pope, not only to Charles V, but to his ally Henry VIII and the princes of Christendom, "What! do those proud Germans pretend to decide questions of faith in a national assembly! Apparently, kings, the imperial majesty, all Christendom, the whole world will be obliged to stoop to their decrees."

The moment was well chosen for influencing the emperor. The war between this prince and Francis I was at its height. Pescara

<sup>1</sup> Ranke *Deutsche Gesch.* ii, p. 163.

and the Constable de Bourbon had quitted Italy in May, and, having entered France, laid siege to Marseilles. The pope, who did not regard this attack with a friendly eye, was able to make a powerful diversion in the rear of the imperial army. Charles, who must have been afraid to displease him, did not hesitate, but at once sacrificed the independence of the emperor for the favour of Rome and the success of his struggle with France.

On the 15th July, Charles, at Burgos in Castille, issued an edict in which, in an imperious and impassioned tone, he declared "that it belonged to the pope alone to assemble a council—to the emperor alone to ask it: that the meeting fixed to take place at Spires could not, and would not, be tolerated: that it was strange in the German nation to undertake a work which all the other nations of the world, even with the pope, would not be entitled to do; that the proper course was to hasten the execution of the decree of Worms against the new Mahomet."

Thus, from Spain and Italy proceeded the stroke which arrested the progress of the gospel in Germany. This did not satisfy Charles. In 1519 he had offered to Duke John, the Elector's brother, to marry his sister, the Archduchess Catherine, to John Frederick, the duke's son, and heir to the electorate. But was not this the house of Saxony which maintained the principles of religious and political independence in Saxony, and which Charles hated? He determined to break entirely with the troublesome and criminal representative of evangelical and national ideas, and gave his sister in marriage to John III, king of Portugal. Frederick who, in 1519, had been indifferent to the overtures of the king of Spain, was able, in 1524, to suppress the indignation he felt at the emperor's conduct, but Duke John keenly expressed what he felt at the blow thus inflicted.

Thus the two hostile camps which were long to rend the empire became more distinctly marked.

---

## CHAP. VI.

*Persecution—Gaspard Tauber—A Bookseller—Cruelties in Wurtemberg, Salzburg, Bavaria, Pomerania—Henry of Zuphten.*

The Romish party did not stop here. The alliance of Ratisbon was not to be a mere form. It was necessary that it should be sealed with blood. Ferdinand and Campeggio went down the Danube together from Ratisbon to Vienna, and, during the voyage, gave to

each other promises of cruelty. Persecution immediately commenced in the Austrian states.

A citizen of Venice, named Gaspard Tauber, had circulated the works of Luther, and had himself written against the invocation of saints, purgatory, and transubstantiation.<sup>1</sup> Being thrown into prison, he was summoned by the judges, as well theologians as lawyers, to retract his errors. It was thought that he was willing to do so, and every thing was prepared to give the people of Vienna the solemn spectacle. On the birth-day of Mary, two desks were erected in the cemetery of St. Stephen, the one for the leader of the choir, who was to chant in celebration of the heretic's repentance, and the other for Tauber himself. The form of recantation was put into his hand:<sup>2</sup> the people, the singers, and the priests were waiting in silence. Whether Tauber had not given any promise, or whether, at the moment of abjuration, his faith suddenly revived with new force, he exclaimed, "I am not convinced, and I appeal to the Holy Roman Empire." The ecclesiastics, the choir, and the people were amazed. But Tauber continued to demand death sooner than deny the gospel. He was beheaded, and his body was burnt.<sup>3</sup> His courage made a lasting impression on the citizens of Vienna.

At Bude, in Hungary, an evangelical bookseller, named John, had circulated the New Testament, and Luther's writings, throughout the country. He was tied to a stake, then all his books were gradually piled around him, and set on fire. John displayed unshaken courage, exclaiming, from the midst of the flames, that he was happy in suffering for the Lord.<sup>4</sup> "Blood succeeds blood," exclaimed Luther, on hearing of his death, "but this noble blood which Rome is pleased to shed, will at length suffocate the pope with all his kingdoms and all his kings."<sup>5</sup>

Fanaticism became more and more inflamed: evangelical ministers were driven from their churches; magistrates were banished: sometimes dreadful executions took place. In Wurtemberg an inquisitor named Reichler, caused the Lutherans, and especially their preachers, to be hung on trees. Barbarians were seen coolly nailing ministers to the stake by the tongue, so that the poor sufferers in struggling or tearing themselves from the

<sup>1</sup> Atque etiam proprios ipse tractatus perscripserim. (Coch. p. 92, verso.) I have also read tracts by himself.

<sup>2</sup> See Coch., *Ib.* Cum igitur ego Gasparus Tauber, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Credo te vidisse Casparis Tauber historiam martyris novi Viennæ, quem caesum capite scribunt et igne exustum pro verbo Dei. (Luther to Hausmann, 12 Nov. 1524, ii. p. 563.) I believe you have seen the account of Gaspard Tauber the new martyr, at Vienna, who is said to have been beheaded and burnt in the flames for the Word of God.

<sup>4</sup> Idem accidit Budæ in Ungaria bibliopolæ cuidam Johanni, simul cum libris circa eum positis exusto, fortissimeque passo pro Domino. (Ibid.)

<sup>5</sup> Sanguis sanguinem tangit, qui suffocabit papam cum regibus et regibus suis (Ibid.)

wood to which they were fastened, to regain their liberty were horribly mutilated, and thus were made the instruments of depriving themselves of that gift of speech, which they had long employed in preaching the gospel.<sup>1</sup>

The same persecutions were carried on in the other States of the Catholic League. An evangelical minister of Salzburg was on the way to prison, where he would have ended his days. While the officers, who had him in charge, were drinking in an inn on the road, two peasants, moved with compassion, eluded their vigilance, and delivered the pastor. The wrath of the archbishop was inflamed against the poor youths; and, without any legal process, he gave orders that they should be beheaded. They were led away secretly, at an early hour, beyond the town. When they arrived at the spot where they were to suffer, the executioner himself hesitated: "for," said he, "they have not been tried." "Do what I command you," sharply replied the commissary of the archbishop, "and leave the responsibility to the prince!" And the heads of the young deliverers immediately fell under the sword.<sup>2</sup>

Persecution raged especially in the States of the Dukes of Bavaria: the priests were deposed, and the nobles banished from their castles; informers were employed over the whole country; distrust and terror reigned in all hearts. A magistrate, named Bernard Fichtel, was journeying to Nuremberg on the affairs of the duke; on the highway he fell in with Francis Burkhard, professor at Ingolstadt, a friend of Dr. Eck. Burkhard accosted him, and they travelled on together. After supper, the professor began to speak of religion. Fichtel, being aware of his companion, reminded him that the new edict prohibited such conversation. "Between us," replied Burkhard, "there is no room for fear." Fichtel then said, "I do not believe that this edict can ever be executed," and expressed himself in an equivocal manner on the subject of purgatory. He added that it was a horrible thing to inflict death for religious opinions. At these words Burkhard could not restrain himself. "What more just," exclaimed he, "than to cut off the heads of all these villains of Lutherans!" He, however, parted with Fichtel on good terms, but hastened to inform upon him. Fichtel was cast into prison; and the poor man, who had never thought of becoming a martyr, and whose convictions were not deep, only escaped death by the disgrace of a recantation. There was now no safety any where: not even in the bosom of a friend.

But the death which Fichtel escaped, others met. In vain was

<sup>1</sup> Ranke *Deutsche Gesch.* ii, p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> Zauner, *Salzburger Chronik*, iv, p. 381.



it to preach the gospel only in secret.<sup>1</sup> The dukes persecuted it in the shade, in concealment, under the roofs of houses, in secret retreats, in the fields.

"The cross and persecution," said Luther, "reign in Bavaria: these ferocious beasts carry it with fury."<sup>2</sup>

Even the north of Germany was not sheltered from these cruelties. Bogislas, Duke of Pomerania, having died, his son, who had been brought up at the court of Duke George, persecuted the gospel; Suaren and Knipstraw were obliged to save themselves by flight.

But it was in Holstein that one of the strongest instances of fanaticism was given.

Henry of Zuphten, who had escaped, as we have seen, from the convent of Antwerp, was preaching the gospel at Bremen; Nicholas Boye, pastor at Mehldorf, in the Dittmarches, and several pious persons in that district having invited him to preach the gospel to them, he complied. Forthwith, the prior of the Dominican, and the vicar of the official of Hamburg, consulted together. "If he preaches, and the people listen to him," said they, "all is lost!" The prior, after a wakeful night, got up early in the morning, and proceeded to the wild and sterile moor, where the forty-eight regents of the country usually assembled. "The monk of Bremen is arrived," said he to them, "to ruin all the Dittmarches." These forty-eight simple and ignorant men, who were assured that they would acquire great renown by ridding the world of the heretical monk, resolved to put him to death without having either seen or heard him.

It was Saturday, and the prior wishing to prevent Henry from preaching on Sunday, arrived at midnight at the house of pastor Boye, with the letter of the forty-eight regents. "If it is God's will that I die in the Dittmarches," said Henry Zuphten, "heaven is as near there as any where else.<sup>3</sup> I shall preach."

He mounted the pulpit and preached powerfully. The hearers, touched and inflamed by his eloquence, had scarcely left the church when the prior put into their hands a letter from the forty-eight regents, forbidding them to allow the monk to preach. They immediately sent their representatives to the heath, and, after long debate, the Dittmarches agreed that, considering their complete ignorance of the matter, they would wait till Easter. But the enraged prior waited on some of the regents, and anew inflamed their zeal. "We will write him," said they. "Beware of doing

<sup>1</sup> Verbi non palam seminati. (L. Ep. ii. p. 559.)  
crux et persecutio . . . . (Ibid.)  
L. Op. xix, 330.)

<sup>2</sup> In Bavaria multum regnat  
<sup>3</sup> Der Himmel wäre da so nahe als anderswo.

so," replied the prior; "if he begins to speak, nothing can be done to him. He must be seized during the night, and burnt before he can open his mouth."

It was so resolved. The day after the feast of the Conception, after it was night, the *Ave Maria* was tolled. At this signal, all the peasants of the neighbouring villages assembled, to the number of five hundred, and their leaders having caused five hogsheads of Hamburgh beer to be pierced, in this way inspired them with great courage. Midnight struck as they reached Mehldorf. The peasants were armed; the monks carried torches; the whole proceeded, without order, uttering furious cries. On arriving at the village, they kept a profound silence lest Henry should escape.

The doors of the curacy were suddenly burst open, and the drunken peasants rushed in, striking at every thing that came in their way. They threw down vases, kettles, goblets, clothes, snatched up whatever gold or silver they could find, and pouncing on the poor pastor, struck him, crying, "Kill him! kill him!" They then threw him into the mire. But Henry was their object. They pulled him from his bed, bound his hands behind his back, and dragged him after them. "What brought you here?" they asked. Henry having answered mildly, they exclaimed, "Away! away! if we listen to him we will become heretics like himself." He had been hurried naked over the ice and snow, his feet were bleeding, and he begged they would put him on horseback. "Good sooth," replied they in derision, "we are going to furnish heretics with horses! Get along!" And they continued to drag him till they reached the heath. A woman, who was at the door of her house, as the poor servant of God passed, began to cry. "Good woman," said Henry to her, "weep not for me." The bailie pronounced his condemnation. Then one of the furious men who had brought him, struck the servant of Jesus Christ over the head with a sword: another struck him with a club. Next a poor monk was brought to receive his confession. "Brother," said Henry to him, "did I ever do you any harm?" "No," replied the monk. "Then I have nothing to confess to you." The monk withdrew in confusion. Many ineffectual attempts were made to light the pile. In this way the martyr stood for two hours before these furious peasants—calm, and with his eyes raised towards heaven. As they were binding him to throw him on the pile, he began to make confession of his faith. "Burn first," said a peasant, striking him on the mouth with his fist, "and you will speak after." He was thrown down, but fell on the side of the pile. John Holme, seizing a club, struck him on the breast, and he lay stretched out dead on the burning faggots. "Such is the true

history of the sufferings of the holy martyr, Henry of Zuphten." <sup>1</sup>

---

## CHAP. VII.

Divisions—Lord's Supper—Two Extremes—Carlstadt—Luther—Mysticism of the Anabaptists—Carlstadt at Orlamund—Mission of Luther—Interview at dinner—Conference of Orlamund—Carlstadt banished.

The Reformation, while the Romish party were every where drawing the sword against it, was undergoing new developments. It is not at Zurich or Geneva, but at Wittemberg, the centre of the Lutheran revival, that we must trace the beginnings of that Reformed Church, of which Calvin has become the greatest doctor. These two great families slept in the same cradle. The union ought also to have crowned their age. But the question of the Supper having been once raised, Luther violently rejected the reformed element, and found himself and his Church in an exclusive Lutheranism. The chagrin which he felt at this rival doctrine deprived him somewhat of the good humour which was natural to him, and gave him a spirit of distrust, a habitual dissatisfaction and irritation, which he had not shown previously.

It was between two old friends—between the champions, who, at Leipsic, had fought together against Rome—between Carlstadt and Luther that this dispute arose. Their attachment to contrary doctrines proceeded, both in the one and in the other, from estimable feelings. In fact, there are two extremes in religion; the one consists in materialising, the other in spiritualising every thing. The former is the extreme of Rome—the latter that of the mystics. Religion, like man himself, consists of body and soul; the pure idealists, as well as the materialists, are equally wrong both in religion and in philosophy.

Such is the grand discussion which lies hid under the dispute as to the Supper. While, on a superficial glance, we see only a paltry quarrel about words, a more profound examination discovers in it one of the most important controversies which can occupy the human mind.

The Reformers thus form two great divisions; but each of them carries with it a portion of the truth. Luther, with his adherents, mean to combat an exaggerated spiritualism. Carlstadt, and the reformed, attack a hateful materialism. Each opposes the error

<sup>1</sup> Das ist die wahre Historie, etc. (L. Op. xix, p. 333.)

which he deems most fatal, and, in opposing it, perhaps goes beyond the truth. But no matter; each of them is true in its general tendency, and though belonging to different armies, these two distinguished doctors are ranged under one common banner—that of Jesus Christ, who alone is the truth in its fullest extent.

Carlstadt thought that nothing could be more hurtful to true piety than confidence in external ceremonies, and in a certain magical influence in the sacraments. Rome had said, that external participation in the sacrament of the Supper was sufficient to save, and this principle had materialised religion. Carlstadt saw nothing better fitted to spiritualise it anew than to deny all bodily presence of Christ; and he taught that the sacred repast was merely a pledge to believers of their redemption.

On this subject Luther took quite an opposite direction. He had at the outset maintained the view which has just been indicated. In his writing on the mass, which appeared in 1520, he said, "I can every day enjoy the sacraments, if only I remember the word and promise of Christ, and with it nourish and strengthen my faith." Neither Carlstadt, Zuinglius, nor Calvin, has ever said any thing stronger. It even seems that, at this period, the idea often occurred to him, that a symbolical explanation of the Supper would be the most powerful weapon completely to overthrow the whole popish system; for in 1525 he says that, five years before, he had fought many hard battles in defence of this doctrine;<sup>1</sup> and that any one who could have proved to him that there was nothing but bread and wine in the Supper, would have done him an immense service.

But new circumstances occurred, which engaged him in an opposition, sometimes passionate, to these very views to which he had so nearly approximated. The fanaticism of the Anabaptists explain the direction which Luther then took. These enthusiasts were not satisfied with setting little value on what they called the external word, in other words, the Bible, and pretending to special revelations of the Holy Spirit; they also went the length of despising the sacrament of the Supper as something external, and to speak of internal communion as alone true. Thenceforth, in all the attempts which were made to explain the doctrine of the Supper in a symbolical manner, Luther saw nothing but the danger of shaking the authority of the Holy Scriptures, of substituting arbitrary allegories for their true meaning, of spiritualising every thing in religion, making it consist not in divine graces but in human impressions; and thus substituting for true Christianity a mysticism, a theosophy, a fanaticism, which would inevitably be-

<sup>1</sup> Ich habe wohl so harte Anfechtungen da erlitten. (L. Ep. p. 577.)



come its tomb. It must be acknowledged that, but for the powerful opposition of Luther, the mystical, enthusiastic, and subjective tendency, would then, in all probability, have made rapid progress, and trampled under foot all the blessings which the Reformation was destined to diffuse in the world.

Carlstadt, impatient at not being able freely to develop his faith at Wittemberg, urged by his conscience to combat a system, which, according to him, "lowered the death of Christ, and annihilated his righteousness," resolved "to make an outbreak for the love of poor deluded Christendom." He quitted Wittemberg in the beginning of 1524, without notice either to the university or the chapter, and repaired to the little town of Orlamund, whose church was under his superintendence. He caused the vicar to be deposed, and himself to be appointed pastor in his stead; and in spite of the chapter, the university, and the Elector, fixed himself in this new post.

Here he soon disseminated his doctrine. "It is impossible," said he, "to find in the real presence any advantage which does not flow from faith without it; it is therefore useless." In explaining the words of Christ in the institution of the supper, he had recourse to an interpretation which the Reformed Churches have not received. In the Leipzig discussion, Luther had explained the words, "*Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church,*" by separating the two clauses, and applying the latter to the person of the Saviour. "In the same way," said Carlstadt, "*take, eat,* refers to the bread; but, *this is my body,* refers to Jesus Christ, who then showed himself, and intimated by the symbolical sign of the breaking of bread, that the body was soon to be destroyed."

Carlstadt did not stop here. No sooner had he broke loose from the tutelage of Luther, than he felt a revival of his zeal against images. His imprudent harangues, his enthusiastic expressions, must easily, in these times of fermentation, have inflamed men's minds. The people, thinking they heard a second Elijah, broke the idols of Baal. This zeal reached the surrounding villages. The Elector wished to interfere; but the peasants answered him, that it was necessary to obey God rather than man. The prince resolved to send Luther to Orlamund to establish peace. Luther saw in Carlstadt a man devoured by a love of renown,<sup>1</sup> a fanatic, who would allow himself to be carried the length of making war on Jesus Christ himself. Frederick might, perhaps, have made a wiser choice. Luther set out, and Carlstadt saw his troublesome rival once more disarranging his plans of reform, and arresting his course.

<sup>1</sup> *Huc pe pulit eum insana gloriæ et laudis libido. (L. Ep. ii, p. 551.)* To this an insane thirst for praise and glory impelled him.

Jena is on the road to Orlamund. On arriving in this town, on the 23rd August, Luther mounted the pulpit at seven in the morning, and spoke for an hour and a half in presence of a numerous audience, against fanaticism, rebellion, the destruction of images, and contempt of the real presence, in particular, inveighing strongly against the innovations of Orlamund. He did not name Carlstadt, but every one could see that he had him in view.

Carlstadt, whether by chance or design, was at Jena, and among the number of Luther's hearers. He hesitated not to apply for an explanation of the discourse. Luther was at dinner with the prior of Wittemberg, the burgomaster, the clerk, and pastor of Jena, and several officers in the service of the emperor and the margrave, when a letter from Carlstadt was put into his hands, asking an interview; he handed it to those next him, and replied to the bearer, "If Doctor Carlstadt chooses to come to me, well; if he does not choose to do so, I will dispense with it." Carlstadt arrived. His arrival produced a strong sensation in the party. The greater part eager to see the two lions at close quarters, ceased dining and stared, while the more timid grew pale with fear.

Carlstadt, on the invitation of Luther, sat down opposite to him, and then said, "Doctor, in your sermon to-day you put me in the same class with those who preach rebellion and assassination. I say that charge is false."

*Luther.*—"I did not name you, but since you have felt hit, good and well."

After a moment of silence, Carlstadt resumed.

"I engage to prove, that, on the doctrine of the Sacrament, you have contradicted yourself, and that no man, since the days of the apostles, has taught it so purely as I have done."

*Luther.*—"Write—debate!"

*Carlstadt.*—"I challenge you to a public discussion at Wittemberg or Erfurth, if you procure me a safe-conduct."

*Luther.*—"Fear nothing doctor."

*Carlstadt.*—"You bind me hand and foot, and when you have put it out of my power to defend myself, you strike me."<sup>1</sup>

There was a pause. Luther resumed.

"Write against me, but publicly, not in secret."

*Carlstadt.*—"If I thought you were speaking in earnest I would do so."

*Luther.*—"Do it, and I'll give you a florin."

*Carlstadt.*—"Give it, I accept it."

At these words, Luther put his hand in his pocket and drew out a gold florin, and giving it to Carlstadt, said, "Take it, and attack me valiantly."

<sup>1</sup> Ihr bandet mir Hände et Füße, darnach schlugt Ihr mich. (L. Op. xix, p. 150.)

Carlstadt, holding the gold florin in his hand, turned to the party, and said, "Dear friends, this is my arrhals, a pledge that I am authorised to write against Doctor Luther; I take you all to witness."

Then bending the florin that it might be known again, he put it into his purse, and shook hands with Luther. Luther drank his health, and Carlstadt returned it. "The more vigorous your attacks, the more agreeable they will be," resumed Luther.

"If I fail," replied Carlstadt, "it will be my own fault."

They again shook hands, and Carlstadt returned home.

Thus, says a biographer, in the same way as from a single spark often arises the conflagration of a whole forest, from a small beginning arose a great division in the Church.<sup>1</sup>

Luther proceeded to Orlamund, and arrived there ill prepared by the scene at Jena. He assembled the council and the church, and said, "Neither the Elector nor the university is willing to recognise Carlstadt as your pastor." "If Carlstadt is not our pastor," replied the treasurer of the Town Council, "St. Paul is a false teacher, and your books are lies, for we have chosen him."

As he said these words, Carlstadt entered. Some of the persons near Luther motioned to him to be seated, but Carlstadt, going straight up to Luther, said to him, "Dear doctor, allow me to give you welcome?"

*Luther.*—"You are my enemy. You have my gold florin as a pledge."

*Carlstadt.*—"I mean to continue your enemy, so long as you continue the enemy of God and of his truth."

*Luther.*—"Begone; I cannot allow you to appear here."

*Carlstadt.*—"This is a public meeting. If your cause is just, why fear me?"

*Luther (to his servant.)*—"Make ready, make ready; I have nothing to do with Carlstadt, and since he will not leave, I start."<sup>2</sup>

At the same time Luther rose up. Then Carlstadt withdrew.

After a momentary pause, Luther resumed, "Prove by Scripture that it is right to destroy images."

*A Counsellor.*—"Doctor, you will grant that Moses knew the commandment of God," (*opening a Bible.*) "Very well; here are his words, 'Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness.'"

*Luther.*—"This passage refers only to the images of idols. If I hang up a crucifix in my chamber without worshipping it, what harm can it do me?"

<sup>1</sup> Sicut una scintilla sæpe totam sylvam comburit. (M. Adam, Vit. Carlst. p. 83.) Our narrative is taken in great part from the Acts of Reinhard, pastor of Jena, an eye-witness, but friend of Carlstadt. Luther charges him with inaccuracy.

<sup>2</sup> Spann an, spann an. (L. Op. xix, p. 154.)

*A Shoemaker.*—"I have often taken off my hat to an image which happened to be in my room or on the road; this is an act of idolatry which robs God of the glory due to him alone."

*Luther.*—"It will be necessary then, because of abuse, to destroy females, and throw our wine into the street."<sup>1</sup>

*Another Member of the Church.*—"No: they are creatures of God, which we are not enjoined to destroy."

After the conference had lasted some time longer, Luther and his people got up into their carriage, astonished at what had passed, and without having succeeded in convincing the inhabitants, who also claimed for themselves the right of freely interpreting and expounding the Scriptures. There was great agitation in Orlamund; the people insulted Luther, some even cried to him, "Begone, in the devil's name. May you break your neck before you get out of our town."<sup>2</sup> Never yet had the Reformer been subjected to such humbling treatment.

He repaired to Kale, the pastor of which had also embraced the doctrines of Carlstadt. Here he resolved to preach. On entering the pulpit he found the remains of a crucifix in it. At first he was deeply moved; but immediately recovering himself, he gathered the fragments into a corner of the pulpit, and delivered a sermon which contained no allusion to the circumstance. "I wished, by contempt," said he afterwards, "to have my revenge of the devil."

The nearer the Elector approached his end, the more he seemed to fear that the Reformation was going too far. He gave orders that Carlstadt should be deprived of his situations, and that he should quit not only Orlamund, but the electoral States. In vain did the church of this town interpose in his behalf; in vain did they ask that he should be allowed to reside among them as a citizen, and give an occasional sermon; in vain did they represent that they valued the truth of God more than the whole world, and even than a thousand worlds, had God created a thousand.<sup>3</sup> Frederick was inflexible; he even went the length of refusing the money necessary for his journey. Luther was no party to this harshness of the prince; it was foreign to his nature, and this he showed at an after period. But Carlstadt regarded him as the author of his misfortune, and filled Germany with his complaints and lamentations. He wrote a farewell letter to his friends of Orlamund. This letter, for the reading of which the bells were rung, and which was heard by the assembled Church amidst tears,<sup>4</sup> was signed,

<sup>1</sup> So muss du des Missbrauchs halber auch. (L. Op. xix. p. 155.)

<sup>2</sup> Two of the most distinguished historians at present possessed by Germany, add, that the people of Orlamund threw stones and dirt at Luther; but Luther says the very contrary:—"Dass ich nit mit Steinen und Dreck ausgeworffen ward." (L. Ep. ii, p. 579.)

<sup>3</sup> Höher als tausend Welten. (Seck., p. 628.)

<sup>4</sup> Quæ Publice vocatis per campanas lectæ sunt omnibus simul flentibus. (L. Ep. ii, p. 558.)



“Andrew Bodenstein, banished by Luther without having been either heard or convicted by him.”

It is painful to see this bitter quarrel between two who had formerly been friends, and were both excellent men. A feeling of sadness was experienced by all the disciples of the Reformation. What was to become of it, now that its most illustrious defenders had come to blows? Luther saw these fears, and tried to calm them. “Let us fight,” said he, “as fighting for another. The cause is God’s, the management God’s, the glory God’s.<sup>1</sup> He will fight and conquer without us. Let that which must fall, fall. Let that which is to stand, stand. It is not our own cause that is in question, nor is it our own glory that we seek.”

Carlstadt retired to Strasburg, where he published several productions. “He was thoroughly acquainted,” says Dr. Scheur, “with Latin, Greek, and Hebrew;” Luther acknowledged the superiority of his erudition. Of an elevated spirit, he sacrificed his reputation, his rank, his country, his bread even, to his convictions. At a later period he retired to Switzerland. It was there he ought to have broached his doctrines; his independence required the free atmosphere in which an Œcolampadius and a Zuinglius breathed. His doctrine soon attracted almost as much attention as Luther’s Theses had obtained. Switzerland seemed to be gained, and with it Bucer and Capito.

Luther’s indignation being now at its height, he published one of the most powerful, but also one of the most violent, of his controversial writings, viz.: his book “*Against the Heavenly Prophets*.”

Thus the Reformation, attacked by the pope, attacked by the emperor, attacked by the princes, began also to tear itself to pieces. It appeared on the point of sinking under so many disasters, and certainly must have sunk if it had only been a work of man. But, when on the point of sinking, it arose with new energy.

---

## CHAPTER VIII.

Progress—Resistance to the Leaguers—Meeting between Philip of Hesse and Melancthon—The Landgrave gained over to the Gospel—The Palatinate, Luneburg, Holstein—The Grand Master at Wittemberg.

The Catholic League of Ratisbon and the persecutions which followed it, produced a powerful re-action in the population of Ger-

<sup>1</sup> Causa Dei est, cura Dei est, opus Dei est, victoria Dei est, gloria Dei est. (L. Ep. ii, p. 356.)

many. The Germans were not disposed to allow themselves to be deprived of that word of God which had at length been restored to them. To the orders of Charles V, to the bulls of the pope, to the menaces and scaffolds of Ferdinand, and the other Catholic princes, their reply was, "We shall keep it."

Scarcely had the leaguers left Ratisbon, when the deputies of the towns, whose bishops had taken part in this alliance, feelings surprised and indignant, met at Spire, and resolved that their preachers should, in spite of the bishops, preach the gospel—and the gospel alone—conformably to the doctrine of the prophets and apostles. They next proposed to present a firm and unanimous remonstrance, to the National Assembly.

It is true, the imperial letter, dated from Burgos, arrived, and disturbed their thoughts. Nevertheless, towards the end of the year, the deputies of these towns, and several of the nobles, met at Ulm, and took an oath of mutual defence, in the event of attack. Thus, to the camp formed by Austria, Bavaria, and the bishops, the free towns immediately opposed another, which raised the standard of the gospel and national freedom.

While the free towns thus took the advanced posts of the Reformation, several princes were gained to the cause. Early in June, 1524, Melancthon was returning on horseback from a visit to his mother, accompanied by Camerarius and some other friends, when, near Frankfort, he fell in with a brilliant train. It was Philip of Hesse, who, three years before, had visited Luther at Worms, and who was now on his way to the games of Heidelberg, which were to be attended by all the princes of Germany.

Thus Providence brought Philip successively into contact with the two Reformers. It was known that the distinguished doctor had gone on a visit to his native district, and one of the landgrave's knights said to him, "I believe it is Melancthon." The young prince immediately put spurs to his horse, and coming up to the doctor, said to him, "Are you Philip?" "I am," replied the scholar, somewhat intimidated, and preparing respectfully to dismount.<sup>1</sup> "Stay," said the prince, "turn round and come and spend the night with me, there are some subjects on which I wish to have a conversation with you; fear nothing." "What could I fear from such a prince as you?" replied the doctor. "Ah! Ah!" said the landgrave laughing, "were I to take you away and give you up to Campeggio, he would not be sorry, I believe." The two Philips rode along side of each other. The prince put questions, and Melancthon answered. The landgrave was delighted with the clear and striking views presented to him. Melancthon at last

<sup>1</sup> *Honoris causa de equo descensus.* (Camer., p. 94.)

begging he might be allowed to continue his journey, Philip of Hesse had difficulty in parting with him. "On one condition," said he, "and it is, that, on your return, you will write carefully on the subjects which we have been discussing, and send me the production."<sup>1</sup> Melancthon promised. "Go, then," said Philip, "and pass freely through my states."

Melancthon drew up, with his usual talent, "*An Abridgement of the Revived Doctrine of Christianity*."<sup>2</sup> This concise and powerful production made a decisive impression on the landgrave, who, shortly after his return from the Heidelberg games, without actually joining the free towns, issued an ordinance, in which, opposing the league of Ratisbon, he commanded that the gospel should be preached in all its purity. He himself embraced it with the energy of his character. "Sooner," exclaimed he, "abandon my body, and my life, my states, and my subjects, than the Word of God." A monk, the friar minor Ferber, perceiving the prince's leaning to the Reformation, wrote him a letter, reproaching him with his conduct, and conjuring him to remain faithful to Rome. "I resolve," replied Philip, "to remain faithful to the ancient doctrine, but such as is contained in Scripture." Then he proved, with great force, that man is justified only by faith. The monk, astonished, held his peace.<sup>3</sup> The landgrave was called "Melancthon's Scholar."<sup>4</sup>

Other princes took a similar direction. The Elector Palatine, refused to lend himself to any persecution. The Duke of Luneburg, nephew to the Elector of Saxony, began to reform his states, and the King of Denmark ordered, that in Schleswig and Holstein, every man should be free to worship God according to his conscience.

The Reformation made a still more important conquest. A prince, the important effects of whose conversion began at this time to turn away from Rome. One day, towards the end of June, shortly after Melancthon's return to Wittemberg, Luther's chamber was entered by the grand master of the Teutonic Order, Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg. The chief of the chevalier monks of Germany, who was then in possession of Prussia, had gone to the Diet of Nuremberg to invoke the aid of the empire against Poland. He returned with a contrite heart. On the one hand, the sermons of Osiander and the reading of the gospel had convinced him that his condition of monk was contrary to the Word of God; on the other, the breaking up of the national government had taken away

<sup>1</sup> Ut de quæstionibus quas audisset moveri aliquid diligenter conscriptum curaret. (Camer. p. 94.) <sup>2</sup> Epitome renovatæ ecclesiasticæ doctrinæ. <sup>3</sup> Seckend. p. 738.

<sup>4</sup> Princeps ille discipulus Philippi fuit a quibusdam appellatus. (Camer. p. 95.)

all hope of the assistance which he had gone to claim. What then will he do? . . . The Saxon Counsellor Planitz, with whom he quitted Nuremberg, asked him to visit the Reformer. "What think you of the rule of my order?" asked the disturbed and agitated prince at Luther. Luther hesitated not: he saw that a conduct conformable to the gospel could alone save Prussia also. "Implore," said he to the grand master, "implore the help of God; reject the absurd and incongruous rule of your order; put an end to this abominable and truly hermaphrodite supremacy, which is neither religious nor secular."<sup>1</sup> Shun false and seek true chastity—marry, and in place of this nameless monster found a lawful empire."<sup>2</sup> These words pointed out distinctly to the soul of the grand master a situation of which he had till then only had an imperfect glimpse. A smile lighted up his features, but he had too much prudence to declare himself; he held his peace.<sup>3</sup> Melancthon, who was present, spoke in similar terms as Luther, and the prince departed for his states, leaving the Reformers in the belief that the seed which they had sown in his heart would one day bear fruit.

Thus Charles V and the pope had opposed the national assembly of Spires, from a fear that the Word of God might gain all who attended it; but the Word of God could not be bound. It was prohibited to be preached in one of the halls of a town in the Low Palatinate. Well! it had its revenge by diffusing itself throughout all the provinces. It aroused the people, enlightened princes, and, throughout the empire, displayed that divine power of which neither bulls nor ordinances could ever deprive it.

---

## CHAPTER IX.

Reformers—The Church of All Saints—Fall of the Mass—Literature—Christian Schools—Science offered to the Laity—Arts—Moral Religion, Esthetical Religion—Music—Poetry—Painting.

While the people and their rulers were thus pressing toward the light the Reformers were striving to produce a general revival, to penetrate the whole mass with the principles of Christianity. The form of worship first engaged their attention. The time fixed by the Reformer on his return from the Wartburg had arrived.

<sup>1</sup> *Ut loco illius abominabilis principatus, qui hermaphrodita quidam.* (L. Ep. ii, p. 327.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ut contempta ista stulta confusaque regula, uxorem duceret.* (Ibid.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ille tam arrisit, sed nihil respondit.* (Ibid.)



"Now," said he, "that men's hearts have been strengthened by divine grace, the scandals which polluted the Lord's kindgom must be made to disappear, and something must be attempted in the name of Jesus." He demanded that the communion should be dispensed in both kinds, that every thing should be retrenched from the Supper which tended to convert it into a sacrifice,<sup>1</sup> that Christian assemblies should never meet without hearing the Word preached,<sup>2</sup> that the faithful, or at least priests and students, should meet every morning at four or five o'clock to read the Old, and every evening, at five or six, to read the New Testament,—that on Sunday, the whole Church should assemble, morning and afternoon, and that the leading object in worship should be the preaching of the Word.<sup>3</sup>

In particular, the church of All Saints, at Wittemberg, aroused his indignation. There 9,901 masses were annually celebrated, and 35,570 pounds of wax burnt. So says Seckendorf. Luther called it a "sacrilegious Tophet." "There are," said he, "only three or four lazy bellies who still worship this shameful Mammon, and did I not restrain the people, this house of all Saints, or rather all devils, would long ago have made a noise in the world, the like of which was never heard."

The struggle commenced around this church. It was like one of those ancient sanctuaries of Paganism in Egypt, Gaul, and Germany, which behoved to fall, in order that Christianity might be established.

Luther, desiring that the mass should be abolished in this cathedral, on the 1st March, 1523, addressed a first petition on the subject to the chapter; and, on the 11th July, addressed a second.<sup>4</sup> The canons, in reply, urged the orders of the Elector, "What have we to do here," replied Luther, "with orders from the prince? He is a secular prince. His business is with the sword, and not with the ministry of the gospel." Luther here clearly draws the distinction between the Church and the State. "There is only one sacrifice," says he again, "which wipes away sins, Christ, who once offered himself, and we have faith in him, not by works or by sacrifices, but solely by faith in the Word of God."

The Elector, who felt his end drawing near, was repugnant to new reforms. But new urgency was joined to that of Luther. Jonas, provost of the cathedral, thus addressed the Elector:—"It is time to act. A manifestation of the gospel, so bright as that we

<sup>1</sup> Weise christliche Messe zu halten. (L. Op. L. xxii, p. 232.)

<sup>2</sup> Die christliche Gemeinde nimmer zoll zusammen kommen, es werde denn daselbst Gottes Wort geprediget. (Ibid. p. 226.)

<sup>3</sup> Dass Wort im Schwange gehe. (Ibid. p. 227.)

<sup>4</sup> L. Ep. ii, p. 308, and 354.

now have, usually lasts no longer than a ray of the sun. Let us, therefore, make haste."<sup>1</sup>

This letter of Jonas not having changed the Elector's views, Luther lost patience. He thought the moment to give the fatal blow had arrived, and addressed a threatening letter to the chapter. "I beg you amicably, and solicit you seriously, to put an end to all this sectarian worship. If you refuse, you shall, by God's help, receive the recompense which you deserve. I say this for your guidance; and I demand a distinct and immediate answer—yes, or no—before next Sunday, that I may know how to act. God grant you grace to follow his light.

MARTIN LUTHER,

"Thursday, 8th Dec., 1524."

"Preacher at Wittemberg."<sup>2</sup>

At the same time the rector, two burgomasters, and ten counsellors, repaired to the dean, and solicited him, in the name of the university, the council, and the community of Wittemberg, "to abolish the great and horrible impiety committed against the divine majesty in the mass."

The chapter was obliged to surrender. It declared that, enlightened by the Holy Word of God,<sup>3</sup> it acknowledged the abuses to which its attention had been directed, and published a new order of service, which began to be observed on Christmas, 1524.

Thus fell the mass in this famous sanctuary, where it had so long withstood the reiterated assaults of the Reformers. The Elector Frederick, suffering under an attack of the gout, and drawing near his end, was not able, notwithstanding all his efforts, to prevent this great act of reformation. He saw the divine will in it, and yielded. The fall of the Roman observances in the church of All Saints, hastened their end in many of the churches of Christendom. There was every where the same resistance, but there was also the same victory. In vain did priests, and in many places even princes, attempt to throw obstacles in the way; they failed.

But it was not worship merely that the Reformation had to change. She, at an early period, placed the school by the side of the Church; and these two great institutions, mighty in regenerating nations, were equally revived by her. The Reformation, when she first appeared in the world, was intimately allied with literature; and this alliance she forgot not in the day of her triumph.

Christianity is not a mere development of Judaism. It does not try, as the papacy would fain do, to confine men again in the swaddling bands of external ordinances and human doctrines. Christianity is a new creation; it seizes man within, and trans-

<sup>1</sup> Corp. Reformat. i. p. 636.  
heiliger Göttlichen Wortes

<sup>2</sup> L. Ep. ii. p. 565.  
(L. Op. xviii. p. 502.)

<sup>3</sup> Durch das Licht des

forms him in his inmost heart; so that he no longer has any need of rules from other men. Through the help of God, he can of himself and by himself, discern what is true, and do what is good.<sup>1</sup>

To conduct human nature to this state of independence which Christ has purchased for it, and deliver it from the nonage in which Rome had so long kept it, the Reformation behoved to develope the whole man, renewing his heart and his will by the Word of God, and enlightening his understanding by the study of sacred and profane literature.

Luther understood this. He felt that, in order to secure the Reformation, it was necessary to work upon youth, to improve schools, and propagate in Christendom the knowledge necessary to a profound study of the Holy Scriptures. Accordingly, this was one of the objects of his life. He felt this, particularly at the period which we have now reached, and applied to the counsellors of all the towns of Germany for the foundation of Christian schools. "Dear Sirs," said he to them, "so much money is annually expended on muskets, roads, and embankments, why should not a little be spent in giving poor youth one or two schoolmasters? God is knocking at our door; happy are we if we open to him. The divine Word now abounds. O! dear Germans, buy, buy, while the market is before your houses. The Word of God and its grace are like a wave which ebbs and goes away. It was with the Jews, but it has passed; and they no longer have it. Paul brought it to Greece, but it passed away; and Greece now belongs to the Turk. It came to Rome and Latium, but thence too it has passed; and Rome now has the pope.<sup>2</sup> Do not suppose you are to have this word for ever. The contempt shown for it will chase it away. Wherefore, let him who would have it seize it, and keep it.

"Give attention to children," continues he, still addressing magistrates, "for many parents are like ostriches; they grow callous towards their young, and contented with having laid the egg, give themselves no farther trouble. The prosperity of a town consists, not merely in collecting great treasures, building strong walls, and erecting fine houses, and possessing brilliant armies. If fools come and pounce upon it, its misfortunes will then only be the greater. The true good of a town, its safety and strength, is to have a great number of learned, serious, honest, and well-educated citizens. And whose fault is it, that at present the number of these is so small, if it is not yours, O, magistrates! who have allowed youth to grow up like grass in the forest?"

Luther particularly insists on the study of literature and languages. "What use is there, it is asked, in learning Greek

<sup>1</sup> Hebrews, viii, 5, 11.  
Op. W. x, p. 535.)

<sup>2</sup> Aber hin ist hin; sie haben nun den Papst. (L.



and Hebrew? We can read the Bible in German." "Without languages," replies he, "we should not have received the gospel . . . . Languages are the sheath which contains the sword of the Spirit;<sup>1</sup> they are the casket which contains the jewels, the vessel which contains the liquor; and as the gospel expresses it, they are the baskets in which are preserved the bread and fishes to feed the people. If we abandon languages, the result will be, that we shall not only lose the gospel, but also become unable to speak and write in Latin or in German. So soon as the cultivation of them ceases, the gospel is in decay, and ready to fall under the power of the pope. But now that languages are again in honour, they diffuse so much light, that the whole world is astonished; and every one must confess that our gospel is almost as pure as that of the Apostles themselves. The holy fathers, in ancient times, were often mistaken, because they did not know languages; in our days, some, as the Vaudois of Piedmont, do not think languages useful; but though their doctrine is good, they often want the true meaning of the sacred text, they find themselves unarmed against error, and I much fear their faith will not remain pure.<sup>2</sup> Had not languages made me sure of the meaning of the Word, I might have been a pious monk, and have peaceably preached the truth in the obscurity of a cloister; but I should have allowed the pope, sophists, and their antichristian empire to stand."<sup>3</sup>

Luther does not confine himself to the education of ecclesiastics; he is desirous that knowledge should no longer be monopolised by the Church; he proposes to give a share of it to the laity, who, till now, had been disinherited. He proposes that libraries should be established, and that they should not be confined to a collection of the editions of the schoolmen and fathers of the Church, but should also contain the works of orators and poets, even though they should be pagans, as well as works on the fine arts, law, medicine, and history. "These writings serve," says he, "to explain the works and miracles of God."

This work of Luther is one of the most important which the Reformation has produced. It takes science out of the hands of the priests, who had monopolised it, like those of Egypt in ancient times, and restores it to all. From the impulse thus given by the Reformation, have proceeded the greatest developments of modern times. Those laymen, literary and learned, who now assail the Reformation, forget that they themselves are its work, and that without it they should still be placed, like ignorant children, under

<sup>1</sup> Die Sprachen sind die Scheide, darinnen dies Messer des Geistes steckt. (L. Op. W. x, p. 535.)

<sup>2</sup> Es sey oder werde nicht lauter bleiben. (Ibid.)

<sup>3</sup> Ich.

hatte wohl auch können fromm seyn und in der Stille recht predigen. (Ibid.)



the rod of the clergy. The Reformation discerned the intimate union subsisting between all the sciences; she was aware that, as all science comes from God, so it leads back to God. Her wish was that all should learn, and that they should learn all. "Those who despise profane literature," said Melancthon, "have no higher respect for sacred theology. Their contempt is only a pretext by which they try to hide their sloth."<sup>1</sup>

The Reformation was not contented with giving a strong impulse to literature, she also gave a new impulse to the arts. Protestantism is often charged with being inimical to the arts, and many Protestants readily admit the charge. We will not enquire whether or not the Reformation ought to prevail; we will content ourselves with observing, that impartial history does not confirm the fact on which this accusation rests. Let Roman Catholicism plume itself on being more favourable to the arts than Protestantism—all very well. Paganism was still more favourable to them; and Protestantism places her fame on a different ground. There are religions in which the esthetical tendencies of man occupy a more important place than his moral nature. Christian sentiment is expressed, not by the productions of the fine arts, but by the actings of Christian life. Every sect that abandons the moral tendency of Christianity, thereby loses even its right to the Christian name. Rome has not abandoned this essential characteristic, but Protestantism preserves it in much greater purity. Its glory consists in the thorough investigation of whatever belongs to the moral being, and in judging of religious acts, not from their external beauty and the manner in which they strike the imagination, but according to their internal worth and the relation which they bear to the conscience; so that, if the papacy is above all, as a distinguished writer has proved,<sup>2</sup> an esthetical religion, Protestantism is, above all, a moral religion.

Still, although the Reformation addressed man primarily as a moral being, it addressed the whole man. We have just seen how it spoke to his understanding, and what it did for literature: it spoke also to his sensibility, his imagination, and contributed to the development of the arts. The Church was no longer composed merely of priests and monks; it was the assembly of the faithful. All were to take part in worship; and the hymns of the clergy were to be succeeded by those of the people. Accordingly, in translating the Psalms, Luther's object was to adapt them to the singing of the church. In this way a taste for music was diffused over the whole country.

<sup>1</sup> Hunc titulum ignaviæ suæ prætextunt. (Corp. Ref. i, p. 613.)  
briand, *Genie du Christianisme*.

<sup>2</sup> Chateau-

"After theology," said Luther, "it is to music I give the first place and the highest honour.<sup>1</sup> A schoolmaster," he again said, "must be able to sing; without it I will not even look at him."

One day, when some fine pieces were sung to him, he rapturously exclaimed, "If our Lord God has conferred such admirable gifts on this earth, which is only an obscure recess, what will it be in the eternal life, in a state of perfection!" . . . From the days of Luther the people sung; the Bible inspired their hymns; and the impulse given at the period of the Reformation, at a later period, produced those magnificent oratorios which seem to be the complete perfection of the art.

The same impulse was given to poetry. It was impossible, in celebrating the praises of God, to be confined to mere translations of the ancient hymns. Luther's own soul, and that of several of his contemporaries, raised by faith to the sublimest thoughts, and excited to enthusiasm by the battles and perils which incessantly threatened the rising Church; inspired, in short, by the practical genius of the Old and the faith of the New Testament, soon gave utterance to their feelings in religious poems, in which poetry and music united and blended their holiest inspirations. Thus the sixteenth century beheld the revival of that divine poetry, which, from the very first, had solaced the sufferings of the martyrs. We have already seen how, in 1523, Luther employed it in celebrating the martyrs of Brussels: other sons of the Reformation followed in his steps. Hymns were multiplied, and spreading rapidly among the people, contributed powerfully to awaken them from their slumbers. It was in this same year that Hans Sach sung *The Nightingale of Wittemberg*. The doctrine which, for four centuries had reigned in the Church, he regards as the moonlight, during which men wandered in the desert. The nightingale now announces the sun, and singing to the light of day, rises above the clouds of the morning.

While lyric poetry thus arose from the highest inspirations of the Reformation, satire and the drama, under the pen of Hutten, Mürner, and Manuel attacked the most crying abuses.

It is to the Reformation that the great poets of England, Germany, and perhaps France, owe their lofty flight.

Of all the arts, painting is the one on which the Reformation had the least influence. Nevertheless it was renewed, and in a manner sanctified, by the universal movement which then agitated all the powers of the human mind. The great master of this period, Lucas Cranach, fixed his residence at Wittemberg, where he lived on intimate terms with Luther, and became the painter of the

<sup>1</sup> Ich gebe nach der Theologie, der Musica den nächsten Locum und höchste Ehre (L. Op. W. xxii, p. 2253.)

Reformation. We have seen how he represented the contrasts between Christ and antichrist (the pope), and thus gained a place among the most powerful instruments of the revolution which was transforming the nations. As soon as he had acquired new convictions, he consecrated his chaste pencil to drawings in harmony with Christian belief, and shed on groups of children, blessed by the Saviour, the grace with which he had previously adorned legendary saints, male and female. Albert Durer was also won by the preaching of the Word, and his genius took a new flight. His master-pieces date from this period. From the features with which, from that period, he painted the Evangelists and Apostles, we see that the Bible was restored to the people, and that from it the painter drew a depth, a force, a life, and grandeur, which he never could have found in himself.<sup>1</sup>

Still, however, it must be acknowledged, painting is the art whose religious influence is most liable to strong and well-founded objections. Poetry and music came from heaven, and will again be found in heaven; but painting is constantly seen united to grave immoralities or fatal errors. After studying history, or seeing Italy, we are made aware that humanity has little to expect from that art. But whatever may be thought of this exception which we have thought it our duty to make, our general remark holds true.

The Reformation of Germany, while making its first address to the moral nature of man, has given to the arts an impulse which they could not have received from Roman Catholicism.

Thus, there was a universal progress in literature and the arts, in spirituality of worship, in the souls of nations and their rulers. But this magnificent harmony, which the gospel every where produced in the days of its revival, was about to be disturbed. The song of the Nightingale of Wittemberg was to be interrupted by the hissing of the storm and the roaring of the lions. A cloud, in one moment, spread over Germany, and a lovely day was succeeded by a dismal night.

---

## CHAP. X.

Political ferment—Luther against Revolution—Thomas Munzer—Agitation—The Black Forest—The Twelve Articles—Luther's Advice—Helfenstein—Advance of the peasants—Advance of the imperial army—Defeat of the peasants—Cruelty of the princes.

A political fermentation, one very different from that which the gospel produces, had long been working in the empire. Borne down

<sup>1</sup> Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, ii. p. 85.

by civil and ecclesiastical oppression, bound in several countries to the baronial lands, and sold along with them, the people threatened to rise in fury, and burst their chains. This agitation had been manifested long before the Reformation by several symptoms, and thenceforth religion had been blended with political elements. It was impossible, in the 16th century, to separate these two principles so intimately associated in the life of nations. In Holland, at the end of the previous century, the peasantry had risen up, placing on their colours, as a kind of armorial bearings, bread and cheese, the two great blessings of these poor people. "The shoe alliance" had shown itself in the neighbourhood of Spire, in 1503. In 1513, it had been renewed at Brissgau, and been encouraged by priests. In 1514, Wurtemberg had witnessed "the league of poor Conrad," the object of which was to maintain, by revolt, "the rights of God." In 1515, Carinthia and Hungary had been the theatre of dreadful commotions. These seditions had been suppressed by torrents of blood; but no redress had been given to the people. A political reform was, therefore, no less necessary than a religious reform. The people were entitled to it; but it must be confessed they were not ripe for enjoying it.

Since the Reformation had commenced these popular agitations had been renewed; the minds of men had been absorbed by other thoughts. Luther, whose piercing eye discerned the condition of his countrymen, had, even from the height of the Wartburg, addressed grave exhortations for the purpose of keeping down agitation.

"Revolt," he had said, "does not produce the amelioration which is desired, and God condemns it. What is revolt but taking vengeance into our own hands? The devil is labouring to excite those who embrace the gospel to revolt in order to bring it into reproach, but those who have perfectly understood my doctrine do not revolt."<sup>1</sup>

Every thing gave reason to fear that the popular indignation could not be much longer restrained. The government which Frederick of Saxony had had so much difficulty in forming, and which possessed the confidence of the nation, was dissolved. The emperor, whose energy might, perhaps, have supplied the want of this national administration, was absent; the princes, whose union had always constituted the strength of Germany, were divided; and the new declaration of Charles V against Luther, in taking away all hope of future harmony, deprived the Reformer of a portion of the moral authority, by which, in 1522, he had succeeded

<sup>1</sup> Luther's *treue Ermahnung an alle Christen sich vor Aufruhr und Empörung zu hüten*. (L. Op. xviii, p. 288.)



in calming the storm. The principal embankments which had hitherto confined the torrent were broken down, and nothing could restrain its fury.

The religious movement did not produce the political agitation, but in several places it allowed itself to be borne along by its tumultuous waves. Perhaps even more should be conceded; it is, perhaps, necessary to admit that the movement given to the people by the Reformation gave new force to the discontent which was prevailing in the nation. The violence of Luther's writings, the intrepidity of his actions and his words, the harsh truths which he told, not only to the pope and the prelates, but also to princes themselves, must have contributed to inflame minds already in a state of effervescence. Accordingly Erasmus did not omit to tell him, "We are now gathering the fruits that you have sown."<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the gladsome truths of the gospel now at length brought fully to light, stirred all hearts, and filled them with hope and expectation. But many unregenerate souls remained unprepared by Christian repentance, faith, and freedom. They wished indeed to reject the yoke of the pope, but they wished not to accept the yoke of Christ. Accordingly, when princes devoted to Rome, sought, in their wrath, to stifle the Reformation, though true Christians knew how to bear these cruel persecutions with patience, the multitude fumed and broke out. Seeing their wishes pent in in one direction, they procured an outlet for them in another. "Why," said they, "when the Church calls all men to a noble freedom, why should slavery be perpetuated in the state? Why, when the gospel speaks only of meekness, should government reign only by force?" Unhappily at the time when religious reform was received with equal joy by princes and people, political reform, on the contrary, was opposed by the most powerful portion of the nation; while the former had the gospel for its rule and support, the latter had no other principles than violence and despotism. Accordingly, while the one kept within the limits of truth, the other, like an impetuous torrent, quickly overlept these, and also those of justice. But to attempt not to see an indirect influence of the Reformation in the disturbances which broke out in the empire, were, in my opinion, to give proof of partiality. By means of religious discussions a fire had been kindled in Germany, and it was impossible that some sparks should not fly off from it, of a nature fitted to inflame the passions of the people.

The pretensions of some fanatics to heavenly inspiration, augmented the evil. While the Reformation had constantly appealed from the pretended authority of the Church to the real authority of

<sup>1</sup> *Habemus fructum tui spiritus.* (Erasm. *Hyperasp.* b. 4.)

Scripture, these enthusiasts rejected not only the authority of the Church, but also that of Scripture. They spoke only of an internal word, of a revelation of God within, and overlooking the natural corruption of their heart, they gave themselves up to all the intoxication of spiritual pride, and imagined themselves to be saints.

"To them," says Luther, "the Holy Scripture was only a dead letter, and all began to cry *Spirit! Spirit!* But, assuredly, I will not follow where their spirit leads them. May God, in his mercy, preserve me from a Church where there are none but saints.<sup>1</sup> I wish to remain where the humble, feeble, and sickly are—who know and feel their sin, and who, without ceasing, sigh and cry to God from the bottom of their heart to obtain his consolation and assistance." These words of Luther are profound, and mark the change which was taking place in his views as to the nature of the Church. They show, at the same time, how much the religious principles of the revolvers were opposed to the Reformation.

The most remarkable of these enthusiasts was Thomas Munzer. He was not without talents, had read the Bible, was zealous, and might have been able to do good, if he had known how to collect his agitated thoughts, and find peace of heart. But not knowing himself, and being void of true humility, he was possessed with a desire to reform the world, and, like all enthusiasts, forgot that reform ought to begin at himself. Mystical treatises which he had read in his youth had given a false direction to his mind. He first appeared at Zwickau, quitted Wittemberg after Luther's return, discontented with the inferior part he was playing there, and became pastor of the small town of Alstädt in Thuringia. Here he could not long remain quiet. He accused the Reformers of founding, by their attachment to the letter, a new papism, and of founding churches which were not pure and holy.

"Luther," said he, "has delivered consciences from the yoke of the pope; but he has left them in a carnal freedom, and has not carried them forward in spirit toward God."<sup>2</sup>

He thought himself called by God to remedy this great evil. According to him the revelations of the *Spirit* were the means by which his reform was to be accomplished. "He who possesses this Spirit," said he, "has true faith, even though he should never in his life see the Holy Scriptures. Pagans and Turks are more proper to receive it than many Christians who call us enthusiasts." When he thus spoke he had Luther in his eye. "In order to receive this Spirit," added he, "it is necessary to mortify the body,

<sup>1</sup> Der barmherzige Gott behüte mich ja für der Christlichen Kirche, deren eitel heilige sind. (On John, i, 2. L. Op. (W.) vii, p. 1469.)

<sup>2</sup> Führete sienicht weiter

in Geist und zu Gott. (L. Op. xix, p. 294.)

wear shabby clothes, let the beard grow, have a gloomy air, keep silence,<sup>1</sup> frequent retired spots, and beg God to give us a sign of his favour. Then God will come and speak with us as he once did with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Did He not do so, it would not be worth men's while to pay any attention to him.<sup>2</sup> I have received a commission from God to assemble his elect in a holy and eternal alliance."

The agitation and ferment working in men's minds, were only too favourable to the propagation of their enthusiastic ideas. Man loves the marvellous, and every thing that flatters his pride. Münzer, having drawn a portion of his flock into his views, abolished church music, and all ceremonies. He maintained, that, to obey princes, "devoid of reason," was to serve God and Mammon. Then, marching at the head of his parishioners to a chapel near Alstadt, and which was resorted to by pilgrims from all quarters, he threw it down. Obligated, after this exploit, to flee the country, he wandered up and down in Germany, and went as far as Switzerland, carrying with him, and communicating to all who would listen to him, the plan of a universal revolution. He every where found men's minds prepared; he threw gunpowder on burning coals, and a violent explosion was the immediate result.

Luther, who had repelled the warlike enterprises of Sickingen,<sup>3</sup> could not allow himself to be carried away by the tumultuous movements of the peasantry. Happily, for social order, the gospel had him in charge; for what might have happened had he given his vast influence to their camp? . . . He always firmly maintained the distinction between spiritual and secular; he ceased not to repeat, that what Christ emancipated by his Word was immortal souls, and, while with one hand he attacked the authority of the Church, he with the other equally maintained the power of princes. "A Christian," said he, "must endure death a hundred times sooner than give the least countenance to the revolt of the peasants." In a letter to the Elector, he says, "What particularly delights me is, that these enthusiasts make a boast to every one who listens to them, that they are not of us. They say it is the Spirit that prompts them. But I reply,—It is a bad spirit that bears no other fruit than the pillaging of convents and churches: the greatest robbers on the face of the earth can do as much."

At the same time Luther, who wished others to have the same liberty that he desired for himself, dissuaded the prince from rigorous measures. "Let them preach as they will, and against

<sup>1</sup> Saur sehen, den Bart nicht abschneiden. (L. Op. xix, p. 294.)  
 expression is low and profane:—Er wolt in Gott scheissen wenn er nicht mit ihm redet, wie mit Abraham. (His, Münzer by Melancthon.—Ibid., p. 295.)  
 Volume, Book I.

<sup>2</sup> Münzer's

<sup>3</sup> First



whomsoever they see it good ; for it is necessary that the Word of God itself should lead the van and give them battle. If theirs is the true Spirit, he will not fear our severities : if ours is the true, he will not fear their violence. Let us leave the spirits to struggle and fight with each other.<sup>1</sup> Some perhaps will be seduced, as there is no battle without wounds ; but he who fights faithfully will be crowned. Nevertheless, if they will take the sword, your highness must forbid it, and order them to quit the country."

The revolt broke out in the districts of the Black Forest, and the sources of the Danube, which had so often been agitated by popular commotions. On the 19th July, 1524, some Thurgovian peasants rose up against the Abbot of Reichenau, who refused to give them an evangelical preacher. Thousands were soon assembled around the little town of Tengen, for the rescue of an ecclesiastic who was kept prisoner. The revolt spread with inconceivable rapidity from Suabia, as far as the countries of the Rhine, Franconia, Thuringia, and Saxony. All these countries had risen in January, 1525.

Towards the end of this month, the peasants published a declaration in twelve articles, in which they demanded liberty to choose their own pastors, the abolition of small tithes and villanage, the taxes on heritage, liberty of hunting, fishing, and cutting wood. Each demand was supported by a quotation from Scripture. "If we are mistaken," said they in conclusion, "Luther can put us right by Scripture."

The opinions of the Wittenberg theologians were asked. Luther and Melancthon gave theirs—each separately. They are very characteristic. Melancthon, who regarded every kind of disturbance as a great crime, oversteps his usual gentleness, and cannot give strong enough expression to his indignation. The peasants are criminals, against whom he invokes all laws, human and divine. If friendly conference proves ineffectual, the magistrates must pursue them as robbers and assassins. "However," he adds, (and it was indeed necessary that some one trait should remind us of Melancthon) let there be pity shown to orphans in inflicting the punishment of death."

Luther's opinion of the revolt was the same as Melancthon's ; but he had a heart which beat at the wretchedness of the people. He, on this occasion, showed a lofty impartiality, and told the truth frankly to both parties. He first addressed the princes, and more especially the bishops :

"You," said he to them, "are the cause of the revolt. Your invectives against the gospel, your culpable oppression of the little ones of the Church, have brought the people to despair. It is not

<sup>1</sup> *Mau lasse die Geister aufplatzen und treffen.* (L. Ep. ii. p. 547.)



the peasants, dear lords, who rise up against you; it is God himself who wishes to oppose your fury.<sup>1</sup> The peasants are only the instruments whom he is employing to humble you. Think not to escape the punishment which he is preparing for you. Even should you succeed in destroying all these peasants, God would of the very stones raise up new ones to chastise your pride. If I wished revenge, I would laugh in my sleeve—look on while the peasants act—or even stimulate their rage; but God forbid! . . . Dear lords, for the love of God, lay aside your indignation, treat the poor people with discretion as you would persons drunk and bewildered. Suppress these commotions by gentleness, lest a conflagration break forth, and set all Germany in a blaze. Among their twelve articles are some which are just and equitable.”

This exordium was fitted to gain the confidence of the peasants, and make them listen patiently to the truths which he had to tell them. He represented to them that a great part of their demands were doubtless well founded; but that to revolt was to act like pagans—that the duty of Christians was patience, and not war—and that, if they continued to rise in the name of the gospel, against the gospel itself, he would regard them as more dangerous enemies than the pope. “The pope and the emperor,” continued he, “have united against me; but the more the pope and the emperor have stormed, the greater the progress which the gospel has made . . . Why so? Because I have never drawn the sword, nor called for vengeance—because I have not had recourse either to tumult or revolt. I have committed all to God, and awaited his strong hand. It is neither with the sword nor the musket that Christians fight, but with suffering and the cross. Christ, their captain, did not handle the sword: he hung upon the tree.”

But in vain did Luther give utterance to these most Christian expressions. The people were too much excited by the fanatical discourses of the leaders of the revolt to lend their ear as formerly to the Reformer. “He is playing the hypocrite,” they said: “he is flattering the princes. He has waged war with the pope, and yet he would have us to submit to our oppressors!”

The revolt, instead of being calmed, became more formidable. At Weinsberg, Count Louis of Helfenstein, and seventy men under his command, were condemned to death. A party of peasants held their pikes before them in close phalanx; others chased and drove back the count and his soldiers on this bristling forest.<sup>2</sup> The wife of the unhappy Helfenstein, a natural daughter of the Emperor Maxi-

<sup>1</sup> Gott ist selber der sebtz sich wider euch. (L. Op. xix, p. 254.)

<sup>2</sup> Und jechten ein Grassen durch die Spiesse. (Malthesius, p. 46.)

milian, with an infant of two years old in her arms, fell on her knees, and, with loud cries, implored the life of her husband, and endeavoured to stop the murderous band; a young boy, who had been in the service of the count, and had joined the rebels, capered near him, playing the dead march on a fife, as if the victims had been dancing to it. All perished: the child was wounded in its mother's arms, and she herself was thrown on a dung cart, and so taken to Heilbronn.

On hearing of these cruelties, a cry of horror was heard among the friends of the Reformation, and a fearful struggle took place in Luther's feeling heart. On the one hand the peasants, deriding his representations, pretended to revelations from heaven, made an impious use of the threatenings of the Old Testament, proclaimed the equality of ranks, and a community of goods, defended their cause with fire and sword, and had recourse to barbarous executions. On the other hand, the enemies of the Reformation asked the Reformer with a malignant smile, if he did not know that it was easier to kindle a fire than to extinguish it? Indignant at their excesses—alarmed at the thought that they might arrest the progress of the gospel—Luther no longer hesitated; all delicacy was at an end; he broke loose against the rebels with all the force of his character, and, perhaps, exceeded the just limits within which he ought to have confined himself.

"The peasants," said he, "commit these horrible sins towards God and towards men, and, by so doing, deserve the death both of the body and the soul. First, they revolt against the magistrates to whom they have sworn fidelity. Next, they rob and pillage convents and castles. Last of all, they cloak their crimes with the mantle of the gospel. If you do not put a mad dog to death you will perish yourself, and the whole country with you. He who is slain in fighting for magistrates will be a true martyr, if he has fought with a good conscience. Luther afterwards gives an energetic picture of the culpable violence of the peasantry in compelling simple and peaceful men to enter their alliance, and so drag them into the same condemnation. He then adds, "Wherefore, dear lords, aid, save, deliver, have pity on these poor people. Strike, stab, and kill who can . . . If you die you cannot have a happier end, for you die in the service of God, and to save your neighbour from hell."<sup>1</sup>

Neither gentleness nor force could arrest the popular torrent. It was no longer for divine service that the church bell sounded; whenever its grave and solemn sounds were heard rising from the

<sup>1</sup> Deinen Nehesten zu retten aus der Holle. (L. Op. xix, p. 266.)

plains, it was the tocsin, and all rushed to arms. The people of the Black Forest had mustered around John Muller of Bulgenbach. Of an imposing appearance, clothed in a red mantle, and with a red bonnet on his head, this leader paraded proudly from village to village, followed by his peasants. Behind him on a car, adorned with ribbons and branches of trees, waved the three-coloured flag, black, red, and white, the signal of revolt. A herald, decked in the same colours, read the twelve articles, and called on the people to join the movement. Whoever refused was excluded from the community.

This procession, which was at first peaceable, soon became more restless. "The barons," they exclaimed, "must be forced to join the alliance." And, to bring them to this, they pillaged their granaries, emptied their wine cellars, fished the baronial ponds, laid the castles of those nobles who resisted them in ruins, and burned convents. Resistance inflamed the rage of these rude men. Equality no longer satisfied them: they would have blood; and vowed that every man who wore a spur should bite the dust.

On the approach of the peasants, the towns, unable to resist, opened their gates and joined the rebels. In every place they entered, pictures were torn, and crucifixes broken to pieces. Armed females ran up and down the streets threatening the monks. When defeated in one place, they again mustered in another, and defied the most formidable armies and bodies of troops. A committee of peasants was established at Heilbronn. The Counts of Lowenstein being captured, were clothed in a white frock, with a white baton in their hands, and made to swear to the twelve articles. Brother George, and you brother Albert, said a tinker to the Counts of Hohenloe, who had repaired to the camp, "Swear to conduct us as brethren; for you also are now peasants: you are no longer lords." The equality of ranks, that dream of all democrats, was established in aristocratic Germany.

A great number of nobles, some from fear and others from ambition, now joined the revolt. The famous Götz of Berlichingen, when he saw his people refuse to obey him, wished to fly to the Elector of Saxony; but his wife, who was in childbed, in order to keep him near her concealed the Elector's reply. Götz, almost hemmed in, was obliged to place himself at the head of the rebellious host. On the 7th May, the peasants entered Wurtzburg, and were received by the citizens with acclamation. The troops of the princes and knights of Suabia, who had assembled in this town, evacuated it, and retired in haste to the citadel, the last rampart of the nobility.

But the movement had already extended to other parts of Ger-



many. Spires, the Palatinate, Alsace, and Hesse, acknowledged the twelve articles, and the peasants threatened Bavaria, Westphalia, the Tyrol, Saxony, and Lorraine. The Margrave of Baden, having refused the articles, was obliged to flee. The coadjutor of Fuldah acceded to them, laughing. The small towns said that they had no lances to oppose to the revolvers. Mentz, Treves, and Frankfort, obtained the liberties which they claimed.

An immense revolution is taking place throughout the empire. The ecclesiastical and secular taxes which oppress the peasants, must be suppressed, the property of the clergy will be secularised to compensate the princes, and provide for the wants of the empire; imposts must be abolished, with the exception of a tribute, which will be paid every ten years; the governing power, recognised by the New Testament, will alone subsist; all other princes will cease to reign; sixty-four free tribunals will be established, and men of all classes will have seats in them; all states will return to their primitive destination; ecclesiastics will, henceforth, only be pastors of churches; princes and knights will only be defenders of the weak; unity of weights and measures will be introduced; and only one species of money will be coined throughout the empire.

Meanwhile, the princes had recovered from their first stupor, and George of Truchsess, general-in-chief of the imperial army, was advancing from the direction of the Lake of Constance. He defeated the peasants on the 2nd of May, at Beblingen, marched on the town of Weinsberg, where the unfortunate Helfenstein had perished, and burnt and razed it, ordering the ruins to be kept up as an eternal memorial of the treachery of the inhabitants. At Fürfeld, he joined the Elector Palatine and the Elector of Treves, and they all advanced in a body towards Franconia.

Frauenburg, the citadel of Wurtzburg, still held out for the princes, and the grand army of the peasants continued under its walls. On learning the approach of Truchsess, they determined on the assault, and on the 15th of May, at nine in the evening, the trumpets sounded, the three-coloured flag was unfurled, and the peasants rushed to the attack, uttering fearful cries. Sebastian of Rotenhan, one of the warmest friends of the Reformation, had the command of the castle. He had placed the defence on a formidable footing, and when he exhorted the soldiers courageously to repel the assault, all had sworn to do so, by raising three of their fingers to heaven. The most dreadful combat then took place. The energy and despair of the peasants was answered by the fortress with petards, showers of sulphur and boiling pitch, and discharges of artillery. The peasants thus struck by invisible enemies, were for a moment surprised, but their fury soon increased. Night advanced, and the



struggle was prolonged. The fortress, lighted up by thousands of battle fires, seemed, amid the darkness, like a proud giant, vomiting flames, and single-handed amidst the cannons' roar struggling for the safety of the empire, against the ferocious valour of savage hordes. Two hours after midnight the peasants, having failed in all their efforts, at last withdrew.

They proposed to negotiate either with the garrison or with Truchsess, who was advancing at the head of his army. But this was to abandon their position. Violence and victory alone could save them. After some irresolution, they determined to set out and meet the imperial army; but the artillery and the cavalry made frightful ravages in their ranks. At Königshofen and next at Engelsstadt these poor creatures were completely defeated. The princes, nobles, and bishops, abusing their victory, displayed unheard-of cruelty. The prisoners were hung up along the roads. The bishop of Wurtzburg, who had fled, returned, and going over his whole diocese with executioners, watered it at once with the blood of rebels, and the blood of the peaceable friends of the Word of God. Götz of Berlichingen was condemned to perpetual imprisonment. The Margrave Casimir, of Anspach, put out the eyes of eighty-five peasants, who had sworn that they would never again look upon this prince, and cast upon the world this band of blind men, who went up and down holding each other by the hand, feeling their way, stumbling and begging their bread. The wretched boy, who had played the death march of Helfenstein, was chained to a stake, a fire was kindled around him, and the knights stood by laughing at his horrible contortions.

The ritual was every where established in its ancient form. The most flourishing and populous countries of the empire now presented to the traveller only heaps of carcasses and smoking ruins. Fifty thousand men had perished, and the people almost every where lost the little freedom which they had hitherto enjoyed. Such was, in the south of Germany, the fearful end of this revolt.

---

## CHAPTER XI.

Münzer at Mulhausen—Appeal to the People—March of the Princes—End of the Revolt—Influence of the Reformers—Sufferings—Change.

But the evil was not confined to the south and west of Germany. Münzer, after traversing part of Switzerland, Alsace, and Suabia,

had again directed his steps towards Saxony. Some citizens of Mulhausen invited him into their town, and appointed him their pastor. The town council having resisted, Münzer deposed it, and named another, composed of his friends, with himself at their head. Entertaining the utmost contempt for the Christ, "sweet as honey whom Luther preached," he determined to have recourse to the most energetic measures. "It is necessary," said he, "to make all the nations of Canaan perish by the sword, as Joshua did." He established a community of goods, and pillaged the convents.<sup>1</sup> Luther, 11th April, 1525, wrote to Amsdorff, "Münzer is King and Emperor of Mulhausen, and no longer merely its pastor." The poor no longer worked; if any one needed cloth or corn, he went and asked it of some rich neighbour; if refused, the poor man seized it; if the rich man resisted, he was hung. Mulhausen being an independent town, Münzer was able to exercise his power without opposition almost for a year. The revolt of the south of Germany led him to believe that it was time to extend his new kingdom. He caused cannon of large calibre to be cast in the Franciscan convent, and endeavoured to make a rise among the peasants and the miners of Mansfeld. "How long will you still sleep?" said he to them in a fanatical proclamation, "rise and fight for the Lord! It is time. France, Germany, and Italy are on the march. On! on! on! Dran! dran! dran! Pay no regard to the distress of the ungodly. They will beseech you like children, but remain pitiless. Dran! dran! dran! The fire burns. Let your sword be always reeking with blood."<sup>2</sup> Dran! dran! dran! Work while it is day." The letter was signed, "Münzer, servant of God against the ungodly."

The country people, eager for plunder, flocked to his banners. Every where, in the districts of Mansfeld, Stolberg, Schwarzberg, in Hesse, the Duchy of Brunswick, the peasants rose. The convents of Michelstein, Ilsenburg, Walkenried, Rossleben, and many others near the Hartz, or in the plains of Thuringia, were completely pillaged. At Reinhardsbrunn, which Luther had visited, the tombs of the ancient landgraves were profaned, and the library destroyed.

Terror spread far and wide. At Wittemberg even some uneasiness was felt. These teachers who had not feared either the emperor or the pope, saw themselves obliged to tremble before a mad man. They were constantly looking out for the news, and counted every step of the revolt. "We are here," said Melancthon, "in great danger. If Münzer succeeds it is all over with us, at least if Christ do not save us. Münzer advances with a cruelty

<sup>1</sup> Omnia simul communia. (L. Op. xix, p. 292.)  
nicht kalt werden von Blut. (Ibid., p. 289.)

<sup>2</sup> Lasset euer Schwerdt

worse than that of the Scythians,<sup>1</sup> and it is impossible to mouth the atrocious menaces which he throws out."

The pious Elector had long hesitated as to the course he ought to pursue. Münzer had exhorted him, him and all princes to be converted, "because," as he said, "their hour was come;" and he had signed his letters, "Münzer, armed with the sword of Gideon." Frederick had been desirous to bring back these bewildered men by gentleness. When dangerously ill, he had written on the 14th April, to his brother John,—“Perhaps these poor people have had more than one ground for revolt. Ah, the poor are oppressed in many ways by their temporal and spiritual lords.” And when he was reminded of the humiliation, revolutions, and dangers to which he was exposed if he did not powerfully suppress the rebellion, he replied, “Hitherto I have been a powerful Elector, having horses and carriages in abundance; if it is now the Lord’s will to take them from me, I will walk on foot.”<sup>2</sup>

The first of the princes who had recourse to arms was the young landgrave, Philip of Hesse. His knights and soldiers vowed to live and die with him. After pacifying his own States, he directed his course towards Saxony. Duke John, the Elector’s brother, Duke George of Saxony, and Duke Henry of Brunswick, advanced in the other direction, and united their forces with those of Hesse. The peasants frightened at the sight of this army, took refuge on a hill, where, without discipline, without armour, and the greater part without courage, they made a rampart of their waggons. Münzer did not even know how to prepare powder for his immense cannon. No assistance appeared. The army hemmed in the rebels who began to despond. The princes taking pity on them offered conditions, which they seemed disposed to accept, when Münzer betook himself to the most powerful instrument which enthusiasm can bring into play. “To-day,” said he, “we shall see the arm of the Lord, and all our enemies will be destroyed.” At that moment a rainbow appeared, and Münzer took advantage of it. “Fear not,” said he to the burghers and peasants, “I will receive all the bullets which will be shot at you in my sleeve.”<sup>3</sup> At the same time he ordered a young gentleman, Maternus of Geholfen, an envoy of the princes, to be cruelly murdered, that he might in this way deprive the rebels of all hope of pardon.

The landgrave having assembled his troops, said to them, “I know well that we princes are often in fault, for we are men; but it is God’s pleasure that princes be honoured. Let us save our

<sup>1</sup> Moncerus plus quam Scythiam crudelitatem præ se fert. (Corp. Ref., i, p. 741.)

<sup>2</sup> So wolle er hinkünftig zu fuss gehen. (Seck., p. 685.)

<sup>3</sup> Ihr sollt sehen dass ich alle Büchsensteine in Ermel fassen will. (I. Op. xix, 297.)

wives and our children from the fury of these murderers. The Lord will give us the victory; for he has said, "*He who resists the power resists the ordinance of God.*" Philip then gave the signal for attack. This was on the 15th May, 1525. The army moved forward; but the crowd of peasants remained immovable, singing the hymn, "Come Holy Spirit," and waiting till heaven should declare in their favour. The artillery soon broke the main body, carrying death and consternation into the midst of them. Their fanaticism and courage at once forsook them—they were seized with a panic, and fled in disorder. Five thousand perished in the flight. After the battle, the princes and their victorious troops entered Frankenhausen. A soldier having gone up to the loft of the house where he was quartered, found a man in bed.<sup>1</sup> "Who are you?" said he to him. "Are you a rebel?" Then having discovered a portfolio, he took it, and found letters in it addressed to Thomas Münzer. "Are you Thomas," said the trooper. The sick man, in consternation, said, "No." But the soldier using dreadful threats, Münzer, (for it was indeed he) confessed who he was. "You are my prisoner," said the soldier. Being taken before Duke George and the landgrave, Münzer ended by saying that he had done right in trying to chastise the princes since they opposed the gospel. "Wretch," said they to him, "think of all those whose destruction you have caused." But he replied with a smile, in the midst of his anguish, "They would have it so." He received the sacrament under one kind, and was beheaded along with Pfeiffer his lieutenant. Mulhausen was taken, and the peasants were loaded with chains.

A noble having observed in the crowd of prisoners a peasant of good appearance, approached him, and said, "Well, my lad, which government pleases you best—that of peasants or that of princes?" The poor man replied with a sigh, "Ah, my lord, there is no knife whose blade cuts so keenly as the tyranny of one peasant over another."<sup>2</sup>

The remains of the revolt were extinguished in blood. Duke George, in particular, displayed great severity. In the States of the Elector there was neither punishment nor execution.<sup>3</sup> The Word of God, preached in all its purity, had shown its efficacy in restraining the tumultuous passions of the people.

In fact, Luther had never ceased to combat the rebellion, which he regarded as the forerunner of the universal judgment. He had spared nothing—instruction, entreaty, not even irony. At the end of

<sup>1</sup> So findet er einen am Bett. <sup>2</sup> Kein Messer Scherpfer schirrt denn wenn ein Baur des andern Herr wird. (Mathesius, p. 48.) <sup>3</sup> Hic nulla carnificina, nullum supplicium.



the articles prepared by the rebels at Erfurth, he had added as a supplementary article: "*Item*, the following article has been omitted: Henceforth the honourable council shall have no power; it shall have nought to do but sit like an idol or a log; the community will chew all its meat for it, and the council will govern bound hand and foot. Henceforth the waggon will go before the horses, the horses hold the reins, and all go on admirably, conformably to the fine project which these articles expound."

Luther did not content himself with writing. While the tumult was at its height, he left Wittemberg, and travelled over several of the districts where the greatest agitation reigned. He preached and laboured to soften down men's spirits, and his hand, which God rendered powerful, directed, calmed, and brought back to their old channel, those furious torrents which had burst their banks.

The teachers of the Reformation every where exerted the same influence. At Halle, Brentz, by the promises of the divine Word, raised the drooping spirits of the burghers, so that four thousand peasants had fled before six hundred citizens.<sup>1</sup> At Ichterhausen, a multitude of peasants having assembled with the intention of demolishing several castles, and putting the noble proprietors to death, Frederick Myconius went to them alone, and such was the power of his eloquence that their design was immediately abandoned.<sup>2</sup>

Such was the part acted by the Reformers and the Reformation in the midst of the revolt. They combated it with all their might by the sword of the Word, and energetically maintained the principles which alone are capable, at all times, of preserving order and obedience among the nations. Accordingly, Luther maintained that if the power of sound doctrine had not arrested the fury of the people, the revolt would have caused much greater ravages, and completely overthrown both Church and State. There is every reason to believe that this dismal foreboding would have been realised.

If the Reformers thus combated sedition, it was not without receiving severe shocks from it. The moral agony which Luther had first felt in the cell at Erfurth was perhaps at its greatest height after the revolt of the peasants. A great transformation among mankind is not produced without suffering on the part of those who are the instruments of it. To complete the work of Christianity, the agony of the cross was necessary; but He who hung

<sup>1</sup> *Eorum animos fractos et perturbatos verbo Dei crexit.* (M. Adam, *Vit. Brentii*, p. 441.)

<sup>2</sup> *Agmen rusticorum qui convenerant ad demoliendas arces unica oratione sic compescuit.* (Ibid., p. 178.)

upon the cross addresses each of his disciples in the words, "*Are ye able to be baptised with the baptism that I am baptised with?*"

On the part of the princes it was incessantly repeated that Luther and his doctrine were the cause of the revolt, and however absurd this idea was, the Reformer could not see it so generally received without a feeling of deep grief. On the part of the people, Münzer and all the leaders of the sedition represented Luther as a vile hypocrite, a flatterer of the great;<sup>1</sup> and these calumnies were readily credited. The violent terms in which Luther denounced the rebels had offended even moderate men. The friends of Rome triumphed;<sup>2</sup> all were against him, and the wrath of his age lay as a burden upon him. But what tore his soul most of all was to see the work of heaven thus dragged through the mire, and placed in the same rank with the most fanatical projects. He here recognised his Gethsemane; he saw the bitter cup which was presented to him, and anticipating universal desertion, exclaimed, "*Omnes vos scandalum patiemini in ista nocte.*"<sup>3</sup>

Still amidst all this bitterness of feeling he preserved his faith. "He," said he, "who enabled me to trample the enemy under foot when he rose up against me like a cruel dragon or a raging lion, will not permit this enemy to crush me now that he appears with the perfidious aspect of the serpent."<sup>4</sup> I behold these misfortunes, and I lament them. I have often asked myself if it would not be better to allow the papacy quietly to take its own course, rather than see so many disturbances and divisions break out in the world. But no! Far better rescue some from the devil's throat than leave them all under his murderous fangs."<sup>5</sup>

It was at this period that a revolution in Luther's mind which had begun in the Wartburg was completed. The internal life no longer sufficed him; the Church and her institutions assumed a high importance in his eyes. The boldness with which he had demolished, stopped at the sight of more radical demolition; he felt that it was necessary to preserve, guide, build up, and from amidst the bloody ruins with which the wars of the peasants covered Germany, the edifice of the New Church began slowly to arise.

These disturbances left a deep and lasting emotion. The population was struck with terror. The masses who had sought in the Reformation only political liberty, withdrew

<sup>1</sup> Quod adulator principum vocer. (L. Ep. ii. p. 671.)

dissidio nostro. (Ibid., p. 612.) The papists rejoice at our

<sup>2</sup> Gaudent papistæ de  
<sup>3</sup> "All ye shall be offended because of me this night." Matt. xxvi, 31. (Ibid. p. 671.) <sup>4</sup> Qui cum toties hactenus sub pedibus meis calcavit et contrivit leonem et draconem, non sinet etiam basiliscum super me calcare. (Ibid.) He who has hitherto so often bruised and trampled the lion and the dragon under my feet, will not allow the adder to trample upon me.

<sup>5</sup> Es ist besser einige aus dem Rachen des Teufels herausreissen. (L. Op. ii, ed. ix, p. 961.)

spontaneously when they saw that spiritual liberty alone was offered them. The opposition of Luther to the peasants was equivalent to a renunciation of the ephemeral favour of the people. An apparent calm was soon established, and the turmoil of enthusiasm and sedition,<sup>1</sup> was, throughout Germany, succeeded by a silence which terror inspired.

Thus the popular passions, the revolutionary cause, the prosecution of a radical equality failed in the empire, but the Reformation did not fail. These two movements, which many confound, are clearly distinguished by their different results. Revolt came from beneath, the Reformation from above. A few cavalry and cannon were sufficient to suppress the former, but the latter ceased not to rise, strengthen, and increase in spite of the incessantly renewed attacks of the empire and the Church.

---

## CHAP. XII.

Two Issues—Death of Frederick—The Prince and the Reformer—Catholic Alliance  
—Projects of Charles—Dangers.

Still, however, the cause of the Reformation seemed at first doomed to perish in the abyss which engulfed the popular liberties. A sad event which now occurred seemed destined to hasten its end. At the moment when the princes were marching against Münzer, ten days before his defeat, the old Elector of Saxony,—he whom God had raised up to defend the Reformation against attacks from without,—was descending into the tomb.

His strength was daily decaying, and the horrors with which the war of the peasants was accompanied, were breaking his compassionate heart. "Ah!" exclaimed he, with a deep sigh; "if it were God's will, I would gladly die. No longer do I behold on the earth either love or truth, or faith, or any thing that is good."<sup>2</sup>

Turning his eyes from the combats with which Germany was resounding, the pious prince calmly prepared for his departure, in his castle of Lochau. On the 4th May, he sent for his chaplain, the faithful Spalatin. "You do well," said he to him, gently, as he entered, "to come and see me; for the sick should be visited." Then ordering his couch to be wheeled towards the table, near which Spalatin was seated, he ordered all his attendants to retire,

<sup>1</sup> Ea res—incussit, vulgo terrorem . . . : ut nihil usquam moveatur. (Corp. Ref. p. 752)

<sup>2</sup> Noch etwas gutes mehr in der Welt. (Seck., p. 702.)

and affectionately taking hold of Spalatin's hand, spoke to him of Luther, the peasants, and his approaching departure. At eight in the evening Spalatin returned, when the prince opened his whole heart to him, and confessed his sins, in the presence of God. The next day (5th May), he received the communion in both kinds. He had no member of his family near him—his brother and nephew having set out with the army; but, his domestics were around him, according to the ancient custom of those times. With eyes fixed on the venerable prince, who had been so kind a master, they were all melted in tears.<sup>1</sup> "My little children," said he, with a gentle voice, "if I have offended any one of you, let me have pardon for the love of God; for we princes often give pain to inferiors, and that is wrong." Thus Frederick verified the words of the apostle—"Let the rich rejoice, in that he is made low; because as the flower of the grass he shall pass away."<sup>2</sup>

Spalatin, who did not again leave him, warmly set before him the rich promises of the gospel; and the pious Elector, in its powerful consolations, enjoyed ineffable peace. The evangelical doctrine was no longer viewed by him as the sword which attacks error, pursues it wherever it is found, and after a vigorous struggle, finally overcomes it; it distilled in his heart like the rain and the dew, filling it with hope and joy. The present world was forgotten, and Frederick saw only God and eternity.

Feeling death rapidly approaching, he destroyed the testament which he had written several years before, and in which he recommended his soul to the "Mother of God," and dictated another, in which he cast himself upon the sacred merits of Jesus Christ alone "for the forgiveness of his sins;" and declared his firm conviction that "he was ransomed by the precious blood of his beloved Saviour."<sup>3</sup> After this he said, "I can do no more;" and at five in the evening gently fell asleep. "He was a child of peace," exclaimed his physician, "and he has departed in peace." "O, death!" said Luther, "how bitter to those whom thou leavest in life."<sup>4</sup>

Luther, who was then in Thuringia, trying to calm it, had never seen the Elector but at a distance, at Worms, standing beside Charles V. But these two men had met in soul, the first moment the Reformation appeared. Frederick longed for nationality and independence—as Luther longed for truth and Reformation. No doubt, the Reformation was, first of all, a spiritual work; but it was perhaps necessary, to its first success, that it should link itself to some national interest. Accordingly, no sooner had Luther made a

<sup>1</sup> Das alle Umstehende zum weinen bewegt. (Seck. p. 702.)

<sup>2</sup> James, i. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Durch das theure Blut meines allerliebsten Heylandes erlöset. (Ibid. p. 703.)

<sup>4</sup> O mors amara! (L. Ep. ii, p. 659.)



stand against indulgences, than the alliance between the prince and the monk was tacitly concluded—an alliance purely moral, without contract, without writing, without words even, and in which the strong gave no other aid to the weak than to allow him to act. But now that the vigorous oak, under whose shelter the Reformation had gradually grown up was hewn down—now that the enemies of the gospel were every where displaying new hatred and strength, while its partisans were obliged to hide themselves or be silent, nothing seemed able to defend it against the sword of its furious persecutors.

The confederates at Ratisbon who had vanquished the peasants in the south and west of the empire, every where struck at the Reformation, as well as the revolt. At Wurtzburg and Bamberg, several of the most peaceable citizens, some even who had opposed the peasants, were put to death. “No matter,” it was openly said, “they were adherents of the gospel.” This was enough to make them lose their heads.<sup>1</sup>

Duke George hoped to make the landgrave and Duke John share in his love and his hatred. “See,” said he to them, after the defeat of the peasants, and showing them the field of battle, “see the mischiefs engendered by Luther.” John and Philip seemed to give some hope of adopting his views. “Duke George,” said the Reformer, “imagines he is to triumph now that Frederick is dead; but Christ reigns in the midst of his enemies: in vain do they gnash their teeth; their desire will perish.”<sup>2</sup>

George lost no time in forming a confederation, similar to that of Ratisbon, in the north of Germany. The Electors of Mentz and Brandenburg—Dukes Henry and Eric of Brunswick, and Duke George, met at Dessau, and there, in July, concluded a Roman alliance.<sup>3</sup> George urged the new Elector, and the landgrave, his son-in-law, to give in their adherence to it. Then, as if to announce what were to be its results, he beheaded two citizens of Leipsic, in whose house some of the Reformer’s writings had been found.

At the same time a letter of Charles V, dated Toledo, arrived in Germany, appointing a new diet to be held at Augsburg. Charles wished to give a new constitution to the empire, that would enable him to dispose, at pleasure, of the forces of Germany. The religious divisions furnished him with the means. He had only to let loose the Catholics on the evangelicals. When they had mutually enfeebled each other, he would obtain an easy triumph over

<sup>1</sup> Ranke *Deutsche Gesch.* ii, p. 226.

se omnia posse. (L. Ep. iii, p. 22.)

turos sese esse omnia . . . . (Ibid.)

<sup>2</sup> Dux Georgius, mortuo Frederico, putat

<sup>3</sup> Habito conciliabulo conjuraverunt resti-

Having held a meeting, bound to restore all

things.

both. Down with the Lutherans! was the emperor's watch-word.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, there was a kind of universal league against the Reformation. Never had the soul of Luther been so oppressed with fears. The remains of Munzer's sect had sworn that they would have his life, and his only protector was no more. Duke George, he was informed, intended to apprehend him even in Wittemberg.<sup>2</sup> The princes, who might have been able to defend him, hung down their heads, and seemed to have forsaken the gospel. The university, already thinned by disturbances, was, it was said, to be suppressed by the new Elector. Charles, victorious at Pavia, was assembling a new diet, with the view of giving the finishing blow to the Reformation. What dangers, then, must he not have foreseen . . . . That anguish, those inward sufferings which had often wrung cries from Luther, tore his soul. How shall he resist so many enemies? Amidst these agitations, in presence of these many perils, beside the corpse of Frederick almost before it was cold, and the dead bodies of the peasants who strewed the plains of Germany—who would have thought it—Luther married!

---

### CHAP. XIII.

The Nuns of Nimptsch—Luther's Feelings—End of the Convent—Luther's Marriage—Domestic Happiness.

In the monastery of Nimptsch, near Grimma, there were, in 1523, nine nuns, who diligently read the Word of God, and had perceived the contrast between the Christian life and the life of the cloister. Their names were—Magdalene Staupitz, Eliza Canitz, Ave Grossn, Ave and Margaret Schonfeld, Laneta Golis, Margaret and Catherine Zeschau, and Catherine Bora. The first proceeding of these young persons, after they had withdrawn from the superstitions of the monastery, was to write their parents. "The salvation of our souls," they said, "does not allow us to continue any longer to live in a cloister."<sup>3</sup> The parents, fearing the trouble which such a resolution might give them, harshly repulsed the desire of their daughters. The poor nuns knew not what to do. How were they to leave the monastery? They trembled at the thought of so desperate a step. At last, the disgust which the papal worship produced, carried the day. They promised not to quit each other, but to repair, in a body, to some respectable place,

<sup>1</sup> Sleidan, Hist. of the Ref. i, p. 214.  
Seelen Seligkeit halber. (L. Ep. ii, p. 323.)

<sup>2</sup> Keil Luther's Leben, p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> Der

decently, and in order.<sup>1</sup> Leonard Koppe and Wolff Tomitzch, two worthy and pious citizens of Torgau, offered their assistance.<sup>2</sup> They accepted it, as sent by God himself, and left the convent of Nimptsch without meeting with any opposition, as if the hand of the Lord had opened the gates for them.<sup>3</sup> Koppe and Tomitzch received them in their car; and, on the 7th April, 1523, the nine nuns, astonished at their own hardihood, stopped, with emotion, before the gate of the old Augustin convent, where Luther was residing.

"It is not I who have done it," said Luther on receiving them; "but would to God I could thus save all captive consciences, and empty all cloisters."<sup>4</sup> Several persons made an offer to the doctor to receive the nuns into their houses, and Catherine Bora was taken into the family of the burgomaster of Wittemberg.

If, at that time, Luther had any thought of preparing for some solemn event, it was to mount the scaffold—not approach the hymeneal altar. Many months later, his answer to those, who spoke to him of marriage was, "God can change my heart as he pleases; but now, at least, I have no thought whatever of taking a wife; not that I do not feel some inclination for the married state: I am neither wood nor stone; but I am in daily expectation of the death and punishment due to a heretic."<sup>5</sup>

Still every thing in the Church continued to advance. The monastic life, an invention of man, was every where succeeded by the habits of domestic life. On Sunday, 9th October, Luther having risen as usual, laid aside his Augustin frock, put on the dress of a secular priest, and then made his appearance in the church, where the change produced the greatest joy. Christendom, which had renewed its youth, gave a glad welcome to all which announced that old things were passed away.

Shortly after the last monk quitted the convent, but Luther still remained; his steps alone were heard in its long passages, and he sat alone in silence in the refectory, which was wont to echo with the tattle of the monks. An eloquent solitude! one which attested the triumphs of the Word of God! The convent had ceased to exist. Towards the end of 1524, Luther sent the keys of the monastery to the Elector, stating that he would see where God might be pleased to give him food.<sup>6</sup> The Elector gave the convent to the university, and asked Luther to continue to reside

<sup>1</sup> Mit aller Zucht und Ehre an redliche Stätte und Orte kommen. (L. Ep. ii, p. 323.)

<sup>2</sup> Per honestos cives Torgavienses adductæ. (Ibid. p. 319.) <sup>3</sup> Mirabiliter evaserunt. (Ibid.) They made a miraculous escape.

<sup>4</sup> Und alle Klöster ledig machen. (Ibid. p. 322.) <sup>5</sup> Cum expectem quotidie mortem et meritum hæretici supplicium. (Ibid. p. 570, 30th November, 1524.)

<sup>6</sup> Muss und will Ich sehen wo mich Gott ernähret. (Ibid. p. 582.)

in it. The abode of the monks was soon to become the hearth of a Christian family.

Luther, whose heart was so well fitted to relish the sweets of domestic life, honoured and loved the married state; it is even probable that he had an attachment for Catherine Bora. For a long time his scruples, and the thought of the calumnies to which the step might give rise, had prevented him from thinking of her; and he had made an offer of poor Catherine, first to Baumgartner of Nuremberg,<sup>1</sup> and then to Doctor Glatz of Nuremberg. But when he saw Baumgartner refuse Catherine, and Glatz refused by her, he asked himself more seriously, if he should not form the connection in his own person.

His old father, who had been so much grieved at his embracing the ecclesiastical state, urged him to marry.<sup>2</sup> But there was one idea which perpetually presented itself to Luther's conscience with new energy; marriage is a divine—celibacy a human institution. He had a horror at every thing that came from Rome. "I wish," said he, to his friends, "to preserve no part of my papistical life."<sup>3</sup> He prayed night and day, beseeching the Lord to deliver him from his uncertainty. At length all scruples were dissipated by one consideration. To all the motives of convenience and personal feeling which led him to apply to himself the words, "*It is not good that man should be alone,*"<sup>4</sup> was added a motive of a still higher nature and greater power. He saw, that if he was called to marriage as a man, he was still more called to it as a Reformer. This decided him.

"If this monk marries," said his friend, lawyer Schurff, "he will make the world and the devil burst with laughter, and destroy the work which he has begun."<sup>5</sup> This saying made a very different impression on Luther from what might have been supposed. To defy the world, the devil, and his enemies, and, by an action, fitted, as was thought, to destroy the work of the Reformation, to prevent the success of it from being in any way ascribed to him, was the very thing which he desired. Hence, boldly lifting his head, he replied "Very well, I shall do it. I shall play this trick to the world and the devil—I will give this joy to my father, I will marry Catherine." By marrying, Luther broke still more completely with the institutions of the papacy. He confirmed the doctrine which he had preached by his example, and encouraged the timid entirely to renounce their errors.<sup>6</sup> At this time,

<sup>1</sup> Si vis Ketamtuama Bora tenere. (L. Ep. ii, p. 563.)

liehen Vaters. (Ibid. iii, p. 2.)

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Aus Begehren meines

mundum universum et diabolum ipsum. (M. Ad. Vit. Luth. p. 130.)

<sup>5</sup> Risuros

<sup>6</sup> Ut confirmem facto quæ docui, tam multos invenio pusillanimes in tanta luce Evangelii.

(L. Ep. iii, p. 13.) That I may, by act, confirm what I have taught, so many do I find pusillanimous in this great light of the gospel,



Rome was, apparently, here and there regaining part of the territory which she had lost: she was, perhaps, beginning to cherish a hope of victory; and lo, a mighty explosion carries surprise and terror into her ranks, and makes her more fully aware of the courage of the enemy, whom she thought she had tamed. "I wish," said Luther, "to bear testimony to the gospel, not only by my words, but also by my works. In the face of my enemies, who already triumph, and sing jubilee, I mean to marry a nun, in order that they may understand and know that they have not vanquished me.<sup>1</sup> I do not marry in the hope of living long with my wife; but seeing people and princes letting loose their fury against me, foreseeing that my end is near, and that after my death they will trample my doctrine under foot. I mean to leave, for the edification of the weak, a striking confirmation of what I have taught here below."<sup>2</sup>

On the 11th June, 1525, Luther repaired to the house of his friend and colleague, Amsdorff. He asked for Pomeranus, whom he distinguished by the name of "the Pastor," to bless his union. The celebrated painter, Lucas Cranach, and Doctor John Apelles, acted as witnesses. Melancthon was not present.

Luther's marriage made a noise throughout Christendom. He was assailed from all quarters with accusations and calumnies. "It is incest!" exclaimed Henry VIII. "A monk marrying a vestal!" said some.<sup>3</sup> "Antichrist must be born of this union," said others; for there is a prophecy that he is to spring from a monk and a nun." On this Erasmus observed, with a sarcastic smile, "If the prophecy be true, how many thousands of Antichrists must the world already contain!"<sup>4</sup> But while Luther was thus assailed, several wise and moderate men within the pale of the Romish Church took up his defence. "Luther," said Erasmus, "has married a member of the illustrious house of Bora, but without dowry."<sup>5</sup> A still more venerable testimony was given to him. The teacher of Germany, Philip Melancthon, whom this bold step had at first amazed, said, in that solemn tone, to which even his enemies listened with respect,—"If it is pretended that there is any thing unbecoming in the marriage of Luther, it is a lie and a calumny.<sup>6</sup> I think he must have done violence to his own feelings

<sup>1</sup> *Nonna ducta uxore in despectum triumphantium et clamantium, Io! Io! hostium.* (L. Ep. iii, p. 21.)

<sup>2</sup> *Non duxi uxorem ut diu viverem, sed quod nunc propiorem finem meum suspicarer.* (Ibid. p. 32.) I have not married for long life, but because I suspect my end is drawing near.

<sup>3</sup> *Monachus cum vestali copularetur.* (M. Ad. Vit. Luth. p. 131.)

<sup>4</sup> *Quot Antichristorum millia jam olim habet mundus.* (Er. Ep. p. 789.)

<sup>5</sup> Erasmus adds:—"Partu maturo sponsæ vanus erat rumor." (Ibid. pp. 789, 789.) There was a foolish rumour that his wife was about to have a child.

<sup>6</sup> *Ὅτι ψῦδος τοῦτο καὶ διαβολή ἐστι.* (Corp. Ref. i, p. 753, ad Cam.)

in marrying. Married life is a humble, but it is also a holy state—if there is such a state in the world—and the Scriptures uniformly represent it as honourable in the sight of God.”

Luther was at first moved on seeing so much contempt and wrath poured out upon him. Melancthon redoubled his friendship and regard,<sup>1</sup> and the Reformer was soon able to see in the opposition of men only a sign of the approbation of God. “Did I not offend the world,” said he, “I should have reason to tremble, lest what I have done should not be agreeable to God.”<sup>2</sup>

There was an interval of eight years between Luther’s attack on indulgences, and his marriage with Catherine Bora. It would thus be difficult, though it is still attempted, to attribute his zeal against the abuses of the Church to an impatient desire of marrying. He was at this time forty-two years of age, and Catherine Bora had been two years at Wittenberg.

Luther was happy in his marriage. “The greatest gift of God,” said he, “is a pious amiable spouse, who fears God, loves her house, and with whom one can live in peace and perfect confidence.” Some months after his marriage, he announced to one of his friends that Catherine had hopes of becoming a mother.<sup>3</sup> A son was born about a year after the marriage.<sup>4</sup> The sweets of domestic life soon dissipated the clouds which the anger of his enemies had at first raised around him. His Ketha, (Kate,) as he called her, showed the greatest affection for him—comforted him, when he was depressed, by quoting passages of the Bible to him, relieved him from all the cares of ordinary life, sat beside him during his hours of leisure, embroidered the portrait of her husband, reminded him of the friends to whom he had forgotten to write, and often amused him by her simple-hearted questions. There appears to have been a certain degree of pride in her temper: hence Luther sometimes called her “Sir Kate.” He one day said in jest, that, if he were still unmarried, he would hew an obedient wife for himself out of stone, for such an one no where existed in reality. His letters fully expressed his fondness for Catherine. He called her “his dear and affectionate wife,”—“his dear and amiable Kate.” Luther’s humour was more sportive in Catherine’s society; and this happy turn of mind continued with him ever after, even amidst the greatest dangers.

The almost universal corruption of the clergy had brought the priesthood into the greatest contempt, and though there were some

<sup>1</sup> *Πασα σπουδῇ καὶ εὐνοίᾳ.* (Corp. Ref., i, p. 753, ad Cam.)  
Offenditur etiam in carne ipsius divinitatis et creatoris. (L. Ep. iii, p. 32)

<sup>3</sup> 21st October, 1525. *Catena mea simulat vel vere implet illud Genes. iii. Tu dolore gravida eris.* (Ibid., p. 35.)

<sup>4</sup> Mir meine liebe Kethe einen Hansen Luther bracht hat gestern um zwei. (8th June, 1526. Ibid. p. 119.)

<sup>2</sup> He adds

true servants of God, their isolated virtues could do away with it. Domestic peace, conjugal fidelity, the surest foundations of earthly happiness, were continually disturbed in town and country by the licentiousness of monks and priests. None were secure against their attempts at seduction. They took advantage of the free access which they had into the bosom of families, and sometimes also of the intimate intercourse furnished by the confessional, to instil a deadly poison into their penitents, and so gratify their vicious propensities. The Reformation, by abolishing the celibacy of priests, re-established the sacredness of the marriage tie. The marriage of ecclesiastics put an end to an immense number of secret crimes. The Reformers became models to their flocks in the most intimate and important relation of life, and the people were not slow in expressing their joy at again seeing the ministers of religion become husbands and fathers.

---

#### CHAP. XIV.

The Landgrave—The Elector—Prussia—Reformation—Secularisation—The Archbishop of Mentz—Conference of Friedewalt—Diet—Alliance of Torgau—Resistance of the Reformers—Alliance of Magdeburg—The Catholics redouble their efforts—Marriage of the Emperor—Threatening Letters—The two Parties.

Luther's marriage at first seemed to add to the embarrassment of the Reformation, which was still suffering from the shock which it had received from the revolt of the peasants. The sword of the emperor and the princes had always been drawn against it, and its friends, the landgrave and the new Elector, seemed discouraged and afraid to speak out.

However, this state of things was not of long duration. The young landgrave soon stood up boldly. Ardent and courageous, like Luther, he had been won by the charms of the Reformer's character. He threw himself into the cause of the Reformation with the eagerness of youth, and at the same time studied it with the gravity of a maturer intellect.

In Saxony, the place of Frederick had not been supplied either in regard to wisdom or influence; but his brother, the Elector John, instead of the passive part of protection, interfered more directly, and with more courage in religious affairs. When quitting Weimar on the 16th August, 1525, he intimated to the assembled priests, "I desire that in future you preach the pure Word of God, without any human addition." Some old ecclesiastics, who did not know how

to obey, replied with great simplicity, "We are not forbidden, however, to say mass for the dead, nor to bless water and salt."—"Every thing," resumed the Elector, "ceremonies as well as preaching, ought to be regulated by the Word of God."

The young landgrave shortly after formed the strange project of converting his father-in-law, Duke George. Sometimes he proved the sufficiency of Scripture, sometimes attacked the mass, the papacy, and vows. Letter succeeded letter, and all the declarations of the Word of God were alternately opposed to the faith of the old duke.<sup>1</sup>

These efforts did not prove useless. The son of Duke George was gained to the Reformation. But Philip failed with his father-in-law. "In one hundred years," said the latter, "it will be seen who is in the right."—"Sad words," said the Elector of Saxony. "What kind of faith is it that stands in need of such a trial?"<sup>2</sup> "Poor duke . . . He will wait long. God, I fear, has hardened him as he did Pharaoh."

In Philip the evangelical party found a bold and intelligent leader, capable of withstanding the formidable attacks which their enemies were preparing. But is there not reason to regret that the head of the Reformation was, from this moment, a man of war, instead of being a mere disciple of the Word of God? The human element was enlarged, and the spiritual element diminished. This was detrimental. For every work ought to be developed according to its own nature, and that of the Reformation was essentially spiritual.

God was multiplying its supports. A powerful state on the frontiers of Germany, Prussia, gladly arrayed itself under the gospel standard. The chivalric and religious spirit which had founded the Teutonic order had gradually died away with the times which gave it birth. The knights, now seeking only their private interest, had produced dissatisfaction among the people subject to them. Poland had profited by this in 1466 to obtain from the order a recognition of her sovereignty. The people, the knights, the grand master, the Polish government, were so many opposite powers, which were continually jostling each other, and rendered the prosperity of the country impossible.

Then came the Reformation, and in it was recognised the only means of deliverance to this unhappy people. Brismann, Speratus, Poliander, (Dr. Eck's secretary at the Leipsic discussion,) and others preached the gospel in Prussia.

One day a mendicant, from the countries subject to the Teutonic knights, arrived at Wittemberg, and, halting before Luther's door, with solemn voice sang Poliander's beautiful hymn,—

<sup>1</sup> Rommels Urkundenbuch, i, p. 2.  
solche Erfahrung erfordert. (Seckend, p. 739.)

<sup>2</sup> Was das für ein Glaube sey, der eine



“To us at length salvation comes.”<sup>1</sup>

The Reformer, who had never heard the hymn, listened with astonishment and rapture. The foreign accent of the singer increased his joy. “Again! again!” exclaimed he, when the mendicant had finished. He then asked him where he got the hymn, and his tears began to fall when he learned that from the shores of the Baltic a cry of deliverance was resounding even in Wittemberg. Then clasping his hands, he thanked God.<sup>2</sup>

In fact, salvation was there.

“Take pity on our misery,” said the people of Prussia to the grand master, “and give us preachers who proclaim the pure gospel of Jesus Christ.” Albert at first gave no answer, but he entered into conference with Sigismund, King of Poland, his uncle and sovereign lord, who acknowledged him as hereditary Duke of Prussia.<sup>3</sup> The new prince entered his capital of Königsberg amid the ringing of bells, and the acclamations of the people; all the houses were splendidly decorated, and the streets strewn with flowers. “There is only one order, said Albert, and that is Christendom.” The monastic orders disappeared, and the divine order was re-established.

The bishops gave up their secular rights to the new duke; the convents were turned into hospitals; the gospel was preached even in the humblest village, and, in the following year, Albert married Dorothea, daughter of the King of Denmark, whose “faith in the one only Saviour” was immovable.

The pope called upon the Emperor to exercise severity against this “apostate” monk, and Charles put Albert under the ban.

Another prince, of the family of Brandenburg, Albert, Archbishop of Mentz, was then on the point of following the example of his cousin. The war of the peasants threatened the ecclesiastical states in particular; the Elector, Luther, all Germany believed that they were on the eve of a great revolution. The archbishop thinking that the only means of saving his principality was secretly to secularise it, asked Luther to prepare the people for this bold step.<sup>4</sup> This Luther did by a letter which he prepared for them, and intended to publish. “God,” said he, “has laid a heavy hand on the clergy: they must fall: nothing can save them.”<sup>5</sup> But the war of the peasants having terminated much more speedily than had been imagined, the cardinal kept his temporal possessions; his fears were dissipated, and he renounced the project of secularisation.

<sup>1</sup> Es ist das Heyl uns kommen her.

<sup>2</sup> Dankte Gott mit Freuden. (Seck. p. 668.)

<sup>3</sup> Sleidan, Hist. of the Ref. p. 220.

<sup>4</sup> Seckend. p. 712.

<sup>5</sup> Er muss herunter. (L. Ep. ii, p. 674.)

While John of Saxony, Philip of Hesse, and Albert of Prussia openly professed the Reformation, and thus the place of prudent Frederick was supplied by three princes of resolution and courage, the holy work made progress in the Church and among the nations. Luther solicited the Elector to establish the evangelical ministry throughout his States instead of the priesthood of Rome, and to appoint a general visitation of the churches.<sup>1</sup> About the same time episcopal powers began to be exercised, and ministers to be consecrated. "The pope, the bishops, the monks, and the priests, need not make a noise. We are the Church. There is no other Church than the assembly of those who have the Word of God, and are purified by it."<sup>2</sup>

All this could not be said and done without producing a powerful re-action. Rome had thought the Reformation extinguished in the blood of the rebellious peasants, but every where its flames re-appeared brighter and fiercer. She resolved to make a new effort. The pope and the emperor wrote threatening letters, the one from Rome, the other from Spain. The imperial government prepared to replace matters on the ancient footing, and it was seriously proposed entirely to crush the Reformation at the approaching Diet.

The electoral prince of Saxony and the landgrave alarmed, met on the 7th November, at the castle of Friedewalt, and agreed that their deputies at the Diet should act on a common understanding. Thus, in the forest of Sullingen were formed the first elements of an evangelical alliance opposed to the leagues of Ratisbon and Dessau.

The Diet was opened, on the 11th December, at Augsburg. The evangelical princes did not attend in person. The deputies of Saxony and Hesse spoke out boldly at the outset. "The revolt of the peasants," said they, "was occasioned by imprudent severity. Neither by fire nor sword can the truth of God be plucked out of men's hearts. If you resolve on employing violence against the Reformation, the result will be more dreadful evils than those which you have just with difficulty escaped."

It was felt that the resolution which should be taken could not fail to be of immense importance. Every one was desirous to put off the decisive moment in order to gain additional strength. It was, therefore, resolved to meet again at Spire in May following. The rescript of Nuremberg was meantime to continue in force. "Then," said they, "we will thoroughly decide the points of holy faith, righteousness, and peace."

The landgrave prosecuted his design. In the end of February,

<sup>1</sup> L. Ep. iii, p. 23, 38, 51, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Dass Kirche sey allein diejenige, so Gottes Wort haben und damit gereinigt werden. (Corp. Ref. i, p. 766.)

1526, he had a conference with the Elector at Gotha. The two princes agreed that if they were attacked on account of the Word of God, they would unite their whole forces to resist their adversaries. This alliance was ratified at Torgau. It was to have important results.

The landgrave did not think the alliance of Torgau sufficient. Convinced that Charles V was seeking to form a league "against Christ and his holy Word," he wrote letter after letter to the Elector representing the necessity of uniting with other states. "For myself," said he, "I would die, and be chased from my throne, sooner than abjure the Word of God."<sup>1</sup>

At the electoral court there was great uncertainty. In fact, there was a serious obstacle to the union of the evangelical princes. This obstacle was in Luther and Melancthon. Luther wished that the evangelical doctrine should be defended by God alone. He thought that the less men interfered with it, the more manifest the interposition of God would appear. All the measures proposed to be taken seemed to him attributable to cowardly timidity and culpable distrust. Melancthon feared that the alliance of the evangelical princes was the very thing to bring on the war which it was wished to avoid.

The landgrave did not allow himself to be arrested by these considerations, and endeavoured to induce the states around him to join the alliance, but his efforts were not crowned with success. Frankfort refused to become a party to it. The Elector of Treves withdrew his opposition, and accepted of a pension from the emperor. The Elector Palatine himself, whose evangelical leanings were well known, rejected the propositions of Philip.

The landgrave thus failed in the direction of the Rhine, but the Elector, notwithstanding of the advice of the theologians of the Reformation, entered into negotiation with the princes who had at all times rallied round the throne of Saxony. On the 12th June, the Elector and his son, the Dukes Philip, Ernest, Otho, and Francis of Brunswick and Luneburg, Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, Prince Wolf of Anhalt, Counts Albert and Gebhard of Mansfeld, met at Magdeburg, and there, under the precedence of the Elector, formed an alliance similar to that of Torgau.

"God Almighty," said these princes, "having in his ineffable mercy caused his holy and eternal Word, the food of our souls and our greatest treasure here below, to appear again amongst men; and powerful manœuvres having been employed on the part of the clergy and their adherents, to annihilate and extirpate it, we being firmly assured that He who has sent it to glorify his name upon

<sup>1</sup> Seck. p. 763.



the earth, is able also to maintain it, engage to preserve this holy Word to our people, and for this end to employ our goods, our lives, our states, our subjects, all that we possess—confiding not in our armies, but solely in the omnipotence of the Lord, whose instruments we desire to be.”<sup>1</sup> So spoke the princes.

The town of Magdeburg was two days after received into the alliance, and the new Duke of Prussia, Albert, Duke of Brandenburg, gave in his adherence to it in a special form.

The evangelical alliance was formed, but the dangers which it was intended to avert became every day more alarming. The priests and princes friendly to Rome had seen this Reformation which they thought completely strangled, suddenly rise up before them in a formidable shape. The partisans of the Reformation were already almost as powerful as those of the pope. If they have the majority in the Diet, it is easy to divine what the ecclesiastical states have to expect. Now then or never! The question is no longer merely the refutation of a heresy; a powerful party must be combated. Other victories than those of Dr. Eck must now save Christendom.

Decisive measures had already been taken. The metropolitan chapter of the primary church of Mentz had convened a meeting of all its suffragans, and decided on sending a deputation to the emperor and the pope, to ask them to save the Church.

At the same time Duke George of Saxony, Duke Henry of Brunswick, and the Cardinal-Elector Albert, had met at Halle, and had also resolved to address Charles V. “The detestable doctrine of Luther,” said they, “makes rapid progress. Every day attempts are made to gain even us, and when gentle means fail, attempts are made to compel us by stirring up our subjects. We invoke the assistance of the emperor.”<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, after the conference, Brunswick himself set out for Spain to decide Charles.

He could not have arrived at a more favourable moment. The emperor had just concluded with Francis the famous treaty of Madrid; and as he seemed to have nothing to fear in that quarter, his eyes were now turned wholly to Germany. Francis I had offered to pay half the expenses of the war, whether against the heretics or against the Turks.

The emperor was at Seville, on the eve of marriage with a princess of Portugal, and the banks of the Guadalquiver were re-echoing with the sound of festivities. A brilliant nobility, and immense crowds of people thronged the ancient capital of the Moors. Under the arches of the magnificent cathedral was displayed all the

<sup>1</sup> Allein auf Gott den Allmächtigen, als dessen Werkzeuge sie handeln. (Hortleber Ursache des deutschen Krieges, i, p. 1490.) <sup>2</sup> Schmidt, Deutsche Gesch, viii, p. 202.



pop of the Church. A papal legate officiated, and never, even in the days of the Arabs, had Andalusia seen a more splendid and imposing ceremony.

This was the time when Henry of Brunswick arrived from Germany, and besought Charles V to save the Church and the empire, which were now attacked by the monk of Wittemberg. His request was immediately taken into consideration, and the emperor determined on decisive measures.

On the 25th March, 1526, he wrote to several of the princes and towns which adhered to Rome, and at the same time gave the Duke of Brunswick a special commission, to say to them, that with deep grief he had learned that the continual progress of Luther's heresy was threatening to fill Germany with sacrilege, devastation, and blood—that, on the other hand, he had extreme pleasure in seeing the fidelity of the great majority of the States—that, neglecting every other affair, he was going to quit Spain and repair to Rome to make arrangements with the pope, and thenceforth return to Germany, to combat the detestable pest of Wittemberg; that as to themselves they ought to adhere stedfastly to their faith; and if the Lutherans sought to draw them into error by stratagem or force, they should enter into close union with each other, and resist boldly; that he would shortly arrive and support them with all his authority.<sup>1</sup>

On the return of Brunswick to Germany, the Catholic party were overjoyed, and proudly lifted their heads. The Dukes of Brunswick, and Pomerania, Albert of Mecklenburg, John of Juliers, George of Saxony, the Dukes of Bavaria, and all the ecclesiastical princes thought themselves sure of victory after they read the threatening letters of the conqueror of Francis I. They would repair to the approaching Diet, they would humble the heretical princes, and, if they did not otherwise submit, would compel them by the sword. Duke George is confidently affirmed to have said, "I may be Elector of Saxony whenever I please;"<sup>2</sup> an expression to which it was afterwards attempted to give a different turn. One day the duke's chancellor said at Torgau with an air of triumph,<sup>2</sup> "Luther's cause cannot hold out long, it had better be looked to."

Luther, in fact, did look to it, but not in the sense thus implied; he attentively followed the designs of the enemies of the Word of God, and thought, as well as Melancthon, that he would soon see thousands of swords drawn against the gospel. But he sought his strength in a higher source than man. "Satan," wrote he to Fre-

<sup>1</sup> Archives of Weimar.  
p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Ranke, *Deutsch Gesch.* ii, p. 349. *Rommel Urkunden*

derick Myconius, "is giving full vent to his fury; wicked pontiffs are conspiring and threatening us with war. Exhort the people to fight valiantly before the throne of God by faith and prayer, so that our enemies, being overcome by the Spirit of God, may be compelled to make peace. The first want, the first work is prayer; let the people know that they are now exposed to the edge of the sword and the fury of the devil, and let them pray." <sup>1</sup>

Thus, every preparation was made for a decisive combat. The Reformation had on its side the prayers of Christians, the sympathies of the people, and the rising influence of mind which no power could arrest. The papacy had in its favour the ancient order of things, the power of ancient custom, the zeal and hatred of formidable princes, and the power of that great emperor whose dominion extended over two worlds, and who had just given so rude a check to the glory of Francis I.

Such was the posture of affairs at the opening of the Diet at Spires. At present we return to Switzerland.

<sup>1</sup> *Ut in medijs gladijs et furoribus Satanas posito et periclitanti.* (L. Ep. iii, p. 100.).

## BOOK ELEVENTH.

DIVISION, SWITZERLAND, GERMANY.

1523—1527.

### CHAP. I.

Unity in Diversity—Primitive Faith and Liberty—Formation of Roman Unity—  
A Monk and Leo Juda—Theses of Zuinglius—The discussion of January.

WE are going to see the diversities, or, as they have been called, the *variations* of the Reformation. These form one of its most essential features.

Unity in diversity, and diversity in unity, is the law of nature, and also the law of the Church.

Truth is like the light of the sun. The light, as it descends from heaven, is always one and the same, and yet it assumes different colours on the earth, according to the objects on which it falls. In the same manner, expressions, which differ somewhat from each other, may sometimes express the same Christian idea, contemplated under different points of view.

How dull should creation be, were this immense variety of forms and colours which constitute its riches, replaced by an absolute uniformity! In like manner, how desolate the appearance, if all created beings formed only a single magnificent unity.

Divine unity has its rights; human diversity has its rights also. It is not necessary in religion to annihilate either God or man. If you have no unity, your religion is not of God; if you have no diversity, it is not of man. Now, it ought to be of both. Would you erase from the creation one of the laws which God has imposed upon it, viz., that of an immense diversity? "*Even things without life,*" says St. Paul, "*whether pipe or harp, except they give a distinction in the sounds, how shall it be known what is piped or harped?*" 1 Cor. xiv, 7. But if there is in religious things a diversity, caused by the difference of individuality, and which, consequently, must exist even in heaven, a diversity there is which has been caused by the fall of man, and is a serious calamity.

There are two tendencies which equally lead to error. The former exaggerates the diversity, and the latter the unity. The doctrines essential to salvation form the boundary between these two directions. To exact more than these doctrines is to infringe on the diversity—to exact less is to infringe on the unity.

The latter excess is that of rash and rebellious spirits, who turn away from Jesus Christ to form human systems and doctrines.

The former exists in various exclusive sects, and, in particular, in that of Rome.

The Church should reject error. Did she not do so Christianity could not be maintained. But, were we to push this idea to an extreme, the result would be, that the Church would require to oppose the smallest deviation, and involve herself in disputes about words. Faith would be swaddled, and Christian sentiment brought into bondage. Such was not the condition of the Church in the days of true Catholicism—I mean the first centuries. It rejected the sectaries who assailed the fundamental truths of the gospel; but these truths admitted, it left faith at full liberty. Rome soon abandoned these wise limits, and in proportion as a domination and doctrine of man was formed in the Church there arose also a unity of man.

A human system being once invented, its rigour increased from age to age. Christian liberty, which had been respected by the catholicism of the first ages, was first limited, then chained, then stifled. Conviction, which, according to the laws of human nature and the Word of God, ought to be formed freely in the heart and the understanding of man, was imposed externally as fully formed and symmetrically arranged by his masters. Reflection, will, sentiment, all the faculties of the human mind, which, in due subordination to the Word and the Spirit of God, ought to labour and produce freely, were abridged in their liberty, and compelled to expand in forms previously determined. The spirit of man became like a mirror, on which foreign objects are represented, but which possesses nothing of its own. Doubtless there still were souls taught directly by God. But the great majority of Christians had thenceforth only the convictions of others: a faith properly belonging to the individual became a rarity. The Reformation alone restored this treasure to the Church.

Still there was for sometime a space, within which the human mind was allowed to range, certain opinions which it might admit or reject at pleasure. But, as a besieging army, always drawing closer and closer around the town, does not allow the garrison to stir beyond the precincts of the walls, and at length obliges it to surrender, in the same way was the hierarchy seen, in every age, and



almost every year, abridging the space which it had granted provisionally to the human mind, until, at length, the space was entirely encroached upon, and ceased to exist. Everything that was to be believed, loved, or done, was regulated and fixed in the bureaux of the Roman chancery. The faithful were relieved from the trouble of examining, thinking, and wrestling; they had only to repeat the formula which they had been taught.

From that time, if there appeared in the bosom of Roman catholicism any man who inherited the catholicism of the apostolic times, that man, incapable of expanding within the limits to which he had been confined, behoved to overleap them, and show anew to the astonished world the lofty flight of the Christian who acknowledges no law save that of God.

The Reformation, then, in restoring liberty to the Church, behoved to restore to her her original diversity, and people her with families, united by the great features of resemblance which they derive from their common head, but differing in secondary features and bespeaking the inherent varieties of human nature. It were, perhaps, to be desired that this diversity could subsist in the universal Church without producing sects. Still, it ought to be remembered, that sects are only the expression of this diversity.

Switzerland and Germany, which, till now, had been developed independently of each other, came into contact at the period, the history of which we are now to trace, and exemplified this diversity which was to become one of the characteristic features of Protestantism. We shall see men perfectly agreed on all the great points of faith, differing, however, on secondary questions. No doubt, passion mingled in these discussions; but while deploring this sad mixture, Protestantism, far from disguising the diversity, acknowledges and proclaims it. The path by which she leads to unity is long and difficult, but her unity is real.

Zuinglius was making progress in the Christian life. While the gospel had delivered Luther from the profound melancholy to which he had formerly abandoned himself in the convent of Erfurth, and given him a serenity which often assumed the form of joyfulness, and of which the Reformer thenceforth gave numerous proofs, even in face of the greatest dangers, Christianity had had quite a contrary effect on the joyous child of the mountains of Tockenbourg. Withdrawing Zuinglius from his volatile and worldly life, it impressed a gravity on his character that was not natural to it. This serious turn was very necessary. We have seen how, towards the end of 1522, numerous enemies seemed to rise up against the Reform-

ation.<sup>1</sup> Zuinglius was every where loaded with invectives, and disputes often took place, even in churches.

Leo Juda, small in stature,<sup>2</sup> says a biographer, but full of charity for the poor, and of zeal against false teachers, had arrived at Zurich towards the end of 1522, to discharge the office of pastor of the church of St. Peter, having been succeeded at Einsidlen by Oswald Myconius.<sup>3</sup> He was a valuable acquisition to Zuinglius and the Reformation.

One day, shortly after his arrival, he heard an Augustin monk, in the church to which he had been called to be pastor, vehemently preaching, that man is able of himself to satisfy the justice of God. "Reverend father prior," exclaimed Leo, "listen for an instant, and you, dear citizens, keep quiet; I will speak as becomes a Christian." He then proved to the people the unsoundness of the doctrine which they had just heard.<sup>4</sup> There was great agitation in the church, and several forthwith angrily assailed the "little priest," who had come from Einsidlen. Zuinglius appeared before the great council; desiring to give an account of his doctrine in presence of the deputies of the bishop, and the council in their desire to see an end put to these dissensions, summoned a conference for the 29th January, 1523. The news quickly spread over Switzerland. "There is going to be a *diet* of vagabonds at Zurich," said the adversaries spitefully—"all the footpads will be there."

Zuinglius, preparatory to the contest, published sixty-seven theses. Openly in the eyes of all Switzerland, the mountaineer of Tockenbourg boldly attacked the pope.

"All," said he, "who maintain that the gospel is nothing without the confirmation of the Church, blaspheme God.

"The only way of salvation to all men who have been, are, or are to be, is Jesus Christ.

"All Christians are the brethren of Christ, and brethren of each other, and they have no fathers on the earth; thus, orders, sects, and parties fall.

"No constraint should be laid on those who do not acknowledge their error, provided they do not, by seditious conduct, disturb the peace."

Such were some of the theses of Zuinglius.

On the morning of Thursday the 29th of January, more than six hundred persons met in the hall of the great council at Zurich.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II, Book viii.

<sup>2</sup> Er war ein kurzer Mann. (Füsslin Beyträge, iv, p. 44.)

<sup>3</sup> Ut post abitum Leonis, monachis aliquid legam. (Zw. Ep. p. 253.) That after Leo's departure I may read to the monks.

<sup>4</sup> J. J. Hottinger, *Helv. Kirch. Gesch.* iii, p. 105.

Citizens and strangers, learned men, persons of distinction, and ecclesiastics, had responded to the call of the council. "What," it was asked, "is to be the result of all this?"<sup>1</sup> Nobody dared to answer; but the attention, excitement, and agitation of the assembly, showed plainly that great things were expected.

Burgomaster Roust, who had fought at Marignan, presided. The chevalier, James of Anwyl, grand master of the episcopal court of Constance, Faber the vicar-general, and several doctors, represented the bishop. Schaffhausen had sent Doctor Sebastian Hofmeister; he was the only deputy from the cantons so long as the Reformation was in its infancy in Switzerland. On a table in the middle of the hall was the Bible, and beside it stood a teacher. This was Zuinglius. "I am agitated and tormented on all sides," he had said; "but still I remain firm, leaning not on my own strength, but on the rock, which is Christ, through whose aid I can do all things."<sup>2</sup>

Zuinglius arose. "I have preached," said he, "that salvation is found only in Jesus Christ; and for this I am stigmatised throughout Switzerland as a heretic, a seducer, a rebel. . . . Now then, in the name of God, here I am to answer."<sup>3</sup> . . .

All eyes now turned towards Faber, who rose and replied, "I was not sent here to debate, but only to listen." The assembly, in surprise, began to laugh. "The Diet of Nuremberg," continued Faber, "has promised a council in a year; we should wait for it."

"What!" said Zuinglius, "is not this great and learned assembly as good as a council?" Then addressing the counsellors, he said, "Gracious lords, defend the Word of God."

Profound silence followed this appeal; after some time it was broken by the burgomaster. "If any one has any thing to say," said he, "let him do so." There was again silence. Zuinglius then said, "I implore all my accusers (and I know there are several of them here) to come forward, and for the love of truth, show wherein I deserve blame." Nobody said a word. Zuinglius renewed his demand a second and third time: it was in vain. Faber being close pressed, for a moment forgot the reserve which he had imposed on himself, to declare that the pastor of Filispach, who was detained in prison, had been convinced by him of his error; but he immediately became reserved as before. In vain was he urged to explain the reasons by which he had convinced the pastor. He was obstinately silent. The spectators, becoming impatient at

<sup>1</sup> Ein grosses Verwunderen, was doch uss der Sach werden wollte. (Bullinger, Chron. i. p. 97.)

<sup>2</sup> Immotus tamen maneo, non meis nervis nixus, sed petra Christo, in quo omnia possum. (Zw. Ep. p. 261.)

<sup>3</sup> Nun wohlan in dem Namen Gottes, hie bin ich. (Bullinger, Chron. p. 98.)

the silence of the Roman doctors, a voice was heard from the bottom of the hall, exclaiming, "Where are now those valiant men,<sup>1</sup> who speak so loud in the streets? Ho! come forward, here is your man!" Nobody presented himself. Then the burgomaster said, with a smile, "It seems, that the famous sword which smote the pastor of Filispach is not to come out of its scabbard to-day." So saying, he adjourned the meeting.

In the afternoon, when the assembly again met, the council declared, that Master Ulric Zuinglius, not having been censured by any one, should continue to preach the Holy Gospel, and that all the other priests of the canton should teach only what they could establish by the Holy Scriptures.

"God be praised," exclaimed Zuinglius, "who is pleased that his Holy Word should reign in heaven and on the earth." Faber could not now restrain his indignation. "The theses of Master Ulric," said he, "are contrary to the honour of the Church and the doctrine of Christ, and I will prove it." "Do so," exclaimed Zuinglius. But Faber refused to do it any where but at Paris, Cologne, or Friburg. "I won't have any other judge than the gospel," said Zuinglius; "sooner will the earth open than you succeed in shaking a single word contained in it."<sup>2</sup> "The gospel," said Faber, "always the gospel! . . . . We could live holily in peace and charity even though there were no gospel."<sup>3</sup>

At these words the audience rose up in indignation, and the discussion closed.

---

## CHAP. II.

Careses of the Pope—Progress of the Reformation—The image of Stadelhofen—  
Sacrilège—The Ornaments of the Saints.

The Reformation, having gained the day, was now to hasten its conquests. After this conflict of Zurich, where the ablest champions of the papacy had remained mute, who would have the courage to oppose the new doctrine? Meanwhile, other weapons were tried. The firmness of Zuinglius, and his republican leanings, misled his enemies, and hence special methods were employed for the purpose of overcoming him. While Rome was pursuing Luther

<sup>1</sup> The monks. Wo sind nur die grossen Hansen . . . . (Zw. Op. i, p. 124.)

<sup>2</sup> Es müsst das Erdrych brechen. (Zw. Op. i, p. 148.)

<sup>3</sup> Man möchte dennoch fröhlich, friedlich und tugendlich leben, wenn gleich kein Evangelium wäre. (Bull. Chron. p. 107. Zw. Op. i, p. 152.)



with her anathemas, she endeavoured to gain the Reformer of Zurich by gentle methods. Scarcely had the discussion closed, when Zuinglius was visited by the son of burgomaster Roust, the captain of the pope's guards, accompanied by the legate Einsius, who had in charge for him a pontifical brief, in which Adrian VI called Zuinglius his well-beloved son, and acquainted him with "his very particular regard."<sup>1</sup> At the same time, the pope made Zink be pressed to gain Zuinglius. "What, then, does the pope commission you to offer?" asked Oswald Myconius. "Every thing," replied Zink, "except the pontifical see."<sup>2</sup>

There was no mitre and crozier, no cardinal's hat that the pope would not have given to gain the Reformer of Zurich. But in regard to him Rome was under strange illusions. All her offers were unavailing. The Romish Church had a more inveterate enemy in Zuinglius than in Luther. He cared less than Luther did for the ideas and rites of former ages. To provoke his attack upon any custom innocent in itself, it was enough that it was attached to some abuse. The Word of God, he thought, was alone entitled to stand.

But if Rome so little understood what was taking place in Christendom, she had counsellors who tried to correct her mistake.

Faber, irritated at seeing the pope thus humbling himself before his adversary, hastened to enlighten him. A courtier, who had always a smile upon his lips and honied words in his mouth, Faber was, by his own account, the friend of every body, even of those whom he was accusing of heresy. But his hatred was mortal. Hence, the Reformer, playing on the word Faber said, "The vicar of Constance is a fabricator . . . of lies. Let him openly proceed to arms, and see how Christ defends us."<sup>3</sup>

These words were not a vain bravado; for while the pope was speaking to Zuinglius of his eminent virtues, and of the particular confidence which he had in him, the enemies of the Reformer were multiplying in Switzerland. Veteran soldiers, leading families, and mountain shepherds, were uniting in their hatred against this doctrine, which was at variance with their tastes. At Lucerne a pompous spectacle was announced under the name of *The Passion* of Zuinglius. A dwarf, meant to represent the Reformer, was dragged to execution, crying, that they were going to put the heretic to death. Laying hold of some Zurichers who were at Lucerne, they obliged them to be spectators of this ridiculous exhi-

<sup>1</sup> Cum de tua egregia virtute specialiter nobis sit cognitum. (Zw. Ep. p. 266.)

<sup>2</sup> Serio respondit: Omnia certe præter sedem papalem. (Vit. Zwingli per Osw. Myc.)

<sup>3</sup> Prodeant volo, palamque arma capiant . . . (Zw. Ep. p.

bition. "They will not disturb my peace," said Zuinglius. "Christ will never be wanting to his people."<sup>1</sup> The Diet itself resounded with menaces against him. "Dear confederates," said counsellor Mullinen to the cantons, "oppose the Lutheran cause in time. . . . At Zurich a man is no longer a master in his own house."

This agitation of the adversary announced what was taking place in Zurich still better than any proclamations could have done. In fact, the victory was yielding its proper fruit; the conquerors gradually took possession of the country, and the gospel daily made new progress. Twenty-four canons, and a great number of chaplains, came, of their own accord to the council, to demand a reform of their statutes. It was resolved to supply the place of these idle priests by pious and learned men, commissioned to give the youth of Zurich a Christian and liberal education, and to establish, instead of their Latin vespers and masses, a daily exposition of a chapter of the Bible according to the Hebrew and Greek text, first for the learned, and then immediately after for the people.

All armies unfortunately contain blundering recruits, who detach themselves from the main body, and prematurely attack some point which ought for the time to have been left untouched. A young priest, named Louis Ketzer, having published in Germany a treatise, entitled "*The Judgment of God against Images*," a strong impression was produced, and images became the constant dislike of a portion of the population. When a man allows his attention to be engrossed by secondary matters, it is always to the detriment of more essential matters. A crucifix carefully sculptured and richly adorned had been placed on the outside of one of the gates of the town, at the place called Stadelhofen. The most ardent partisans of the Reformation shocked at the superstition to which this image gave occasion, were unable to pass it without expressing their indignation. A citizen named Claud Hottinger, "a worthy man," says Bullinger, "and well read in the Scriptures," having met the miller of Stadelhofen, to whom the crucifix belonged, asked when he meant to pull down his idols. "Nobody obliges you to worship them," replied the miller. "But do you not know," resumed Hottinger, "that the Word of God forbids us to have graven images?" "Very well," replied the miller, "if you are authorised to pull them down, I abandon them to you." Hottinger thought himself entitled to act, and shortly after, about the end of September, he set forth from the town with a number of citizens. On arriving at the crucifix, they quietly dug all around it until the

<sup>1</sup> Christum suis nunquam defuturum. (Zw. Ep. p. 278.)

image yielded to their efforts, and fell to the ground with a loud noise.

This bold action spread general alarm; one would have said that with the crucifix of Stadelhofen, religion itself had been overthrown. "These men are blasphemers! They are worthy of death!" exclaimed the friends of Rome. The council caused the iconoclast burghers to be apprehended.

"No:" said Zuinglius and his colleagues from the pulpit, "Hottinger and his friends are not guilty before God or worthy of death.<sup>1</sup> But they may be punished for having acted with violence, and without the authority of the magistrates."<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile similar acts were repeated. One day a vicar, of the church of St. Peter, seeing a number of poor people before the church without food and clothing, said to one of his colleagues, turning towards some of the pompously decked images, "I would willingly strip these wooden idols in order to clothe these poor members of Jesus Christ." A few days after, at three in the morning, the saints, and all their ornaments, disappeared. The council ordered the vicar to be imprisoned, though he declared that he was not the guilty party. "What!" said the people, "was it bits of wood our Saviour ordered us to clothe? Is it on account of these images he will say to us, '*I was naked, and ye clothed me?*'" Thus, the Reformation, when discountenanced, became only the more powerful. The more it was curbed the more violently it sprang forward, threatening to bear down its opposition.

---

### CHAP. III.

The October Discussion—Zuinglius on the Church—The Church—First Outline of Presbyterianism—Discussion on the Mass—Enthusiasts—A Voice of Wisdom—Victory—A characteristic of the Swiss Reformation—Moderation—Oswald Myconius at Zurich—The Revival of Letters—Thomas Plater of the Valois.

Even these excesses were to prove salutary. A new combat was necessary in order to secure new triumphs; for it is equally true in mental as in worldly affairs—that there is no conquest without a struggle. Since the soldiers of Rome remained motionless, the combat was to be provoked by rash sons of the Reformation. In fact, the magistrates were uncertain and at a loss how to act. They felt that their conscience required to be enlightened; and,

<sup>1</sup> An exposition of the same principles may be seen in the speeches of Messieurs De Broglie and Royer-Collard, in the famous debates on the law of sacrilege.

<sup>2</sup> *Dorum habend ir unser Herren kein rächt zuinen, sy zu töden.* (Bull. Chr., p. 127.)

with this view, they resolved to institute a second public discussion in German, when the question of images should be tried by Scripture.

The Bishops of Coire, Constance, and Bale, the university of Bale, and the twelve cantons, were in consequence invited to send deputies to Zurich. The bishops refused the invitation. Remembering the sad figure their deputies had made at the previous discussion, they had no wish to renew these humiliating scenes. Let the evangelicals dispute if they will; but leave them to do it by themselves. The first time we were silent—the second we wont even appear. Rome, perhaps, imagined that there would be no combat from want of combatants. The bishops were not singular in refusing to come. The men of Underwalden replied that they had no learned men among them, but merely honest and pious priests, who explained the gospel as their fathers had done, and therefore they would not send any deputy to Zuinglius, “and the like of him;” but that, if they had him in their clutches, they would handle him in a way which would leave him no desire to repeat the same faults.<sup>1</sup> Schaffhausen and St. Gall alone sent representatives.

On Monday, 26th October, after sermon, an assembly of more than nine hundred persons, consisting of members of the Grand Council, and three hundred and fifty priests, filled the large hall of the town-house. Zuinglius and Leo Juda were seated at a table on which lay the Old and New Testament in the original tongues. Zuinglius first spoke, and, demolishing the authority of the hierarchy and its councils with a vigorous arm, established the rights of every Christian church, and claimed the liberty of the primitive ages—of those times when the Church had neither œcumenical nor provincial councils. “The Church universal,” said he, “is diffused over the whole world, wherever there is faith in Jesus Christ, in the Indies as well as at Zurich. . . . And, as to particular churches, we have them at Berne, at Schaffhausen—here also. But the popes, their cardinals, and their councils, are neither the Church universal nor the Church particular.<sup>2</sup> This assembly which I now address,” he continued energetically, “is the church of Zurich; it desires to hear the Word of God, and it is entitled to enjoin whatever it deems conformable to the Holy Scriptures.”

Thus Zuinglius leant upon the Church—but the true Church; not on priests only, but on the congregation of Christians—on the people. All that Scripture says of the Church in general, he applied to particular churches. He did not think that a church

<sup>1</sup> So wollten wir Ihm den Lohn geben, dass er's nimmer mehr thäte. (Simmler Samml., M.S., ix.)

<sup>2</sup> Der Päbste, Cardinäle und Bischöffe Concilia sind nicht die Christliche Kirche. (Füssli, Beytr., iii, p. 20.)



listening with docility to the Word of God, could be deceived. The Church he regarded as politically and ecclesiastically represented by the Great Council.<sup>1</sup> He at first discussed each question in the pulpit, and then, after men's minds were convinced of the truth, he laid the matter before the Great Council, who, being agreed with the ministers of the Church, adopted the decisions which she approved.<sup>2</sup>

In the absence of deputies from the bishop, the defence of the pope was undertaken by the old canon, Conrad Hoffman, who had been the means of calling Zuinglius to Zurich. He maintained that the Church, the flock, "the third estate," had no right to discuss such matters. "I was thirteen years at Heidelberg," said he, "I lived with a great scholar, called Doctor Joss, a worthy pious man, with whom, for a long time, I ate and drank, and lived on familiar terms; but he always said that it was unbecoming to discuss such subjects. You see well!" Every body was ready to laugh; but the burgomaster stopped the explosion. "Thus, then," continued Hoffman, "let us wait for a council. For the time being, I have no wish to discuss, but to submit to the bishop, even were he a rogue!"

"Wait for a council!" replied Zuinglius. "And who will attend a council? The pope and lazy ignorant bishops, who will do nothing of their own accord. No: that is not the Church! Höng and Küssnacht (two Zurich villages) are much more certainly a Church than all the bishops and popes put together!"

Thus Zuinglius claimed the restoration of the rights of the Christian people, whom Rome had disinherited of their privileges. The assembly before which he spoke was not, in his view, the Church of Zurich, but it was its primary representative. We have here the germs of the Presbyterian system. Zuinglius withdrew Zurich from the jurisdiction of the bishopric of Constance, detached it from the Latin hierarchy, and on the idea of the flock, of the Christian assembly, founded a new ecclesiastical constitution, to which other countries were at a later period to adhere.

The discussion was continued. Several priests having risen to defend images, but without appealing to the Holy Scriptures, Zuinglius and the other reformers employed the Scriptures in refuting them. "If no one rises," said one of the presidents, "to give Bible arguments in favour of images, we shall call upon some of their

<sup>1</sup> *Diacosion Senatus summa est potestas Ecclesiæ vice.* (Zw. Op. iii, p. 339.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ante omnia multitudinem de quæstione probe docere ita factum est, ut quidquid diacosii cum verbi ministris ordinarent, jamdudum in animis fidelium ordinatum esset.* (Ibid.) By thoroughly instructing the people, first of all in the question, the result was, that, whatever the council of two hundred, with the ministers of the Word, enjoined, was already enjoined in the minds of the faithful.

defenders by name." Nobody coming forward, he called upon the curate of Wadischwyl. "He is asleep," cried one of the audience. The curate of Horgen was then called upon. "He sent me in his stead," replied his vicar; "but I don't wish to answer for him." The Word of God gave evident tokens of its power in the midst of this assembly. The friends of the Reformation were full of power, liberty and joy; their opponents appeared speechless, uneasy, desponding. In succession were called the curates of Laufen, Glattfelden, Wetzikon, the rector and curate of Pfäffikon, the dean of Elgg, the curate of Bäretschwyl, the Dominican and Cordelier friars, who were known every where to preach up images, the Virgin, saints, and the mass, but all answered that they could not say any thing in their favour, and that, in future, they would apply to the study of the truth. "Hitherto," said one of them, "I have believed the ancient; now I mean to believe the new doctors." "It is not us that you ought to believe," exclaimed Zuinglius, "it is the Word of God. The Scriptures alone never deceive." The meeting was protracted, and night drew on. President Hofmeister of Schaffhausen, rose and said, "Blessed be the Almighty and Eternal God who giveth us the victory in all things." He then exhorted the counsellors of Zurich to abolish images.

The meeting was again held on Tuesday, under the presidency of Vadian, for the discussion of the doctrine of the mass. "Brethren in Christ," said Zuinglius, "far be it from us to think that there is any deception or falsehood in the blood of Christ.<sup>1</sup> Our only object is to show that the mass is not a sacrifice which one man can present to God for another man, unless, indeed, it can be shown that a man can eat and drink for his friend." Vadian having asked on two several occasions if any of those present were ready to defend the doctrine which was impugned, by Scripture, and nobody having answered, the canons of Zurich, the chaplains, and several other ecclesiastics, declared that they agreed with Zuinglius.

But no sooner had the Reformers thus vanquished the partisans of the ancient doctrines, than they were compelled to struggle against those impatient men who demand sudden and violent innovations, instead of wise and gradual reforms. The unhappy Conrad Grebel rose and said, "It is not enough to have discussed the mass—it is necessary to abolish its abuses."—"The council," replied Zuinglius, "will issue a decree on this subject." Then Simon Stumpf exclaimed, "The Spirit of God has already decided! why then remit it to the council for decision?"<sup>2</sup>

Commander Schmidt of Kussnacht rose up gravely and uttered

<sup>1</sup> Dass einigerley Betrug oder Falsch syg in dem reinen Blut und Fleisch Christi.  
Zur. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Der Geist Gottes urtheilet. (Ibid., i, p. 529.)

words full of wisdom. "Let us teach Christians," said he, "to receive Christ into their hearts."<sup>1</sup> Till this hour you have all gone after idols. Those of the plain have run to the mountains, and those of the mountains have run to the plain; the French to Germany, and the Germans to France. Now you know where you ought to go. God has united all things in Christ. Noble men of Zurich run to the true source; let Jesus Christ again enter on your territory, and resume his ancient empire."

This address made a deep impression, and none having appeared to contradict it, Zuinglius, under deep emotion, rose and said, "Gracious lords, God is with us! . . . He will defend his cause. Now, then, . . . in the name of God, . . . forward! . . ." Here he was so deeply agitated that he was obliged to stop. He wept and many wept with him.<sup>2</sup>

Thus terminated the discussion. The presidents rose; the burgo-master thanked them, and then this old warrior, addressing the council, said gravely, with the voice which had so often been heard on the battle-field. "Now, then, let us take into our hands the sword of the Word of God, . . . and may God prosper his own work."

This discussion of October, 1523, had been decisive. The greater part of the priests who had been present at it, returned full of zeal to different parts of the canton, and the effect of these days was felt all over Switzerland. The church of Zurich, which had always been, to a certain degree, independent of the bishopric of Constance, was now fully emancipated. Instead of resting through the bishop on the pope, it henceforth rested through the people on the Word of God. Zurich resumed the rights of which Rome had robbed it. The town and the country rivalled each other in the interest they felt for the work of the Reformation, and the Great Council only followed the movement of the people. On important occasions the town and villages intimated what their views were. Luther had restored the Bible to the Christian people. Zuinglius went farther, and restored their rights. This is a characteristic feature of the Reformation in Switzerland. It confided the maintenance of sound doctrine under God to the people, and recent events have shown that the people are better custodiers of this deposit than priests and pontiffs.

Zuinglius did not allow himself to be inflated by victory. On the contrary, the Reformation was proceeded with, by his desire, with great moderation. When the council asked his advice, he said,

<sup>1</sup> Wie sie Christum in ihren Herzen sollind bilden und machen (Zw. Op. i, p. 534.)

<sup>2</sup> Dass er sich selbst mit vil andren bewegt zu weinen. (Ibid., p. 537.)



"God knows my heart; he knows that I am disposed to build up and not to pull down. I know timid souls who require to be gently dealt with; let the mass then be for some time longer read in all the churches on Sunday, and let care be taken not to insult those who celebrate it."<sup>1</sup>

The council issued a decree to this effect. Hottinger and Hochrutiner, one of his friends, were banished from the canton for two years, and forbidden to return without permission.

At Zurich, the Reformation followed a wise and Christian course. Exalting this city higher and higher, it made it glorious in the eyes of all the friends of the Word of God. Accordingly, those in Switzerland who had hailed the new day which was rising on the Church, felt powerfully attracted toward Zurich. Oswald Myconius, driven from Lucerne, had remained for six months in the valley of Einsidlen, when one day as he was returning from a journey to Glaris,<sup>2</sup> worn out with heat and fatigue, he was met by his son, young Felix, who came running to tell him that he was called to Zurich to direct one of the schools. Oswald, unable to credit the good news, was suspended between hope and fear.<sup>3</sup> "I am yours," he at last wrote to Zuinglius. Geroldsek parted with him with regret, while sad thoughts filled his mind. "Ah!" said he to him, "all who profess Christ go away to Zurich; I fear that we shall one day all perish together,"<sup>4</sup>—a mournful presentiment which the death of Geroldsek and so many other friends of the gospel was to realise too truly on the plains of Cappel.

Myconius at last found a safe port in Zurich. His predecessor, who from his stature, had been nick-named at Paris, "the great devil," had neglected his duties; Oswald devoted all his powers and all his heart to the fulfilment of them. He explained the Latin and Greek classics, and taught rhetoric and logic, while the youth of the town listened to him with joy.<sup>5</sup> Myconius was to be to the young what Zuinglius was to adults.

Myconius was first alarmed at the advanced scholars he was to have; but he gradually resumed courage, and had, ere long, distinguished among his pupils a youth of twenty-four, whose look bespoke a love of study. He was named Thomas Plater, and was originally from the Valais. In the beautiful valley where the torrent of the Vierge after escaping from the ocean of glaciers and snow which surround Mount Rosa, rolls its turbulent waters between St. Nicholas and Stalden, on the mountain which rises on the right of the river, still stands the village of Grächen. It was the birth-

Ohne dass jemand sich unterstehe die Messpriester zu beschimpfen. (Wirtz, H. K. G. v, p. 208.)

<sup>2</sup> *Inspirato nuntio excepit me filius redeuntum ex Glareana.* (Zw. Ep. p. 322.)

<sup>3</sup> *Inter spem et metum.* (Ibid.)

<sup>4</sup> *Ac deinde omnes simul perimus.* (Ibid., p. 323.)

<sup>5</sup> *Juventus illum lubens audit.* (Ibid., p. 264.)



place of Plater. From the vicinity of these colossal Alps was to come forth one of the most original characters who figured in the grand drama of the 16th century. Placed at the age of nine with a curate, a relation, the little peasant, when beaten, as he often was, cried, to use his own words, like a hare when it is put to death. One of his cousins took him with him to visit the German schools. He was already more than twenty years of age, and, while running from school to school, could scarcely read.<sup>1</sup> Having arrived at Zurich, he firmly resolved to attend to his education; and having made a bench for himself in a corner of Myconius' school, said to himself, "There you will learn or die." The light of the gospel penetrated his heart. One morning, feeling very cold, and having nothing to heat the school stove, which it was his office to keep going, he said to himself, "You have no wood, and so many idols in the church." Though Zuinglius was to preach, and the bells had begun to ring, nobody was present. Plater silently entered the church, and carrying off a St. John that stood upon an altar, put it in the stove, saying, "Down with you, for you must pass through it." Doubtless, neither Myconius or Zuinglius would have approved the act.

In truth, unbelief and superstition, required to be combated with better weapons. Zuinglius and his colleagues had given the right hand of fellowship to Myconius, who daily expounded the New Testament in the church of Notre Dame to a large and attentive audience.<sup>2</sup> A public discussion, which took place on the 13th and 14th of January, 1524, had given a new blow to Rome. In vain had canon Koch exclaimed, "The popes, the cardinals, the bishops, and the councils, these are my church! . . ."

Every thing was advancing in Zurich; men's minds were enlightened, their hearts were fixed, the Reformation was established. Zurich was a fortress gained by the new doctrine, and from its walls that doctrine was to spread over the whole confederation.

---

## CHAPTER IV.

Diet of Lucerne—Hottinger Arrested—His Death—Deputation of the Diet to Zurich—Abolition of Processions—Abolition of Images—The two Reformations—Appeal to the People.

The enemy was aware of this, and saw the necessity of resolving to strike a decisive blow. He had long enough been mute. The strong men of Switzerland, the cuirassed and steel-clad warriors at last re-

<sup>1</sup> See his autobiography.

<sup>2</sup> Weise Füsslin Beyt. iv, p. 66.

solved to rise; and they had never risen without reddening the battle-field with blood.

The Diet had met at Lucerne. The priests laboured to stir up the first council of the nation in their favour. Friburg and the Waldstetten showed themselves their ready instruments; Berne, Basle, Soleure, Glaris, Appenzel were undecided. Schaffhausen almost declared for the gospel, but Zurich alone stood up boldly as its defender. The partisans of Rome urged the Diet to yield to their demands and prejudices. "Let all be prohibited," said they, "to preach, or announce any thing new or Lutheran, secretly or publicly; and to speak or dispute on these topics in taverns and over their cups."<sup>1</sup> Such was the ecclesiastical law which the confederation was asked to establish.

Nineteen articles to this effect were drawn up, and being approved on the 26th January, 1523, by all the states except Zurich, were sent to all the bailies, with orders to see that they were strictly observed. "This," says Bullinger, "caused great joy among the priests, and great grief among the faithful." Persecution, being thus regularly organised by the superior authority of the confederation, now began.

One of the first who received the orders of the Diet was Henry Flackenstein of Lucerne, bailie of Baden, within whose jurisdiction Hottinger had retired on his banishment from Zurich, after throwing down the crucifix of Stadelhofen. Here he had not kept a watch upon his tongue, but one day at table in the Angel Inn, at Zurzach, had said that the priests were bad expounders of the Holy Scriptures, and that it was necessary to confide entirely to God alone.<sup>2</sup> The inn-keeper, who was constantly going and coming, bringing in bread and wine, became a listener to language which seemed to him very strange. Another day, Hottinger had been to see one of his friends, John Schutz of Schneyssingen. After they had dined together, Schutz asked, "What then is this new faith which the priests of Zurich are preaching." "They preach," replied Hottinger, "that Christ was once sacrificed for all Christians, that by this single sacrifice he has purified and ransomed them from all their sins, and they show, by the Holy Scriptures, that the mass is a lie."

Hottinger had afterwards quitted Switzerland, (this took place in February, 1523,) and gone on business across the Rhine to Waldshut. Measures were taken to make sure of him, and towards the end of February, the poor Zuricher, who suspected nothing, having again crossed the Rhine, no sooner reached Coblenz, a village on the left bank of the river, than he was arrested. He

<sup>1</sup> Es soll nieman in den Wirtzhüseren oder sunst hinter dem Wyn von Lutherischen odernuwen Sachen uzid reden. (Bull. Chron. p. 144.)

<sup>2</sup> Wie wir unser pitt Hoffnung und Trost allein uf Gott. (Ibid., p. 146.)

was taken to Klingenuau. As he confessed his faith frankly, Flackenstein became irritated, and said, "I will take you where you will find your answer."

In fact, the bailie took him successively before the judges of Klingenuau, before the superior tribunal of Baden, and at length, as none would declare him guilty, he took him before the Diet assembled at Lucerne. He was determined to find judges who would condemn him.

The Diet lost no time, and condemned Hottinger to be beheaded. On learning his sentence, he gave thanks to Jesus Christ. "Very good, very good," said James Troger, one of the judges, "we are not here to listen to sermons. You will babble some other time." "His head must first be taken off," said bailie Amort of Lucerne laughing, "but if it comes on again, we will all embrace his creed." "May God forgive those who condemn me," said the prisoner. Then a monk having put a crucifix to his lips, he pushed it away saying, "It is in the heart that we ought to receive Christ."

When he was led away to execution, several in the crowd could not refrain from tears. "I am going to eternal happiness," said he, turning towards them. On reaching the place of execution, he raised his eyes to heaven, and said, "I commit my soul into thy hands, O my Redeemer." Next moment his head rolled on the scaffold.

No sooner had Hottinger's blood been shed than the enemies of the Reformation took advantage of it still more to inflame the rage of the confederates. In Zurich itself must the evil be suppressed. The dreadful example which had just been given must have filled Zuinglius and his partisans with terror. One vigorous effort more and Hottinger's death will be followed by that of the Reformation. . . . The Diet immediately resolved that a deputation should be sent to Zurich, to ask the council and citizens to abjure their faith.

On the 21st of March, the deputation was received. "Ancient Christian unity," said the deputies, "is broken; the evil extends; already have the clergy of the four Waldstettes declared, that if aid is not given to them, they will be obliged to desist from their functions. Confederates of Zurich, join your efforts to ours; strangle this new faith;<sup>1</sup> depose Zuinglius and his disciples; then let us all unite in applying a remedy to the encroachments of the popes and their courtiers."

Thus spoke the enemy. What, then, were the men of Zurich to do? Would their hearts fail them, and their courage melt away with the blood of their fellow-citizen?

<sup>1</sup> Zurich selbigen ausreuten und untertrucken helfe. (Hott Helv. K. G. iii, p. 170.)

Zurich did not long leave her friends and enemies in uncertainty. The council answered calmly and nobly, that they could not make any concession when the Word of God was involved, and afterwards proceeded to reply in terms still more eloquent.

It had been customary, from the year 1351, that, on Whitsunday Monday, a numerous procession, in which every pilgrim bore a cross, should repair to Einsidlen to worship the Virgin. Great irregularities were committed during this festival,<sup>1</sup> which was established in memory of the battle of Tatwyll. The procession was to take place on the 7th May. On the application of the three pastors the council abolished it, and all the other processions were successively reformed.

Nor did they stop here. Relics, the source of many superstitions, were honourably buried.<sup>2</sup> Thereafter, on the demand of the three pastors, the council issued a decree purporting that, as God alone was to be honoured, images should be removed from all the churches of the canton, and their ornaments employed in relieving the poor. Twelve counsellors, (one from each tribe,) the three pastors, the architect of the town, blacksmiths, locksmiths, carpenters, and masons, repaired to the different churches, and, locking the doors behind them,<sup>3</sup> took down the crosses, picked away the figures in fresco, whitened the walls, and carried off the images, to the great joy of the faithful, who, said Bullinger, "saw in this act a brilliant homage rendered to God." In some country churches, the ornaments were burned to the honour and glory of God. Organs, which were frequently played in connection with divers superstitions, were abolished, and baptism was administered after a new formula, from which every thing not Scriptural was excluded.

Burgomaster Roust, and his colleague, gladly hailed the triumphs of the Reformation with their last look. They had lived long enough, and they died at the very time of this great revival.

The Swiss Reformation presents itself under an aspect very different from that of the German Reformation. Luther had set his face against the excesses of those who broke down the images in the churches of Wittemberg; but images fell in the presence of Zuinglius in the churches of Zurich. This difference is explained by the peculiarities of the two Reformers. Luther wished to retain in the Church every thing that was not directly contrary to Scripture, whereas Zuinglius wished to abolish every thing that could not be proved by Scripture. The German Reformer wished to remain united to the Church of former ages, and was satisfied with purging

<sup>1</sup> Uff einen creitzgang sieben unehelicher kinden überkommen wurdend. (Bullinger, Chr. p. 160. <sup>2</sup> Und es eerlich bestattet hat. (Ibid., p. 161.) <sup>3</sup> Habend die nach inen zu beschlosssen.



it of every thing that was opposed to the Word of God. The Zurich Reformer passed by all these ages, returned to apostolic times, and subjecting the Church to a complete transformation, laboured to re-establish it in its primitive form.

The Reformation of Zuinglius was therefore the more complete. The work which Providence had committed to Luther—the re-establishment of justification by faith—was doubtless the great work of the Reformation; but this work once finished, there remained others which, though perhaps secondary, were still important. This was, more especially, the work of Zuinglius.

In fact, two great tasks were given to the Reformers. Christian Catholicism, which was born amid Jewish pharisaism and Greek heathenism, had gradually yielded to the influence of these two religions, and thereby been transformed into Roman Catholicism. Now the Reformation, in as much as it had been called to purify the Church, was bound to emancipate it equally from the heathen and from the Jewish element.

The Jewish element existed especially in that department of Christian doctrine which bears reference to man. Catholicism had received from Judaism the pharisaical ideas of self-righteousness, and salvation by human powers, or works.

The heathen element existed especially in that department of Christian doctrine which relates to God. In Catholicism, the idea of an infinite God, whose all-sufficient power acts every where, and without ceasing, had been adulterated by heathenism. In its place the reign of symbols, images, and ceremonies, had been introduced into the Church, and the saints had become the demi-gods of the papacy.

Luther's Reformation was directed essentially against the Jewish element. This was the element with which he had to struggle, when an audacious monk was sent by the pope, to vend the salvation of souls for ready cash.

The Reformation of Zuinglius was specially directed against the Heathen element. This element he had encountered when in the Church of Our Lady of Einsidlen, as of old in the temple of Diana of Ephesus, a crowd who had flocked from all quarters, stupidly prostrated themselves before an idol decked in gold.

The Reformer of Germany proclaimed the great doctrine of justification by faith, and thereby gave a death-blow to the pharisaical righteousness of Rome. No doubt the Reformer of Switzerland did so also; the inability of man to save himself forms the basis of the work of all reformers. But Zuinglius did more. He proved the supreme, universal, exclusive existence and agency of God, and thus gave a mortal thrust to the pagan worship of Rome.

Roman Catholicism had exalted man and dishonoured God. Luther humbled man: Zuinglius exalted God.

These two tasks, which were theirs specially, but not exclusively, were both completed. That of Luther laid the foundation of the building: that of Zuinglius put on the cope-stone.

It was reserved for a still greater genius on the banks of the lake of Geneva, to impress both characters at once on the Reformation.<sup>1</sup>

But while Zuinglius was thus advancing with rapid strides at the head of the confederation, the temper of the cantons was always becoming more hostile. The Zurich government felt the necessity of being able to fall back on the people. The people, *i. e.*, the assembly of the faithful, was, moreover, according to the principles of Zuinglius, the highest power on earth to which an appeal could be made. The council resolved to sound them, and ordered the bailies to put the question to all the communes, whether they were willing to endure every thing for the sake of Jesus Christ, "who," said the council, "gave for us sinners his life and blood."<sup>2</sup> The whole canton had taken a deep interest in the progress of the Reformation in the town, and in many places the houses of the peasantry had become Christian schools, in which the Holy Scriptures were read.

The proclamation of the council, which was read in all the districts, was received with enthusiasm. "Let our rulers," replied they, "adhere boldly to the Word of God, we will help them to maintain it;<sup>3</sup> and if any annoyance is given them, we will bring assistance to our brave fellow-citizens." The peasantry of Zurich showed then, as they have shown since, that the strength of the Church is in the Christian people.

But the people were not alone. The man whom God had placed at their head, responded nobly to their appeal. Zuinglius, as it were, multiplied himself for the service of God. All who, in the Helvetic cantons, endured any persecution for the gospel, applied to him.<sup>4</sup> The responsibility of affairs, the care of the Church, anxious interest in the struggle carried on in all the Swiss vallies, formed the burdens of the Zurich evangelist.<sup>5</sup> At Wittenberg, news of his courage were received with joy. Luther and Zuinglius were two great luminaries placed in upper and lower Germany, and the doctrine of salvation, so powerfully preached by them, spread over the extensive regions, which descend from the heights of the Alps to the shores of the Baltic and the Northern Ocean.

<sup>1</sup> Litterarischer Anzeiger, 1840, No. 27.  
uns arme sündler vergessen hat. (Bull. Chr. p. 180.)

auch nur dapper bey dem Gottsworte verbleiben. (Fussl. Beytr., iv, p. 107, where the replies of all the districts are given.)

<sup>4</sup> Scribunt ex Helvetiis ferme omnes qui propter Christum premuntur. (Zw. Ep. p. 348.)

<sup>5</sup> Negotiorum strepitus et ecclesiarum curæ ita me undique quatunt. (Ibid.) The noise of business, and the care of the churches so harass me on every side.

## CHAP. V.

New Opposition—Cæxlin carried off—The Family of the Wirths—The mob at the Convent of Ittingen—The Diet of Zug—The Wirths seized and given up to the Diet—Condemnation.

The Word of God could not thus triumphantly spread over extensive districts without arousing the indignation of the pope in his palace, the curates in their presbyteries, and the Swiss magistrates in their councils. Their terror increased every day. The people were consulted; the christian people again became of some weight in the Christian Church, and their faith and their sympathies were appealed to instead of the decrees of the Roman chancery . . . . This formidable attack required a still more formidable resistance. On the 18th April, the pope addressed a brief to the confederates, and the Diet assembled at Zug in the month of July, yielding to the pressing exhortations of the pontiff, sent a deputation to Zurich, Schaffhausen and Appenzel, to declare to these States its firm determination to destroy the new doctrine, and prosecute its adherents, in their goods, their honours, and even their lives. This warning was not heard in Zurich without emotion; but it was firmly answered, that, in matters of faith, obedience could only be given to the Word of God. On hearing this reply, Lucerne, Schwitz, Uri, Unterwalden, Friburg, and Zug, gave loud utterance to their rage, and forgetting the reputation and strength which the accession of Zurich had of old given to the rising confederation, forgetting the precedence which had already been conceded to it, the simple and solemn oaths which had been taken to it, and the many common victories and reverses, these states declared that they would not sit in Diet with Zurich. Thus, in Switzerland, as in Germany, the partisans of Rome were the first to violate federal unity. But menaces and ruptures of alliance, were not sufficient. The fanaticism of the cantons demanded blood, and it was soon seen with what weapons the papacy sought to combat the Word of God.

A friend of Zuinglius, the excellent Cæxlin,<sup>1</sup> was pastor at Berg, near Stein, on the Rhine. The bailie, Amberg, who had appeared to listen gladly to the gospel,<sup>2</sup> wishing to obtain this bailiwick, had promised the leading men in Schwitz to destroy the new faith. Cæxlin, though he was not subject to his jurisdiction was the first on whom his severity was to be exercised.

On the night of 7th July, 1524, a knock was heard towards

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. ii, p. 387.    <sup>2</sup> Der war anfangs dem Evangelio günstig. (Bull. Chr., p. 180.)

midnight at the pastor's door. On being opened, the bailie's soldiers seized him, and carried him off prisoner, notwithstanding of his cries. Exlin, on his part, thinking they were going to assassinate him, cried murder; the inhabitants got up in alarm, and the whole village was soon in a frightful tumult, the noise of which reached as far as Stein. The sentinel on guard at the castle of Hohenklingen fired the alarm cannon, the tocsin sounded, and the inhabitants of Stein, Stammheim, and the adjacent places, were all, in a few moments, in motion, inquiring, amid the darkness, as to what had happened in the district.

At Stammheim lived vice-bailie Wirth, whose two sons, Adrian and John, young priests full of piety and courage, earnestly preached the gospel. John, especially, in the fulness of faith, was ready to give his life to his Saviour. It was a patriarchal family. Anna, the mother, who had given the bailie a numerous family, and had brought them up in the fear of the Lord, was revered for her virtues over the whole district. On hearing of the tumult of Berg, the father and the two eldest sons came out of the house. The father's indignation was roused when he saw that the bailie of Frauenfeld had exercised his authority in an illegal manner. The sons were grieved to learn that their brother, their friend, he whose good example they loved to follow, was carried off as a criminal. Each of them seized a halbert, and, in spite of the fears of an affectionate wife and mother, the father and the two sons joined the band of the citizens of Stein, determined to deliver their pastor. Unhappily a crowd of those nondescript individuals who always spring up whenever there is any disturbance, were also astir. They set off in pursuit of the bailie's officers, who, hearing the tocsin and sounds of alarm, made all speed, and dragging along their victim, soon placed the Thur between themselves and their pursuers.

The people of Stein and Stammheim reached the river side, but having no means of crossing, stopped, and resolved to send a deputation to Frauenfeld. "Ah!" said bailie Wirth, "the pastor of Stein is so dear to us that I would willingly give up every thing for him, my goods, my liberty, and even my life."<sup>1</sup> The mob finding themselves near the convent of the Cordeliers of Ittingen, who were supposed to stimulate the tyranny of the bailie Amberg, entered, and got possession of the refectory. These miserable beings soon became intoxicated, and scenes of disorder ensued. Wirth implored them, but in vain, to quit the convent;<sup>2</sup> he even exposed himself to be maltreated by them. His son Adrian remained outside the cloister. John entered it, but distressed at what he saw

<sup>1</sup> Sunder die kuttlen im Buch für Im wagan. (Bull. Chr., p. 193.)  
 sy um Gottes willen uns dem Kloster zu gand. (Ibid., p. 193.)

<sup>2</sup> Und budt



he immediately came out again.<sup>1</sup> The intoxicated peasants began to break into the wine cellars and stores, to break the furniture to pieces, and burn the books.

News of these disorders having reached Zurich, deputies from the council hastened to the spot, and ordered those who had come out of the canton to return to their homes. The order was obeyed. But a crowd of Thurgovians, attracted by the tumult, installed themselves in the convent, and there made good cheer. Suddenly, no one knew how, a fire broke out, and the convent was reduced to ashes.

Five days after, the deputies of the cantons met at Zug. Cries of revenge and death were heard in the assembly. "Let us march," said they, "with banners unfurled, on Stein and Stammheim, and smite their inhabitants with the sword." The vice-bailie and his two sons, on account of their faith, had long been the objects of special hatred. "If any one is guilty," said the deputy of Zurich, "let him be punished; but be it according to the laws of justice, and not by violence." Vadian, deputy of St. Gall, supported this view. Then the envoy, John Hug of Lucerne, unable to restrain himself, exclaimed, with dreadful oaths,<sup>1</sup> "The heretic, Zuinglius, is the father of all these revolts, and you, doctor of St. Gall, you favour his infamous cause, you aid him in securing its triumphs. . . . You ought not to sit longer among us." The deputy of Zug endeavoured to restore peace, but in vain, Vadian retired; and, as some of the populace had designs upon his life, he secretly left the town, and arrived, by a devious course, at the convent of Cappel.

Zurich, determined to suppress all disorder, resolved, in the meantime, to apprehend those who had roused the anger of the confederates. Wirth and his sons were living peaceably at Stammheim. "Never will the enemies of God be able to overcome his friends," said Adrian Wirth from the pulpit. The father received information of the fate which awaited him, and was urged to fly with his sons. "No," said he: "trusting in God, I mean to wait for the officers." And, when the soldiers made their appearance at his house, he said, "My lords of Zurich might have spared themselves all this trouble; they had only to send a child for me, and I would have obeyed."<sup>2</sup> The three Wirths were led away to the prison of Zurich. Rutiman, bailie of Nussbaum, shared their fate. They were closely examined, but nothing was discovered in their conduct to criminate them.

As soon as the deputies had learned the imprisonment of these

<sup>1</sup> Dan es Im leid was. (Ibid., p. 195.) <sup>2</sup> Mit fluchen und wüten. (Bull. Chr., p. 184.)

<sup>3</sup> Dann hättind sy mir ein kind geschickt. (Ibid., p. 186.)

four citizens, they demanded that they should be sent to Baden, and gave orders, in the event of a refusal, to march upon Zurich and carry them off. "To Zurich," replied the deputies of this state, "it belongs to ascertain whether these men are guilty or not; and we have found no fault in them." Then the deputies of the cantons exclaimed, "Will you deliver them to us? Answer yes or no; and not one word more." Two of the deputies of Zurich took horse, and rode off at full speed to their constituents.

On their arrival all the town was in great agitation. If the prisoners were refused, the confederates would come and seek them with arms in their hands; and, if they were delivered, it was the same thing as giving them up to death. Opinions were divided. Zuinglius was decidedly for refusing. "Zurich," said he, "must remain faithful to its constitutions." At last it was thought that a middle course had been found. "We will remit the prisoners to you," said they to the diet, "but on condition that you will only examine them as to the affair of Ittingen, and not as to their faith." The Diet acceded to the terms; and on the Friday before St. Bartholomew's day (August, 1524,) the three Wirths and their friend, accompanied by four counsellors of state, left Zurich.

There was general lamentation. It was foreseen what fate awaited these two old men and these two youths. Nothing but sobbing was heard as they passed along. "Alas!" exclaims a contemporary, "what a mournful procession."<sup>1</sup> The churches were crowded. "God," exclaimed Zuinglius, "God will punish us. Ah! let us, at least, implore him to impart his grace to these poor prisoners, and strengthen their faith."<sup>2</sup>

On Friday evening the accused arrived at Baden, where an immense crowd was waiting for them. They were first taken to an inn and then to prison. They had difficulty in moving forward, the people pressed so close upon them to see them. The father, who walked in front, turned towards his sons, and mildly said to them, "See, my dear children, we are, as the apostle says, as it were appointed to death: for we are made a spectacle to the world, and to angels, and to men." 1 Cor. iv, 9. Then perceiving in the crowd his mortal enemy, bailie Amberg, the cause of all his misfortunes, he went up and offered him his hand, but the bailie turned away. Claspings his hand in his, he calmly said, "God lives in heaven, and knows all things."

The inquest commenced on the following day. Bailie Wirth was first brought in. He was put to the torture without regard to his character or his age; but he persisted in declaring that he was

<sup>1</sup> O weh! was elender Fahrt war das! (Bern. Weyss. Fussl. Beyt. iv, p. 56.)

<sup>2</sup> Sy troste und in warem glouben starckte. (Bull. Chr. p. 188.)

innocent of the pillaging and burning of Ittingen. He was then charged with destroying an image of St. Anne. . . . Nothing could be proved against the other prisoners, except that Adrian Wirth was married, and preached after the manner of Zuinglius and Luther; and that John Wirth had given the sacrament to a sick person, without bell and taper.<sup>1</sup>

But the more their innocence was proved, the more the rage of their adversaries increased. From morning till noon the old man was kept under the torture. His tears could not soften his judges. John Wirth was still more cruelly tortured. "Tell us," he was asked in the midst of his agony, "tell us where you got your heretical faith? Was it from Zuinglius, or some other person?" And, as he exclaimed, "O merciful and eternal God, come to my aid and support me!" "Ah, well!" said one of the deputies to him, "where is now thy Christ?" When Adrian appeared, Sebastian of Stein, deputy of Berne, said to him, "Young man, tell us the truth; for if you refuse to tell it, I swear to you, by my knighthood, which I acquired in the very place where God suffered martyrdom, that we will open all the veins of your body in succession." Then the young man was attached to a cord, and as they swung him in the air, "My little master," said Stein, with a diabolical smile, "here is our marriage present,"<sup>2</sup> alluding to the marriage of the Lord's young servant.

The process being concluded, the deputies returned to their cantons to make their report, and did not return till four weeks after. The bailie's wife, the mother of the two young priests, repaired to Baden, with an infant in her arms, to intercede with the judges. John Escher of Zurich, accompanied her as advocate. Perceiving among the judges the landamman of Zug, Jerome Stocker, who had two different times been bailie of Frauenfeld. "Landamman," said he to him, "you know bailie Wirth: you know that he has all his life been an honest man." "You say true, my dear Escher," replied Stocker, "he never harmed any one; fellow citizens and strangers were always kindly received at his table; his house resembled a convent, an inn, an hospital.<sup>3</sup> Hence, if he had robbed or murdered, I would do every thing in my power to obtain his pardon. But since he has burned St. Anne, the grandmother of Christ, he must die!" . . . "God have mercy on us," exclaimed Escher.

The gates were shut. This was on the 28th September, and the deputies of Berne, Lucerne, Uri, Schwitz, Underwald, Zug, Glaris,

<sup>1</sup> On Kerzen, schellen und anders so bisshar geüpt ist. (Bull. Chr. p. 196.)

<sup>2</sup> Alls man inn am folter seyl uffzog, sagt der zum Stein: Herrli. das ist die gaab die wir ouch zu uwer Hussfrowen schänckend. (Ibid., p. 190.)

<sup>3</sup> Sin huss ist allwey gsin wie ein Kloster, wirtshuss und pitall. (Ibid., p. 198.)

Friburg, and Soleure, having proceeded to judgment with closed doors, according to custom, pronounced sentence of death on bailie Wirth, his son John, who was strongest in the faith, and appeared to have carried the others along with him, and bailie Rutiman. Adrian, the second son, was granted to his mother's tears.

The officers proceeded to the tower to fetch the prisoners. "My son," said the father to Adrian, "do not avenge our death, although we have not deserved to suffer. . . ." Adrian's tears fell fast. "My brother," said John to him, "the cross of Jesus Christ must always follow his word."<sup>1</sup>

After the judgment was read, these three Christians were taken back to prison; John Wirth walked in front, the two vice-bailies next, and a vicar followed. As they passed the castle bridge, where was a chapel consecrated to St. Joseph, "Prostrate yourselves, and invoke the saints," said the priest to the two old men. John Wirth, who was in advance, turned back on hearing these words, and cried out, "Father, remain firm. You know there is only one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus." "Certainly, my son," replied the old man, "and with the help of his grace I will remain faithful unto the end." All three now began to repeat the Lord's Prayer, "Our Father which art in heaven." Then they passed the bridge.

They were afterwards led to the scaffold. John Wirth, whose heart was filled with the tenderest anxiety for his father, took farewell of him. "My dearly beloved father," said he to him, "henceforth you are no longer my father, and I am no longer your son; but we are brethren in Christ our Lord, for whose name I am to suffer death."<sup>2</sup> To-day, dearly beloved brother, if it pleases God, we shall go to him who is the father of us all. Fear nothing."—"Amen!" replied the old man, "and may God Almighty bless you, my beloved son, and my brother in Christ!"

Thus, on the threshold of eternity, this father and son took leave of each other, hailing the new mansions where they were going to be united by everlasting ties. The greater part of those around them were weeping bitterly.<sup>3</sup> Bailie Rutiman prayed in silence.

The three having knelt down, "in the name of Christ," were beheaded.

The multitude, on seeing the marks of the torture upon their bodies, gave loud utterance to their grief. The two bailies left twenty-two children, and forty-five grandchildren. Anne had to pay twelve

<sup>1</sup> Doch allwäg das crütz darby. (Bull. Chr. p. 198.) <sup>2</sup> Furohin bist du nitt  
me Vatter und ich din sun, sondern wir sind brüdern in Christo. (Ibid., p.  
204.) <sup>3</sup> Des gnadens weyneten vil Lüthen herzlich. (Ibid.)



gold crowns to the executioner, who deprived her husband and son of life.

Thus blood, pure blood had flowed. Switzerland and the Reformation were baptised with the blood of martyrs. The great enemy of the gospel had done his work; but in doing it his power was broken. The death of the Wirths was to hasten the triumphs of the Reformation.

---

## CHAPTER VI.

Abolition of the Mass—Zuinglius' dream—Celebration of the Lord's Supper—Brotherly Charity—Original Sin—The Oligarchs against the Reformation—Divers Attacks.

It was not thought desirable to proceed to the abolition of the mass in Zurich, immediately after that of images; but now the moment seemed arrived.

Not only was evangelical light diffused among the people; but, moreover, the blows which the enemy struck, called upon the friends of the gospel to reply to them by striking demonstrations of their immoveable fidelity. Every time that Rome erects a scaffold, and cuts off heads, the Reformation will hold up the Word of the Lord, and cut off abuses. When Hottinger was executed, Zurich abolished images; now that the heads of the Wirths have rolled on the scaffold, Zurich will reply by the abolition of the mass. The more Rome increases her cruelties, the more will the Reformation see her power increase.

On the 11th April, 1525, the three pastors of Zurich presented themselves, with Megander and Oswald Myconius, before the great council, and petitioned for the re-establishment of the Lord's Supper. Their speech was grave;<sup>1</sup> all minds were solemnised; every one felt the importance of the resolution which the council was called to take. The mass, that mystery which, for more than three centuries, was the soul of the religious service of the Latin Church, behoved to be abolished; the corporal presence of Christ behoved to be declared an illusion, and the illusion itself made palpable to the people. To resolve on this required courage, and there were men in the council who shuddered at the very idea of it. Joachim Am-Grüt, under-secretary of State, terrified at the bold demand of the pastors, opposed it with all his might. "These words—*This is my body*," said he, "irresistibly prove

<sup>1</sup> Und vermantend die ernstlich. (Bull. Chr. p 263.)

that the bread is the body of Christ himself." Zuinglius observed, that in the Greek language *ἵστί* (is) is the only word to express *signifies*; and he quoted several instances in which this word is employed in a figurative sense. The great council being convinced, hesitated not; the evangelical doctrines had penetrated all hearts. Besides, now that the Church was separated from Rome, there was some satisfaction in making it as much so as possible, and in placing a deep gulf between her and the Reformation. The council accordingly ordered the abolition of the mass, and decreed that, next day, Holy Thursday, the Lord's Supper should be celebrated in accordance with apostolic usage.

Zuinglius was eagerly occupied with these thoughts; and, at night, after he closed his eyes, he continued searching out arguments to oppose his adversaries. The subject which had occupied him so much during the day, again presented itself in sleep. He dreamt that he was disputing with Am-Grüt, and could not answer his leading objection. Suddenly a person appeared, and said "Why do you not quote Exodus, xii, 11. '*Ye shall eat it in haste; it is the Lord's passover.*'" Zuinglius awoke, leapt out of bed, took up the Septuagint translation, and found in it the very word *ἵστί* (is) whose meaning here, by the confession of all, can only be *signifies*.

Here, then, we have in the very institution of the passover under the Old Testament, the meaning for which Zuinglius contends. How then, is it possible to avoid the conclusion that the two passages are parallel?

The next day Zuinglius selected this passage for his text, and spoke so forcibly, that he removed all doubts.

This circumstance, which is so naturally explained, and the expression used by Zuinglius, when he said, that he did not remember the appearance of the person whom he saw in his dream,<sup>1</sup> have given rise to the charge that the Reformer learned his doctrine from the devil.

Altars had disappeared; and their places were supplied by single tables, on which stood the bread and wine of the eucharist, while an attentive congregation thronged around. There was something solemn in the numbers. On Holy Thursday, the young; on Friday (Passion day), adults; and on Easter, the old, successively celebrated the Lord's death.<sup>2</sup>

The deacons read the passages of Scripture which refer to the sacrament, the pastors addressed an earnest exhortation to the flock, urging all those who, by continuing in sin, would defile the

<sup>1</sup> Ater fuerit an albus nihil memini, somnium enim narro. Whether he was black or white, I remember not; it was a dream.

<sup>2</sup> Fusslin Beytr. iv, p. 64.

body of the Lord Jesus to abstain from this sacred supper. The people knelt; the bread was handed round on large platters or wooden plates, and each person broke a portion; the wine was dispensed in wooden cups—this being thought to approach nearest to the first institution. Surprise and joy filled all hearts.

Thus the Reformation was effected in Zurich. The simple celebration of the Lord's death seemed to have again infused into the Church the love of God, and the love of the brethren. The words of Jesus Christ were again spirit and life. While the different orders and different parties of the Church of Rome had never ceased to dispute with each other, the first effect of the gospel, on again entering the Church, was to establish charity among the brethren. The love of the primitive ages was restored to Christendom. Enemies were seen renouncing old and inveterate hatred, and embracing each other, after having eaten together of the bread of the eucharist. Zuinglius, delighted at these touching manifestations, thanked God that the Lord's Supper was again performing those miracles of love which the sacrifice of the mass had long ceased to produce.<sup>1</sup>

"Peace dwells in our city," exclaimed he; "among us no pretence, no dissension, no envy, no quarrel. Whence can such agreement come but from the Lord; and because the doctrine which we preach disposes us to innocence and peace?"<sup>2</sup>

There were now charity and unity, but not uniformity. Zuinglius, in his "Commentary on True and False Religion," which he dedicated to Francis I, in March, 1525, the year of the battle of Pavia<sup>3</sup> had presented some truths, in the manner best fitted to gain a reception from human reason, in this following the example of several of the most distinguished scholastic theologians. Thus he had applied the term *disease* to original corruption, and restricted that of *sin* to the actual transgression of the law.<sup>4</sup> But these statements, though they called forth some remonstrances, did not interrupt brotherly love; for Zuinglius, while persisting in calling original sin a disease, added, that, in consequence of it, all men were undone, and that the only remedy was in Jesus Christ.<sup>5</sup> There was therefore no Pelagian error here.

<sup>1</sup> Mit grossem verwundern viler Lüthen und noch mit vil grössern fröuden deo glöubigen. (Bull. Chr. p. 264.) <sup>2</sup> Expositio fidei. (Zw. Op. ii, p. 241.) <sup>3</sup> Ut

tranquillitatis et innocentie studiosos reddat. (Zw. Ep. p. 390.) <sup>4</sup> De Vera et Falsa Religione Commentarius. (Zw. Op. iii, p. 145-325.) <sup>5</sup> Peccatum ergo

*morbus* est cognatus nobis, quo fugimus aspera et gravia, sectamur jucunda et voluptuosa: secundo loco accipitur peccatum pro eo quod contra legem fit. (Ibid., p. 204.) First, then, sin is a disease natural to us, by which we shun what is rough and grievous, pursue what is pleasing and voluptuous: in the second place, sin is taken for that which is done contrary to law.

<sup>6</sup> Originali morbo perdimur omnes; remedio verò quod contra ipsum invenit Deus, incolumitati restituimur. (De Pecc. Origin. Decl. ad Urb. Rhegium. (Ibid., Op. iii, p. 632.) We are all lost by original disease, but restored to safety by the remedy which God has provided against it.

But while the celebration of the Supper in Zurich was accompanied with a return to Christian brotherhood, Zuinglius and his friends had so much more to endure externally, from the irritation of adversaries. Zuinglius was not only a Christian leader; he was also a true patriot; and we know with what zeal he combated enlistment, pensions, and foreign alliances. He was convinced that these influences from abroad destroyed piety, blinded reason, and sowed discord. But his loud protestations must have hurt the progress of the Reformation. In almost all the cantons, the leaders who received foreign pensions, and the officers who led the Helvetic youth to battle, formed powerful factions, formidable oligarchies which attacked the Reformation, not so much from any view to the Church, as on account of the prejudicial effect it threatened to have to their interests and honours. They had already gained the day at Schwitz. This canton, in which Zuinglius, Leo Juda, and Myconius had taught, and which might have been expected to follow in the wake of Zurich, was again all at once opened to mercenary enlistments, and shut against the Reformation.

At Zurich even, some wretches, stirred up by foreign intrigues, attacked Zuinglius in the middle of the night, threw stones at his house, broke his windows, and with loud cries called him "the red Uli, the vulture of Glaris;" so that Zuinglius was awoke, and ran for his sword.<sup>4</sup> This circumstance is characteristic of the man.

But these isolated attacks could not paralyse the movement which was carrying forward Zurich, and beginning to shake Switzerland. They were only like stones thrown in to arrest a torrent. The waters, rising on every side, threatened to break down the strongest obstacles.

The Bernese having declared to the Zurichers that several states had refused to sit with them in diet in future. "Very well," replied those of Zurich, calmly raising their hands to heaven, as the men of Rutli in former days, "we have a firm assurance that God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in whose name the Confederation was formed, will not forsake us, but will, at last, in mercy, give us a seat beside His Sovereign Majesty."<sup>2</sup> With such a faith the Reformation had nothing to fear. But will it gain similar victories in the other states of the Confederation? Will not Zurich be left alone in favour of the Word? Will Berne, Basle, and other cantons besides, remain subject to the power of Rome? We shall now see. Let us turn then towards Berne, and study the progress of the Reformation in the most influential state of the Confederation.

<sup>1</sup> Interea surgere Zuinglius ad ensem suum. (Zw. Op. iii, p. 411.)  
<sup>2</sup> uetzt sitzen. (Kirchhofer. Ref. v. Bern. p. 55.)

<sup>2</sup> Bey ihm



## CHAPTER VII.

Berne—The Provost of Watteville—First Successes of the Reformation—Haller at the Convent—Accusation and Deliverance—The Monastery of Königsfeld—Margaret of Watteville to Zuinglius—The Convent open—Two opposite Champions—Clara May and the Provost of Watteville.

No where was the struggle to be keener than at Berne, where the gospel had at once powerful friends and formidable foes. At the head of the friends of the Reformation stood banneret John Weingarten, Bartholomew May, member of the little council, his sons, Wolfgang and Claudius, his grandchildren, James and Benedict, and, above all, the family of Watteville. The avoyer James Watteville, who had, from 1512, filled the first place in the republic, had early read the writings of Luther and Zuinglius, and had often conversed on the gospel with John Haller, pastor at Alsentingen, whom he had protected against his persecutors.

His son, Nicholas, aged thirty-one, had been for two years provost of the church of Berne; and, as such, in virtue of papal ordinances, enjoyed great privileges. Hence, Berthold Haller called him "our bishop."<sup>1</sup>

The prelates and the pope were exceedingly desirous to bind him to the interests of Rome,<sup>2</sup> and every thing might have been expected to estrange him from the knowledge of the gospel; but the agency of God was more powerful than the flattery of man. Watteville was converted from darkness to the pure light of the gospel, says Zuinglius.<sup>3</sup> The friend of Berthold Haller, he read all the letters which the latter received from Zuinglius, and could not sufficiently express his admiration.<sup>4</sup>

The interest of the two Wattevilles who were at the head, the one of the State, the other of the Church, might have been expected to carry the republic. But the opposite party was not less powerful.

Among its leaders were observed the schultheiss of Erlach, banneret Willading, and several patricians, whose interests were the same as those of the convents placed under their administration. Behind these influential individuals were an ignorant and corrupt clergy, who called the evangelical doctrine "an invention of hell".

<sup>1</sup> Episcopus noster *Vadiwillius*. (Zw. Ep. p. 285.) <sup>2</sup> Tantum favoris et amicitie quæ tibi cum tanto summorum pontificum et potentissimorum episcoporum cœtu hactenus intercessit. (Zw. Op. i, old Latin Ed. p. 305.) You have had so much favour and friendship, from your intercourse hitherto, with so many pontiffs and powerful bishops.

<sup>3</sup> Ex obscuris ignorantie tenebris in amœnam Evangelii lucem productum. (Ibid.) <sup>4</sup> Epistolas tuæ et eruditionis et humanitatis testes locupletissimas. . . . (Zw. Ep. p. 287.) Your letters very complete evidence both of your learning and accomplishments.

In the month of July, counsellor Mullinen said in full assembly, "Dear confederates, take care that the Reformation do not gain upon us. In Zurich, people are not safe in their houses; they require soldiers to defend them." In consequence, application was made to John Heim, the lecturer of the Dominicans at Mentz, who came to Berne, and began to inveigh, from the pulpit, with all the eloquence of St. Thomas, against the Reformation.<sup>1</sup>

Thus the two parties were arrayed against each other, the struggle seemed inevitable, and even the result not doubtful. In fact, a common faith united a portion of the people to the most distinguished families of the state. Berthold Haller, full of confidence in the future, exclaimed, "Provided God's anger is not turned against us, it is impossible that the Word of God can be banished from this town, for the Bernese are hungering for it."<sup>2</sup>

Shortly after, two acts of the government seemed to throw the balance in the favour of the Reformation. The Bishop of Lausanne having announced an episcopal visitation, the council caused the provost Watteville intimate to him that he would have to dispense with it.<sup>3</sup> And, at the same time, the councils of Berne issued an ordinance, which, while it apparently made some concession to the enemies of the Reformation, consecrated its principles. They decreed that the Holy Gospel, and the doctrine of God, as it could be proved from the books of the Old and New Testament, should be preached freely and openly, and that nothing should be said of any doctrine, dispute or writing, proceeding from Luther or other teachers.<sup>4</sup> The surprise of the adversaries of the Reformation was great when they saw the evangelical ministers loudly appealing to this ordinance. This decree, which was the basis of all which followed, was the legal commencement of the Reformation in Berne. There was thenceforward more decision in the movement of this state, and Zuinglius, whose eye was attentive to all that took place in Switzerland, could write to the provost Watteville, "All Christians rejoice because of this faith which the pious town of Berne has just received."<sup>5</sup> "The cause is that of Christ," exclaimed the friends of the gospel;<sup>6</sup> and they devoted themselves to it with still greater courage.

The enemies of the Reformation, alarmed at these first advantages, formed their phalanx, and resolved to strike a blow which would ensure the victory. They conceived the project of disen-

<sup>1</sup> *Suo Thomistico Marte omnia invertere.* (Zw. Ep. p. 287.) To overturn every thing by his Thomistical prowess.

<sup>2</sup> *Famem verbi Bernates habent.* (Ibid., p. 295.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ut nec oppidum, nec pagos Bernatum visitare prætentat omnino.* (Ibid.) That he should not propose at all to visit either the town or country of the Bernese.

<sup>4</sup> *Alein das heilig Evangelium und die leer Gottes frey, öffentlich und unverborger.* (Bull. Chr. p. 111.)

<sup>5</sup> *Alle Christen sich allenthalben fröuwend des Glaubens.*

. . . (Zw. Op. i, p. 426.)

<sup>6</sup> *Christi negotium agitur.* (Zw. Ep. 9th May, 1528.)

cumbering themselves of those ministers whose audacious eloquence subverted the most ancient customs. A favourable opportunity soon occurred. There was in Berne, at the place now occupied by the hospital of the Isle, a convent of nuns of St. Dominic, dedicated to St. Michael. The day of this archangel (29th September) was a great festival in the monastery. This year it was attended by several ecclesiastics, among others, by Wittembach of Bienne, Sebastian Meyer, and Berthold Haller. Having entered into conversation with the nuns, among whom was Clara, daughter of Claudius May, one of the props of the Reformation, Haller said to her, in presence of her grandmother, "The merits of the monastic state are imaginary, whereas marriage is an honourable state, having been instituted by God himself." Some nuns, to whom Clara related the conversation of Berthold, raised cries of terror. It was soon circulated in the town; "Haller maintains that all nuns are children of the devil." . . . The opportunity sought by the enemies of the Reformation had arrived; they appeared before the lesser council, and referred to an ancient ordinance, which bore that any person carrying off a nun from the monastery should lose his head, but asked, "for a mitigation of the sentence," and that it should be considered sufficient without hearing the three ministers to banish them for life. The lesser council acceded to the petition, and the matter was speedily carried before the great council.

Thus Berne was on the eve of being deprived of her Reformers. The intrigues of the papal party had prevailed. But Rome, though she triumphed when she addressed the oligarchs, was beaten before the people and their representatives. No sooner had the names of Haller, Meyer, and Wittembach, the men whom all Switzerland venerated, been pronounced in the great council, than a powerful opposition was manifested to the lesser council and the clergy. "We cannot," exclaimed Tillman, "condemn the accused without hearing them. Their testimony is surely as good as that of some women." The ministers were then called. It was felt difficult to dispose of the affair. At length John of Weingarten said, "Let us give credit to both parties." It was so decided. The ministers were discharged, with a request, however, to meddle only with the pulpit and not with the cloister. But the pulpit was sufficient for them. The efforts of the enemy had redounded to their disgrace. The Reformation had gained a great victory. Accordingly, one of the patricians exclaimed, "Now that everything is said, Luther's affair must go forward."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Es ist nun gethan. Dec Lutherische Handel muss vorgehen. (Anshelm. Wirtz. K. G. V. p. 290.)

It did, in fact, go forward, and even in places where it might have been least expected. At Königsfeld, near the castle of Hapsburg, stood a monastery adorned with all the monastic magnificence of the middle ages, and containing the ashes of several members of the illustrious house which has given so many emperors to Germany. Here the greatest families of Switzerland and Suabia made their daughters take the veil. Not far from this spot, on 1st May, 1308, the Emperor Albert had fallen under the dagger of his nephew, John of Suabia, and the beautiful painted window of the church of Königsfeld represented the fearful punishments which had been inflicted on the relations and vassals of the guilty parties. Catherine of Waldburg-Truchsess, abbess of the convent, at the period of the Reformation, counted among her nuns Beatrice of Landenberg, sister of the Bishop of Constance, Agnes of Mullinen, Catherine of Bonnstetten, and Margaret of Watteville, the provost's sister. The liberty which this convent enjoyed, and which, at a former period had led to criminal irregularities, allowed the introduction of the Holy Scriptures, and the writings of Luther and Zuinglius. In a short time matters assumed an entirely new appearance. Near the cell to which Queen Agnes, the daughter of Albert, retired, besprinkled with blood, as it had been "May-dew," and where, spinning wool or working embroidery to ornament the church, she had mingled acts of devotion and thoughts of vengeance, Margaret Watteville had only thoughts of peace; read the Scriptures, and mingled salutary ingredients to compose an excellent electuary. Then, composing herself in her cell, the young nun ventured on the bold step of writing to the teacher of Switzerland. Her letter shows better than any observations could do, the Christian spirit which animated those pious females, who have been, and still, even in our day, are so much calumniated.

"Grace and peace through the Lord Jesus Christ, be ever given and multiplied to you, by God our Heavenly Father," said the nun of Königsfeld to Zuinglius. "Very learned, reverend, and dear Sir, I beseech you not to be offended with the letter which I write to you. The love which is in Christ urges me to do it, especially since I have learned that the doctrine of salvation grows from day to day by your preaching of the Word of God. Wherefore, I offer up thanks to God Almighty for enlightening us anew, and sending us, by his Holy Spirit, so many heralds of his Holy Word; at the same time, I earnestly beseech Him to clothe you with His might, you and all those who proclaim His glad tidings, that arming you against all the enemies of the truth, He may make His Divine Word grow in every heart. Very learned Sir, I venture to send you this small token of my affection. Deign not to despise it.



It is the gift of Christian charity. If this electuary does you good, and you have any wish for more, let me know; it would give me great delight to do something that might be agreeable to you. I am not alone in this. The feeling is common to all who love the gospel in our convent of Königsfeld. They present their salutations in Jesus Christ to your reverence, and we all together, without ceasing, recommend you to His mighty protection.<sup>1</sup>

"Saturday before Lætare, 1523."

Such was the pious letter of the nun of Königsfeld to the teacher of Switzerland.

A convent, into which gospel light had thus penetrated, could not long continue the practices of monastic life. Margaret Watteville, and her sisters, persuaded that they could serve God better in their families than in the cloister, asked leave to quit it. The council of Berne, in alarm, first tried to bring the nuns to reason; the provincial and the abbess had recourse by turns to threats and promises. But the sisters, Margaret, Agnes, Catherine, and their friends were immoveable. Next the rules of the convent were relaxed. The nuns were exempted from fasts and matins, and their income was increased; but they replied to the council, "It is not liberty of the flesh we ask, but liberty of the spirit. We, your poor and innocent prisoners, ask you to have pity on us." "*Our* prisoners, *our* prisoners," exclaimed banneret Krauchthaler, "I wont have them to be my prisoners." This, from one of the firmest supporters of convents, decided the council. The convent was thrown open, and shortly after, Catherine Bonnstetten married William Diesbach.

Still Berne, instead of frankly arraying itself on the side of the Reformers, kept a certain middle course, and endeavoured, as it were, to hold the balance between the two parties. A circumstance caused it to lay aside this equivocal procedure. Sebastian Meyer, lecturer to the Franciscans, published a recantation of Roman errors, which produced a great sensation. Pourtraying the life of convents, he said, "Their inmates live more impurely, fall more frequently, rise more tardily, walk more uncertainly, repose more dangerously, show pity more rarely, reform more slowly, die more desperately, and are punished more severely."<sup>2</sup> At the moment when Meyer was thus declaring against cloisters, John Heim, the Dominican reader, was exclaiming from the pulpit. "No; Christ did not, as the evangelicals teach, give satisfaction to his Father once for all. God must be daily reconciled with men by the sac-

<sup>1</sup> Cujus præsidio auxilioque præsentissimo, nos vestram dignitatem assidue commendamus. (Zw. Ep. p. 280.)

<sup>2</sup> Langsamer gereiniget, verzweifelter stirbt härter verdammet. (Kirchhofer Reform. v. Bern. p. 48.)

rifice of the mass, and good works." Two citizens who were in the church, got up, and said, "It is not true." This led to great noise. Heim stood mute. Several urged him to continue, but he came down from the pulpit without finishing his discourse. The next day the great council, with one blow, struck both Rome and the Reformation, banishing from the town the two great controversialists, Meyer and Heim. "They are neither clear nor muddy,"<sup>1</sup> it was said of the Bernese, playing on the word Luther, which, in old German, means *clear*.<sup>2</sup>

But vain was the attempt to suppress the Reformation in Berne. It was making progress in every direction. The nuns of the monastery of the Isle had not forgotten Haller's visit. Clara May, and several of her friends, anxiously asking what they ought to do, wrote to the learned Henry Bullinger, who replied, "St. Paul enjoins young women not to make vows, but to marry; and not live in idleness, under a false semblance of piety. (1 Tim. v, 13, 14.) Follow Jesus in humility, charity, patience, purity, and honesty."<sup>1</sup> Clara, seeking help from above, resolved to follow this advice, and quit a life contrary to the Word of God, invented by man, and fraught with seduction and sin. Her father, Bartholomew, who had passed fifty years on battle fields and in councils, rejoiced when he learned his daughter's resolution. Clara quitted the convent.

The provost, Nicolas Watteville, whose whole interest bound him to the Roman hierarchy, and who, on the first vacancy in

<sup>1</sup> Dass sie weder luther noch trüb seyen. (Kirchofer's Ref., v, Bern., p. 50.)

<sup>2</sup> Romish writers, in particular M. Haller, have quoted from Salat and T. Tschudi, enemies of the Reformation, a pretended letter of Zuinglius addressed at this time to Kolb, at Berne. It is as follows:—"Salvation and blessing from God our Lord. Dear Francis, move softly in the affair: throw the bear at first only one sour pear among several sweet ones—throw two, then three. After he has begun to eat, keep always throwing more, sour and sweet, pell-mell; at last shake out the whole bag, soft, hard, sweet, sour, and unripe. He will eat them all, and no longer allow any one to take them from him, or drive him away.—Zurich, Monday before St. George, 1525.

"Your servant in Christ, ULRICH ZUINGLIUS."

There are decisive reasons against the authenticity of this letter. I. In 1525, Kolb was pastor at Wertheimer. He did not come to Berne till 1527. (See Zw., Ep. p. 521.) M. Haller, it is true, substitutes 1527 for 1525, but very arbitrarily. The object of the correction, no doubt is easily seen; but unfortunately, M. Haller, in making it, contradicts Salat and Tschudi, who though they do not agree as to the day on which this letter was spoken of in the Diet, agree as to the year, both making it 1525. II. There is a difference as to the mode in which the letter was procured. One account is, that it was intercepted, another, that Kolb's parishioners communicated it to an inhabitant of the small cantons, who happened to be at Berne. III. The original is in German, whereas Zuinglius always wrote in Latin to his literary friends; besides, he addressed them as their *brother*, not as their *servant*. IV. Any reader of the letters of Zuinglius must see that his style is the most opposite possible to that of the pretended letter. Never would Zuinglius have written a letter to say so little; his epistles are usually long and full of news. To call the little pleasantries picked up by Salat a letter, is mere mockery. V. Salat deserves little confidence as a historian, and Tschudi appears to have copied him with slight variations. It may be that an inhabitant of the small cantons received from some inhabitant of Berne the letter of Zuinglius to Haller, (of which we have spoken in our second volume,) where Zuinglius very happily employs the comparison of the bear, which is met with in all the authors of that time. This may have suggested to some wit the idea of inventing this spurious letter and addressing it to Kolb as from Zuinglius.

<sup>3</sup> Euerem Herrn Jesu nachfolget in Demuth. (Kirch. Ref., v, B. 60.)

Switzerland, must have risen to the episcopal bench, also renounced his honours, his benefices, and his hopes, to keep a pure conscience, and, breaking off all the ties by which the popes had tried to entwine him, he entered the state of marriage instituted by God from the beginning of the creation. Nicolas Watteville married Clara May, and his sister Margaret, the nun of Königsfeld, was, about the same time, united to Lucius Tscharner of Coire.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAP. VIII

Basle—Æcolampadius—He goes to Augsburg—He enters the Convent—He returns to Sickingen—Returns to Basle—Ulric Von Hutten—His projects—Last Effort of Chivalry—Hutten dies at Uffhan.

Thus every thing gave intimation of the triumphs which the Reformation was shortly to gain in Berne. A city of no less importance, and at this time the Athens of Switzerland—Basle—began also to prepare for the great combat which signalises the sixteenth century.

Each town of the Confederation had its peculiar aspect. Berne was the city of great families; and there the question was apparently to be decided in favour of the party who should gain certain of the leading men of the city. At Zurich the ministers of the Word, as Zuñglius, Leo Juda, Myconius, Schmidt, drew after them a powerful community of citizens. Lucerne was the town of arms and military enlistments. Basle that of knowledge and printing. Erasmus, the head of the republic of letters in the sixteenth century, had fixed his residence in it, and, preferring the liberty which he here enjoyed, to the seductive invitations of popes and kings, had become the centre of a large circle of literary men.

But a humble, meek, and pious man, inferior in genius to Erasmus, was soon to exercise over the town a more powerful influence than that of the prince of schools. Christopher Utenheim, Bishop of Constance, in concert with Erasmus, sought to gather round him men fitted to accomplish a kind of intermediate Reformation. With this view he gave an invitation to Capito and Æcolampadius. In the latter there was somewhat of the monk, which often annoyed the illustrious philosopher. But Æcolampadius soon became enthusiastically attached to him, and perhaps would have lost all his independence in this close relation, had not Providence removed

<sup>1</sup> Zw. Ep., Annotatio, p. 451. From this union the Tscharners of Berne are descended.

him from his idol. In 1517, he returned to Weinsberg, his native town, and was shocked with the irregularities and profane jests of the priests. He has left us a fine memorial of the grave spirit which then animated him in his celebrated work "*on the Easter Merriment*," which appears to have been written about this time.<sup>1</sup>

Having been called, towards the end of 1518, to Augsburg, as preacher of the cathedral, he found this town still agitated by the famous interview which had taken place there in May, between Luther and the papal legate. It was necessary to take a part for or against: Æcolampadius, without hesitation, declared for the Reformer. This frankness soon raised up a keen opposition against him, and, being convinced that his timidity, and the weakness of his voice, would not allow him to succeed in the world, he began to look around, and fixed his eye on a neighbouring convent of monks of St. Bridget, celebrated for their piety, and their profound and liberal studies. Feeling the want of repose, leisure, rest, and prayer, he turned toward these monks, and asked them, "Can one live with you according to the Word of God?" They having assured him that this could be done, Æcolampadius crossed the threshold of the convent on the 23rd April, 1520, but under the express condition that he was free should ever the service of God call him elsewhere.

It was well that the future Reformer of Basle should, like Luther, know this monastic life, which was the highest expression of Roman Catholicism. But he found no repose: his friends blamed the step; and he himself declared openly that Luther was nearer the truth than his opponents. Hence Dr. Eck, and other Roman doctors, followed him with menaces even into his calm retreat.

At this time Æcolampadius was neither one of the Reformed, nor a follower of Rome. He wished a kind of purified Catholicism, which no where exists in history, but the idea of which has served many as a kind of stepping-stone. He set about correcting the statutes of his order by the Word of God. "I pray you," said he to the friars, "don't esteem your ordinances more than the commandments of the Lord." The monks replied, "We wish no other rule than that of the Saviour. Take our books, and mark, as in the immediate presence of Christ, whatever you find contrary to his Word." Æcolampadius began the task, but found it painfully wearisome. "Almighty God!" he exclaimed, "what abominations has not Rome approved in these statutes!"

No sooner had he pointed out some of these than the wrath of the friars began to be kindled. "Heretic," they exclaimed: "apostate, you deserve a dark dungeon till the end of your days." He was

<sup>1</sup> Herzog, Studien und Kritiken, 1840, p. 334.



excluded from the common prayers. But the danger was still greater from without. Eck and his people had not abandoned their projects. In three days he was told he was to be arrested. He went to the friars, and said to them, "Will you give me up to assassins?" The monks were speechless and irresolute. They were unwilling either to save or to destroy him. At this moment some friends of Ecolampadius arrived near the cloister with horses to conduct him to a place of safety. At this news the monks determined on allowing the departure of a brother who had brought trouble into their convent. "Adieu!" he said, and was free. He had been nearly two years in the cloister of St. Bridget.

Ecolampadius was saved: at length he again breathed. Writing to a friend he says: "I have sacrificed the monk and got back the Christian." But his flight from the convent and his heretical writings were every where known; every where also people stood aloof on his approach. He knew not what to do, when, in the spring of 1522, Sickingen offered him an asylum, which he accepted.

His spirit, which had been weighed down by monastic bondage, took a new spring amid the noble warriors of Ebernburg. "Christ is our liberty," exclaimed he, "and what men regard as the greatest misfortune—death itself—is to us true gain." He forthwith began to read the gospels and epistles to the people in German. "As soon as the trumpets resound," said he, "the walls of Jericho crumble away."

Thus, in a fortress on the banks of the Rhine, amid boisterous knights, the most modest man of his age anticipated that transformation of worship which Christendom was soon to undergo. Ebernburg, however, was too narrow for him; and he felt the want of other society than that of military men. The bookseller, Cratander, invited him to Basle. Sickingen gave his permission; and Ecolampadius, happy to revisit his old friends, arrived on the 16th November, 1522. After living for some time as a simple scholar, without public vocation, he was appointed vicar of the church of St. Martin; and perhaps it was this call to a humble and unknown employment<sup>1</sup> that decided the Reformation of Basle. Whenever Ecolampadius mounted the pulpit, an immense crowd filled the church.<sup>2</sup> At the same time the public lectures, given both by him and Pellican, were crowned with so much success, that even Erasmus was obliged to exclaim, "Ecolampadius triumphs."<sup>3</sup>

In fact, says Zuinglius, this meek but firm man, shed around him the sweet savour of Christ, and all who heard him made progress in

<sup>1</sup> Meis sumtibus non sine contemptu et invidia. (Ecol. ad Pirckh. de Eucharistia.)

<sup>2</sup> Dass er kein Predigt that, er hatte ein mächtig Volk darinn,—says Peter Ryf, his contemporary. (Wirtz., v. 350.)

<sup>3</sup> Ecolampadius apud nos triumphat. (Eras.

ad Zuin. Zw. Ep. p. 312.)

the truth.<sup>1</sup> Often, indeed, the news spread that he would soon be obliged to leave both, and again commence his adventurous travels. His friends, particularly Zuinglius, were in great alarm; but the report of new successes gained by Œcolampadius, soon dissipated their fears, and strengthened their hopes. The fame of his labours even reached Wittenberg, and rejoiced Luther, who daily talked of him to Melancthon. Meantime the Saxon Reformer was not without uneasiness. Erasmus was at Basle, and Erasmus was the friend of Œcolampadius. Luther thought it his duty to put one whom he loved on his guard. "I much fear," he wrote, "that, like Moses, Erasmus will die in the plains of Moab, without conducting us into the land of promise."<sup>2</sup>

Erasmus had retired to Basle, as a quiet town, situated in the centre of the literary movement, and from the bosom of which he could, by means of the printing-press of Frobenius, act upon France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and England. But he did not like to be disturbed, and if he felt some jealousy at Œcolampadius, there was another man who inspired him with still greater alarm. Ulric Von Hutten had followed Œcolampadius to Basle. For a long time he had attacked the pope as one knight attacks another. "The axe," said he, "is already laid to the root of the tree. Germans, yield not at the first brunt of the battle; the die is cast—the enterprise is begun. Liberty for ever!" He had abandoned Latin, and now wrote only in German; for it was the people he wished to address.

His ideas were grand and noble. An annual assembly of bishops was, according to him, to regulate the affairs of the Church. A Christian constitution, and, above all, a Christian spirit, was to spread from Germany as formerly from Judea, over the whole world. Charles V was to have been the young hero destined to realise the golden age; but Hutten's hopes in him having been disappointed, he had turned to Sickingen, and asked from chivalry what the empire refused. Sickingen, at the head of the feudal nobility, had played a distinguished part in Germany; but the princes had shortly after besieged him in his castle of Landstein, and the new engines, cannon and bullets, had battered down those old walls which had been accustomed to other kinds of assault. The taking of Landstein had been the final defeat of chivalry, the decisive victory of artillery over lances and bucklers, the triumph of modern times over the middle ages. Thus, the last exploit of knighthood, was to be in favour of the Reformation—the first efforts of new weapons and wars was to be against it. The steel clad men who fell under

<sup>1</sup> Illi magis ac magis in omni bono augeantur. (Eras. ad Zwing. Zw. Ep. p. 312.)

<sup>2</sup> Et in terram promissionis ducere non potest. (L. Ep. ii, p. 353.)

the unexpected force of bullets, and lay among the ruins of Landstein, gave place to other knights. Other feats of arms were about to commence. A spiritual chivalry succeeded that of the Du Guesclins and Bayards, and those old broken battlements, those ruined walls, those aspiring heroes, proclaimed still more forcibly than Luther was able to do that it was not by such allies and such weapons that the gospel of the Prince of Peace would gain the victory.

With the downfall of Landstein and chivalry, had fallen all Hütten's hopes. Over Sickingen's dead body he bade adieu to all the glorious days of which his imagination had dreamed, and, losing all confidence in man, all he now asked was a brief obscurity and repose. He came to seek them in Switzerland beside Erasmus. These two men had long been friends; but the rude and boisterous knight, disdaining the judgment of others, always used to lay his hand on his sword, and, attacking right and left all whom he met, could seldom move in accordance with the delicate and timid Erasmus, with his refined manners, his smooth and polished address, his eagerness for approbation, and his readiness to make every sacrifice to obtain it, fearing nothing in the world so much as a dispute.

Hütten having arrived at Basle a poor sick fugitive, immediately inquired for his old friend. But Erasmus trembled at the thought of sharing his table with a man under the ban of the pope and the emperor, a man who would care for no one, borrow money of him, and doubtless bring after him a crowd of those "evangelists," of whom Erasmus was always becoming more afraid.<sup>1</sup> He refused to see him, and, shortly after, the magistrates of Basle begged Hütten to leave the town. Hutten, mortified and irritated against his timid friend, retired to Mulhausen, and published a violent philippic against Erasmus, who wrote a very clever reply. The knight had seized the sword with both hands, and brought it down with force upon his adversary; the scholar, dexterously slipping aside, had returned the strokes of the sword with strokes of his beak.<sup>2</sup>

Hutten behaved again to fly. He arrived at Zurich, where he met with a generous reception from the noble-minded Zuinglius. But cabals obliged him to quit this town also, and, after passing some time at the baths of Pfeffers, he repaired with a letter from the Swiss Reformer to the house of pastor John Schnepf, who dwelt in the little islet of Ufnau, on the Lake of Zurich. This poor minister received the poor exiled knight with the most touching

<sup>1</sup> Erasmus, in a letter to Melancthon, in which he tries to excuse himself, thus writes:—"Ille egens et omnibus rebus destitutus querebat nidum aliquem ubi moreretur. Erat mihi gloriosus ille miles cum sua scabie in aedes recipiendus simulque recipiendus ille chorus titulo *Evangelicorum*." (Er. Ep. p. 949.) "In want, and every way destitute, was looking out for some place where he might nestle. That vain-glorious soldier, with his itch, was to be received into the house, and with him the band named *Evangelicals*."

<sup>2</sup> *Expostulatio Hutteni—Erasmisvongia.*



charity. It was in this peaceful and unknown retreat, after a most agitated life—banished by some, pursued by others, forsaken almost by all, after constantly combating superstition, yet, as it would seem, without even possessing the truth, Ulrich von Hutten, one of the most remarkable minds of the sixteenth century, died in obscurity towards the end of August, 1523. The poor pastor, who was skilful in the healing art, had in vain given him all his care. With him died chivalry. He left neither money, nor furniture, nor books—nothing in the world except a pen.<sup>1</sup> Thus was the hand of iron broken that had presumed to support the ark of God.

---

## CHAP. IX.

Erasmus and Luther—Uncertainty of Erasmus—Luther to Erasmus—Work of Erasmus against Luther on Free Will—Three Opinions—Effect on Luther—Luther on Free Will—The Jansenists and the Reformers—Homage to Erasmus—Rage of Erasmus—The Three Days.

There was a man in Germany more formidable to Erasmus than the unfortunate knight; this was Luther. The moment had arrived when the two greatest wrestlers of the age were to measure their powers in close combat. The two Reformations at which they aimed were very different. While Luther desired an entire Reformation, Erasmus, a friend of the middle course, sought to obtain concessions from the hierarchy, which might again unite the two extreme parties. The vacillation and uncertainty of Erasmus disgusted Luther. He said to him, "You wish to walk on eggs without crushing them, and among glasses without breaking them."<sup>1</sup>

At the same time, to the vacillation of Erasmus, he opposed complete decision. "We Christians," said he, "ought to be sure of our doctrine, and know how to say yes or no without hesitating. To attempt to hinder us from affirming with perfect conviction what we believe, is to deprive us of faith itself. The Holy Spirit is not a sceptic."<sup>2</sup> He has written in our hearts a firm and powerful assurance, which makes us as certain of our faith, as we are of life itself."

These words at once tell us on which side strength lay. In order to accomplish a religious transformation, there must be a

<sup>1</sup> Libros nullos habuit, supellectilem nullam, præter calamum. (Zw. Ep. p. 313.)

<sup>2</sup> Auf Eyren gehen und keiner zutreten. (L. Op. xix, p. 11.)

<sup>3</sup> Der heilige

Geist ist kein Scepticus. (Ibid. p. 8.)



firm and living faith. A salutary resolution in the Church never will proceed from philosophical views and human opinions. To fertilise the earth after long drought, the lightning must pierce the cloud, and the reservoirs of heaven be opened. Criticism, philosophy, history even may prepare the paths for true faith, but cannot supply its place. In vain do you clean out your canals and repair your embankments, so long as the water descends not from the sky. All human sciences without faith are only canals without water.

Whatever might be the essential difference between Luther and Erasmus, the friends of Luther, and Luther himself, long hoped to see Erasmus united with them against Rome. Sayings which his caustic humour let fall were reported, and showed his disagreement with the most zealous friends of Catholicism. One day, for instance, when he was in England, he had a keen discussion with Sir Thos. More on transubstantiation. "Believe that you have the body of Christ," said More, "and you have it really." Erasmus made no answer. Shortly after he left the banks of the Thames, and More lent him his horse to the sea-side; but Erasmus took it with him to the continent. As soon as More knew of it, he reproached him in the keenest terms. Erasmus only answered by sending him the following stanza:—

Of Christ's body, this you declared the creed :  
 " Believe you have it, and you have indeed."  
 Apply the doctrine to your missing steed ;  
 Believe you have it, and you have indeed.

Erasmus had appeared in this character not only in England and Germany. At Paris it was said, "Luther has only widened the opening of the door of which Erasmus had previously picked the lock."<sup>2</sup>

The situation of Erasmus was difficult. In a letter to Zuinglius he says, "I will not be unfaithful to the cause of Christ, at least in so far as the age will permit."<sup>3</sup> In proportion as he saw Rome bestirring herself against the Reformation, he, from prudential motives, drew off. He was applied to from all quarters—the pope, the emperor, kings, princes, the learned; and even his most intimate friends, urged him to write against the Reformer.<sup>4</sup> The pope wrote unto him—"No work would be more agreeable to

<sup>1</sup> "Quod mihi dixisti nuper de corpore Christi :  
 Crede quod habes et habes ;  
 Hoc tibi rescribo tantum de tuo caballo :  
 Crede quod habes et habes."

(Paravicini, *Singularia*. p. 71.)

<sup>2</sup> Histoire Cathol. de notre temps, par S. Fontaine de l'ordre de St. Francois, Paris, 1562.

<sup>3</sup> Quantum hoc seculum patitur. (Zw. Ep. p. 221.)

<sup>4</sup> A Pontifice, a

Cæsare, a regibus et principibus, a doctissimis etiam et carissimis amicis huc provocor. (Erasin. Zw. Ep. p. 303.)

God—none more worthy of yourself and your genius.”<sup>1</sup> For a long time Erasmus resisted these solicitations; he could not disguise from himself that the cause of the Reformers was the cause of religion as well as of letters. Besides, Luther was an opponent with whom none were fond of engaging, and Erasmus thought he could already feel the redoubled and sturdy blows of the champion of Wittemberg. In reply to a theologian of Rome he wrote: “It is easy to say, ‘Write against Luther;’ but it is a task pregnant with danger.”<sup>2</sup> Thus he would, and yet would not.

This irresolute conduct of Erasmus subjected him to the attacks of the most violent men of both parties. Luther himself found it difficult to reconcile the respect which he had for the learning of Erasmus with the indignation which he felt at his cowardice. He resolved to escape from this painful condition, and in April, 1524, wrote him a letter, which he gave to the care of Camerarius. “As yet,” said he, “you have not received of the Lord the courage necessary to march with us to give battle to the papists. We bear with your weakness. If letters flourish, if they open to all the treasures of the Scriptures, it is a gift for which we are indebted, under God, to you—a magnificent gift, for which our thanksgivings ascend to heaven. But do not abandon the task which has been imposed on you, in order to pass into our camp. No doubt your eloquence and genius would be useful to us; but since your courage fails you, remain where you are. I could wish that our people would allow your old age to slumber peacefully in the Lord. The greatness of our cause has long transcended your powers. But, on the other hand, my dear Erasmus, desist from throwing at us so many handfuls of pungent salt, which you know so well how to disguise under flowers of rhetoric. It is more painful to be slightly bitten by Erasmus, than to be ground to death by all papists put together. Content yourself with being the spectator of our tragedy:<sup>3</sup> publish no book against me; I, on my part, will publish none against you.”

Thus Luther, the man of war, asked for concord: it was Erasmus, the man of peace, who disturbed it.

Erasmus received this proceeding on the part of the Reformer as the greatest of insults, and if he had not already resolved to write against Luther, it is probable that he resolved now. He replied, “Perhaps Erasmus, by writing against you, will do more service to the gospel than some fools who write for you,<sup>4</sup> and who do not allow me to be any longer a mere spectator of this tragedy.

<sup>1</sup> Nulla te et ingenio. eruditione, eloquentiaque tua dignior esse potest. (Adrianus Papa, Ep. Er. p. 1202.)

<sup>2</sup> Res est periculi plena. (Er. Ep. p. 758.)

<sup>3</sup> Spectator tantum sis tragoediae nostrae. (L. Ep. ii, p. 501.)

<sup>4</sup> Quidam stolidi scribentes pro te. (Unschuldige Nachricht, p. 545.)

But he had other motives also.

Henry VIII of England, and the leading men of that kingdom, were extremely urgent that he should declare publicly against the Reformation. Erasmus, during a moment of courage, allowed the promise to be forced from him. Besides, his equivocal situation had become a continual torment to him : he loved repose, but the necessity he felt of continually vindicating himself troubled his life : he loved glory, but he was accused of fearing Luther, and of being too feeble to answer him : he was accustomed to the first place, but the little monk of Wittemberg had dethroned the mighty Erasmus. He behoved then, by a courageous act, to conquer back the place which he had lost. All ancient Christendom was imploring him to do so. Ability, and the greatest reputation of the age, were wanted to oppose the Reformation. Erasmus yielded.

But what weapon was he going to employ ? Will he cause the thunders of the Vatican to roar ? Will he defend abuses which are the disgrace of the papacy ? Erasmus could not do so. The great movement by which men's minds were agitated, after the death-like lethargy which had lasted for so many ages, filled him with joy, and he would have feared to trammel it. Not being able to appear as the champion of Roman Catholicism, in regard to the additions which it has made to Christianity, he undertook to defend it in what it has cut off. In his attack upon Luther, Erasmus selected the point in which Catholicism is blended with rationalism—the doctrine of free will, or of the natural power of man. Thus, while undertaking the defence of the Church, Erasmus pleased the men of the world ; while battling for the pope, he battled also for the philosophers. It has been said that he was awkwardly trammelled by an obscure and useless question.<sup>1</sup> Luther, the Reformers, and their age, thought otherwise. We agree with them. "I must acknowledge," said Luther, "that in this combat you are the only one who has seized your opponent by the throat. I thank you with all my heart, for I like better to deal with that subject than with all those secondary questions of the pope, purgatory, and indulgences, with which, till this hour, the enemies of the gospel have pestered me."<sup>2</sup>

His own experience, and the attentive study of the Holy Scriptures and of St. Augustin, had convinced Luther that the actual powers of man so incline him to evil, that all he can do of himself is to attain to a certain external decency, altogether insufficient in the eyes of the Deity. At the same time, he had learned that

<sup>1</sup> On this subject M. Nisard says—*Erasmi Revue des deux mondes*, iii, p. 411.—  
"One feels humbled for our species, or seeing men capable of grappling with eternal truths, spending their lives in fencing with men of straw, like gladiators making war on flies." <sup>2</sup> *L. Op.* xix. p. 146.



God gives a true righteousness, by carrying on the work of faith through operation of the Holy Spirit.

This doctrine had become the principle of his religious life, the predominant idea in his theology, and the point on which the whole Reformation turned.

While Luther maintained that every thing good in man came from God, Erasmus took the side of those who thought that this good came from man himself. God or man . . .—good or evil . . .—these, surely, are not paltry questions; if these are such questions, they must be sought for elsewhere.

In the autumn of 1524, Erasmus published his famous work, entitled "*Disquisition on Free Will*." No sooner had it appeared than the philosopher could scarcely credit his own courage. He trembled, while, with eyes fixed on the arena, he beheld the gauntlet which he had just thrown down to his opponent. The die is cast, "wrote he, with emotion, to Henry VIII," the book on *Free Will* has appeared. . . . This, believe me, is a daring act. I expect to be stoned. . . . But I console myself by the example of your majesty, whom the wrath of those people has not spared."<sup>1</sup>

His alarm soon increased to such a degree, that he bitterly regretted the step he had taken. "Why was I not allowed," he exclaimed, "to spend my age in the garden of the Muses! Here I am, at sixty, pushed violently forward into the arena, and instead of the lyre, holding the cestus and net. . . ." "I know," said he to the Bishop of Rochester, "that in writing on free will, I was not in my sphere. . . . You congratulate me on my triumphs. . . . Ah, I know not in what I triumph! The faction (the Reformation) is daily increasing.<sup>2</sup> Was it then my destiny that, at my age, I was to be transformed from a friend of the Muses into a miserable gladiator?" . . .

It was much, doubtless, for the timid Erasmus to have taken the field against Luther. But still he was far from having given proof of great hardihood. He seems, in his book, to attribute little to the will of man, and to leave the greater part to divine grace; but, at the same time, he chose his arguments in such a way as to make it be believed, that man does all, and God does nothing. Not daring to express his thoughts distinctly, he affirms one thing, and proves another; leaving one at liberty to suppose that he believed what he proved, and not what he affirmed.

He distinguishes three opinions opposed in different degrees to that of Pelagius. "Some," says he, "think that man can neither

<sup>1</sup> Jacta est alea . . . audax, mihi crede, facinus . . . expecto lapidationem. (Er. Ep. p. 811.) <sup>2</sup> Quomodo triumphans nescio. . . . Factio crescit in dies latius. (Ibid., p. 809.)



will nor begin, far less accomplish any thing that is good, without special and continual help from divine grace. This opinion seems probable enough. Others teach that the will of man has power only to do evil, and that grace alone performs in us any thing that is good; and, lastly, there are some who maintain that there never was any free will, either in man or angels, either in Adam or in us, whether before or after grace, but that God produces in man both good or evil, and that every thing which takes place, happens through absolute necessity.<sup>1</sup>

Erasmus, while seeming to admit the first of these opinions, employs arguments which militate against it, and which may be employed by the most decided Pelagian. Thus, while referring to the passages of Scripture, in which God presents man with a choice of good and evil, he adds, "Man then must will and choose; for it would be ridiculous to say to any one, Choose! if it were not in his power to do so."

Luther was not afraid of Erasmus. "Truth," said he, "is mightier than eloquence. The victory belongs to him who lispes the truth, and not to him who is eloquent in favour of falsehood."<sup>2</sup>

But when he received the work of Erasmus, he found the book so feeble, that he hesitated to answer it. "What!" said he to him, "so much eloquence in so bad a cause; one would say it was a man serving up mire and filth on gold and silver plate.<sup>3</sup> It is impossible to get hold of you any where. You are like an eel which slips between the fingers; or, like the Proteus of the poets, who changes in the very hand of the person who is trying to bind him."

Meanwhile, as Luther did not answer, the monks and scholastic theologians began to shout: "Ah! well, where is now your Luther? Where is the great Maccabeus? Let him enter the lists! Let him come forward! Ah! ah! he has at length found the man that was wanted for him. He now knows how to keep in the back ground. He has learnt to hold his tongue."<sup>4</sup>

Luther saw that he behoved to answer; but it was not till the end of 1525 that he began to prepare; and Melancthon having intimated to Erasmus that Luther would use moderation, the philosopher was quite astonished. "If I have written with moderation," said he, "it is my natural turn: but Luther has the indignation of the son of Peleus (Achilles). And how could it be otherwise? When a ship encounters a tempest, like that which has

<sup>1</sup> De libero arbitrio Διατριβή. (Erasmi Op. ix, p. 1215, sq.) <sup>2</sup> Victoria est penes balbutientem veritatem, non apud mendacem eloquentiam. (L. Ep. ii. p. 200.)

<sup>3</sup> Als wenn einer in silbern oder guldern Schüsseln wollte mist und Unflath Auftragen. (L. Op. xix, p. 4. <sup>4</sup> Sehst, sehst nun da zu! wo ist nun Luther. Ibid, p. 3.)

risen against Luther, what anchor, what ballast, what helm, would not be necessary to enable it to keep its course? Hence, if he answers me in a manner not in accordance with his character, these sycophants will exclaim that we understand one another."<sup>1</sup> We will see that Erasmus was soon to be disencumbered of these fears.

The doctrine of an election by God, the only cause of man's salvation, had always been dear to the Reformer; but, till now, he had only considered it in a practical point of view. In his reply to Erasmus, it presented itself to him in a speculative form; and he laboured to prove, by the arguments which seemed to him most conclusive, that God does every thing in the conversion of man, and that our heart is so alienated from the love of God, that every sincere inclination to good can only proceed from the regenerating agency of the Holy Spirit.

"To call our will a free will," said he, "is to do like princes, who string together a long series of titles, calling themselves the lords of such and such kingdoms, such and such principalities, and distant islands (as Rhodes, Cyprus, and Jerusalem), while they have not the least power over them." At the same time, Luther here makes an important distinction, which shows well that he did not participate in the third opinion which Erasmus had described and imputed to him. "The will of man," says he, "may be called a free will, not in relation to what is above it—that is to say, God, but in relation to what is beneath—that is to say, the kings of the earth."<sup>2</sup> When my goods, my fields, my house, my farm, are in question, I can act, make, and manage freely. But in things which regard salvation, man is captive; he is subject to the will of God, or rather to that of the devil."<sup>3</sup> Among all the teachers of free will," exclaims he, "show me a single one who has in himself strength sufficient to endure a little injury, a passionate attack, or even a look from his enemy, and to do it joyfully, then,—without even asking him to abandon his body, his goods, his honour, and all things,—I declare that you have gained your cause."<sup>4</sup>

Luther's eye was too piercing not to detect the contradictions into which his opponent had fallen. Accordingly he proceeded, in his reply, to enclose the philosopher in the net in which he had placed himself. "If the passages which you quote," said he, "prove that it is easy for us to do good, why do you dispute? What need have we of Christ and the Holy Spirit? Christ has done foolishly in shedding his blood to procure us a strength,

<sup>1</sup> Ille si hic multum sui dissimilis fuerit, clamabunt sycophantæ colludere nos. (Ær. Ep. p. 819.)

<sup>2</sup> Der Wille des Menschen mag. . . . (L. Op. xix, p. 29.)

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

which we already have from nature." In fact the passages quoted by Erasmus were to be interpreted in quite a different sense. This much debated question is clearer than at first sight it seems. When the Bible says to man, "Choose," it is because it presupposes the assistance of the grace of God, by which alone he can do what it commands. God, in giving the command, gives also the power to perform it. When Christ said to Lázarus, come forth, it was not because Lazarus could raise himself, but, because, in commanding him to come forth from the tomb, he gave him power to do so, and accompanied his word with creative power. He speaks, and it is done. Besides, it is quite true that the man whom God addresses must will; it is himself that wills, and not another; but still he can receive this will only from God. It must, no doubt, be in the man; and this command which God addresses to him, and which, according to Erasmus 'proves man's power, so reconcileable with the agency of God, that it is precisely the means by which this agency is carried on. God says to man, "Be converted," and while so saying, converts him.

But the view on which Luther especially dwelt in his reply was, that the passages quoted by Erasmus, are designed to teach men what they ought to do, and their incapability of doing it, but not at all to acquaint them with this fancied power which is assigned to them. "How often does it happen," says Luther, "that a father calls his little child to him, saying, 'My son, will you come? Come, come then!' in order the child may learn to cry for help, and allow itself to be carried by him."<sup>1</sup>

After combating the arguments of Erasmus in favour of free will, Luther defends his own against the attacks of his opponent. "Dear Diatribe," says he ironically, "mighty heroine, who pretend to have overthrown the word of the Lord in the gospel of St. John, '*Without me ye can do NOTHING,*' which you, however, regard as the strongest in my power, and call the *Achilles of Luther*, listen to me for a little. At all events, until you prove that this word *nothing* not only may, but must signify *some little thing*, all your high words, all your splendid illustrations, have no more effect than chips of straw would have in extinguishing an immense conflagration. What have we to do with the assertions—'*This may mean; that may be understood thus*—when you are bound to demonstrate that it *must* be so understood.' If you fail to do so, we take the declaration in its natural sense, and laugh at all your illustrations, your great preparations and pompous triumph."<sup>2</sup>

At length, in a second part, Luther shows, and always by Scripture, that it is the grace of God that does all. "In one

<sup>1</sup> L. Op. xix, p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 116.



word," says he at the end, "since Scripture uniformly opposes Christ to all that is not Christ; since it declares that whatever is not Christ and in Christ, is under the power of error, darkness, the devil, death, sin, and the wrath of God, it follows that all the passages of the Bible which speak of Christ are contrary to free will. Now, these passages are innumerable; the Sacred Volume is filled with them."<sup>1</sup>

We see that the discussion between Luther and Erasmus is the same as that which, a century later, took place between the Jansenists and the Jesuits—between Pascal and Molina.<sup>2</sup> To what is it owing, that while the Reformation has had such mighty results, Jansenism, defended by the most distinguished geniuses, has been suppressed without force? It is because Jansenism went back to St. Augustin, and leant upon the fathers; whereas the Reformation went back to the Bible, and leant upon the Word of God. It is because Jansenism made a compromise with Rome, and wished to establish a medium between truth and error; the Reformation confided in God alone, cleared away the soil, removed all the human rubbish which had covered it for ages, and laid bare the primitive rock. To stop midway is useless labour; in all things it is proper to go forward to the end. Hence, while Jansenism has passed away, the destinies of the world are bound up with evangelical Christianity.

Luther, after keenly refuting the error, paid a brilliant, but perhaps somewhat sarcastic, homage to the person of Erasmus. "I confess," said he, "that you are a great man. Where were more learning, intellect, ability in writing and speaking ever seen? For myself I have nothing of the kind; there is only one thing from which I can derive any glory. . . . I am a Christian. May God raise you in the knowledge of the gospel, infinitely above me, so that you may surpass me as much in this respect, as you already do in every other."<sup>3</sup>

Erasmus was beside himself on reading Luther's reply; he would see nothing in his compliments but the honey of a poisoned cup, or the embrace of a serpent. He immediately wrote to the Elector of Saxony, demanding justice; and Luther having tried to appease him, he laid aside his ordinary habit, and as one of his most ardent apologists expresses it, began "to inveigh in a broken voice and grey hairs."<sup>4</sup>

Erasmus was vanquished. Moderation had been his forte, and he had now lost it. The energy of Luther he could only supply

<sup>1</sup> L. Op. xix, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> It is needless to say that I do not mean personal discussions between individuals, the one of whom died in 1600, and the other was not born till 1623.

<sup>3</sup> L. Op. xix, p. 146, 147.

<sup>4</sup> M. Nisard. *Erasme*, p. 419.



by rage. The wise man wanted wisdom. He replied, publicly, in his *Hyperapistes*, accusing the Reformer of barbarism, falsehood, and blasphemy. The philosopher even went the length of prophesying. "I prophesy," said he, "that no name under the sun will be more execrated than that of Luther." This prophecy, after a lapse of three centuries, was answered on the jubilee of 1817, by the enthusiastic acclamations of the whole Protestant world.

Thus, while Luther, with the Bible, placed himself at the head of his age, Erasmus, in opposing him, wished to occupy the same place with philosophy. Which of the two leaders has been followed? Both, no doubt. Nevertheless, the influence of Luther on the nations of Christendom has been infinitely greater than that of Erasmus. Even those who did not well understand the matter in dispute, seeing the conviction of one of the antagonists, and the doubts of the other, could not help believing that the former was in the right and the latter in the wrong. It has been said that the three last centuries, the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth, may be conceived as an immense battle of three days.<sup>1</sup> We willingly adopt the happy expression, but not the part which is assigned to each day. The same task is given to the sixteenth and to the eighteenth century. The first day and the last it is philosophy that breaks the ranks. The sixteenth century philosophical! Strange mistake. No; each of these days had a distinct and striking characteristic. The first day of battle, it was the Word of God and the Gospel of Christ that triumphed. Then Rome was defeated, as well as philosophy, in the person of Erasmus and her other representatives. The second day, we admit Rome, her authority, her discipline, and her doctrine re-appear, and are on the eve of triumphing, by the intrigues of a celebrated society and the power of the scaffold, as well as by some characters of great veracity and men of distinguished genius. The third day, human philosophy rises up in all its pride; and finding not the gospel but Rome on the field of battle, makes easy work, and soon carries all the entrenchments. The first day is the battle of God, the second the battle of the priest, and the third the battle of reason. What will be the fourth? The confused *melée*, we think, the furious battle of all the powers together, to terminate in the triumph of Him to whom the triumph belongs.

<sup>1</sup> Port Royal, by Sainte Beuve, vol. i, p. 20.

## CHAP. X.

The Three Adversaries—Source of the Truth—Anabaptism—Anabaptism and Zuinglius—Constitution of the Church—Prison—The Prophet Blaurock—Anabaptism at St. Gall—An Anabaptist family—Dispute at Zurich—The limits of the Reformation—Punishment of the Anabaptists.

But the battle which the Reformation fought on the grand day of the sixteenth century was not one only: it was manifold. The Reformation had at once several enemies to combat. After protesting against the decretals and supremacy of the popes, next against the cold apophthegms of the rationalists, philosophers, and schoolmen; it at the same time stood up against the reveries of enthusiasm, and the hallucinations of mysticism—opposing to these three powers at once the sword and buckler of Divine revelation.

It must be admitted that there is a great resemblance, a remarkable unity in these three adverse powers. The false systems which in all ages are most opposed to evangelical Christianity, are always characterised by their making religious knowledge proceed from within the man himself. Rationalism makes it proceed from reason; mysticism, from some internal light; Roman Catholicism, from an illumination of the pope. These three errors seek the truth in man; evangelical Christianity seeks it wholly in God. While rationalism, mysticism, and Roman Catholicism admit a permanent inspiration in certain persons like ourselves, and thus open the door to all errors and all variations, evangelical Christianity recognises this inspiration only in the writings of the Apostles and Prophets, and alone exhibits that grand, and beautiful, and living unity, which flows always the same through all ages.

The work of the Reformation was to re-establish the rights of the Word of God, in opposition not only to Roman Catholicism, but also rationalism and to mysticism itself.

The fanaticism of the Anabaptists being extinguished in Germany by Luther's return to Wittenberg, re-appeared in force in Switzerland, threatening the edifice which Zuinglius, Haller, and Ecolampadius had built on the Word of God. Thomas Munzer, when obliged to quit Saxony in 1521, had arrived on the frontiers of Switzerland. Conrad Grebel, whose restless and ardent temper we have already mentioned, had become connected with him, as well as Felix Manz, son of a canon, and some other inhabitants of Zurich. Grebel had immediately tried to gain Zuinglius. In vain had Zuinglius gone farther than Luther. He saw a party rising that wished to go still farther than he. "Let us," said Grebel to

him, "form a community of true believers; for to them alone the promise belongs; and let us establish a church in which there is no sin."<sup>1</sup> "We cannot," said Zuinglius, "introduce heaven upon earth, and Christ has taught us that we must allow the tares to grow among the wheat."<sup>2</sup>

Grebel, having failed with Zuinglius, was desirous to appeal to the people. "The whole Zurich community," said he, "must decide supremely on matters of faith." But Zuinglius dreaded the influence which radical enthusiasts might exercise over a large assembly. He thought that, except in unusual cases, where the people might be called to give in their adherence, it was better to confide religious interests to a college, which might be considered as the *elite* of the representatives of the Church. Consequently, the Council of Two Hundred, which exercised political supremacy in Zurich, was also intrusted with ecclesiastical power, under the express condition that they should conform in every respect to the rule of Holy Scripture. No doubt it would have been better to constitute the Church fully, and call upon it to name its own representatives, who should be intrusted only with the religious interests of the people; for he who is capable of managing the interests of the State may be very unfit to manage those of the Church, and *vice versa*. Nevertheless, the inconveniences were not so serious then as they might be at this time, as the members of the Grand Council had entered frankly into the religious movement. Be this as it may, Zuinglius, while appealing to the Church, avoided bringing it too much upon the stage, and preferred the representation system to the active sovereignty of the people.

This is what the States of Europe, after the lapse of three centuries, are doing in the political sphere. Repulsed by Zuinglius, Grebel turned in another direction. Roubli, superannuated pastor at Basle, Brödtlein, pastor at Zollekon, and Louis Herzer, gave him a cordial reception. They determined to form an independent community in the midst of the great community—a church in the midst of the Church. A new baptism was to enable them to re-assemble their congregation, composed exclusively of true believers. "The baptism of infants," said they, "is a horrible abomination—a manifest impiety, invented by the evil spirit, and by Nicholas II, Pope of Rome."<sup>3</sup>

The council of Zurich taking the alarm, ordered a public discussion; and the Anabaptists refusing to abjure their errors, some Zurichers among them were imprisoned, and some strangers ban-

<sup>1</sup> Vermeintend ein Kirchen ze versammeln die one Sünd wär. (Zw. Op. ii. p. 231.)

<sup>2</sup> Zw. Op. iii. p. 362.

<sup>3</sup> Impietatem manifestissimam, a cacodæmone, a Nicolao II, esse. (Hottinger, iii, p. 219.)

ished. But persecution only increased their fervour. "Not with words only," they exclaimed, "but with our blood are we ready to bear testimony to the truth of our cause." Some, girding themselves with cords or osier-twigs, went up and down the streets crying, "A few days, and Zurich will be destroyed. Woe to thee, Zurich! woe! woe!" Several used blasphemous expressions. "Baptism," they said, "is a bath for a dog: it is of no more use to baptise a child than to baptise a cat."<sup>1</sup> Simple and pious people were moved and amazed. Fourteen men, among them Felix Mantz and seven women, were seized and put on bread and water in the heretics' tower. After a fortnight's confinement, they succeeded in raising some planks during the night, and, assisting one another, made their escape. "An angel," they said, "had opened the prison and let them out."<sup>2</sup>

A monk who had escaped from his convent, George Jacob de Coire, surnamed Blaurock, because it seems he always wore a blue coat, joined them, and was, on account of his eloquence, called the *second St. Paul*. This bold monk went from place to place, by his imposing fervour constraining people to receive his baptism. One Sunday at Zollekon, while the deacon was preaching, the impetuous Anabaptist interrupting him, exclaimed in a voice of thunder, "It is written, *My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves.*" Then lifting his staff which he had in his hand, he violently struck four blows.

"I am a door," exclaimed he, "whosoever will enter in by me will find pasture. I am a good shepherd. My body I give to the prison; my life I give to the sword, the scaffold, or the wheel. I am the beginning of baptism and of the bread of the Lord."<sup>3</sup>

Zuinglius still opposing the torrent of Anabaptism in Zurich, St. Gall was soon inundated by it. Grebel arrived, and was received by the brethren with acclamation; and on Palm Sunday, having repaired with a number of his adherents to the banks of the Sitter, he baptised them.

The news immediately spread to the neighbouring cantons, and a great crowd flocked from Zurich, Appenzel, and divers other places, to "little Jerusalem."

Zuinglius was heart-broken at the sight of this agitation. He saw a storm bursting on those districts in which the seed of the gospel was just beginning to spring.<sup>4</sup> He resolved to oppose these disorders, and composed a treatise "on baptism,"<sup>5</sup> which the coun-

<sup>1</sup> Nutzete eben so viel als wenn man eine Katze taufet. (Füssl. Beytr. i, p. 243.)

<sup>2</sup> Wie die Apostel von dem Engel Gottes gelediget. (Bull. Chr. p. 261.) <sup>3</sup> Ich bin ein Anfänger der Taufe und des Herrn Brodes. (Füssl. Beytr. i, p. 264.)

<sup>4</sup> Mich beduret seer das ungewitter. . . . (Zw. to the Council of St. Gall, ii, p. 230.)

<sup>5</sup> Vom Touf, vom Widertouf, und vom Kindertouf. (Zw. Op. ii, p. 230.)



eil of St. Gall, to whom he dedicated it, ordered to be read in church before all the people.

"Very dear brethren in God," said Zuinglius, "the torrent which leaps from our rocks, soon washes down whatever it reaches. At first it is only small stones; but these are carried violently against larger ones, until the torrent becomes so powerful that it carries away every thing it meets, and leaves nothing behind it but screams and useless lamentations and fertile meadows turned into a desert. The spirit of disputation and self-righteousness acts in the same way: it excites disorders, destroys charity, and where it found fair and flourishing churches, leaves nothing behind it but flocks plunged into mourning and despair."

Thus spoke Zuinglius, the mountaineer of the Tockenbourg. "Tell us the Word of God," exclaimed an Anabaptist who was in the church, "and not the word of Zuinglius." Confused voices were immediately heard. "Let him take away the book, let him take away the book," exclaimed the Anabaptists. They then rose and quitted the church, crying, "Keep the doctrine of Zuinglius: as for us, we will keep the Word of God."<sup>1</sup>

This fanaticism manifested itself by still more lamentable disorders. Under the pretext that the Lord commands us to become like children, these poor creatures began to leap in the streets, clapping their hands, to dance a jig together, to squat on the ground, and to roll one another on the sand. Some burnt the New Testament, saying, "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life," and, several falling into convulsions, pretended that they had revelations of the Spirit.

In a lonely house, situated near St. Gall, on the Müllegg, lived a farmer of eighty—John Schucker, with his five sons. They had all, as well as their servants, received the new baptism, and two of the sons, Thomas and Leonard, were distinguished for their fanaticism. On the 7th of February, 1526, (Shrove Tuesday) they invited a great number of Anabaptists to meet at their house, and the father caused a calf to be killed for the occasion. The viands, the wine, and the numerous assemblage, heated their imaginations; they passed the whole night in converse and fanatical gesticulations, convulsions, visions, and revelations.<sup>2</sup>

In the morning, Thomas, still agitated by the proceedings of the night, and having even, as it appears, lost his reason, took the bladder of the calf, put some of its gall into it, wishing thus to imitate the symbolical language of the prophets, and, approaching his brother Leonard, said to him in a grave voice, "Thus, bitter

<sup>1</sup> So wollen wir Gottes Wort haben. (Zw. to the Council of St. Gall, ii, p. 237.)

<sup>2</sup> Mit wunderbaren geperden und gesprächen, verzucken gesichten, und offenbarungen. (Büll. Chr., i, p. 324.)

is the death which you must endure." Then he added, "Brother Leonard, go down on your knees." Leonard knelt. Shortly after. "Leonard rise." Leonard rose up. The father, the brothers, and the other Anabaptists, looked on in astonishment, asking what God meant to do. Shortly Thomas resumed: "Leonard, kneel again." Leonard did so. The spectators alarmed at the dismal look of the poor wretch, said to him, "Think of what you are doing, and take care no mischief happen."—"Fear not," replied Thomas: "nothing will happen but the will of our Father." At the same time he suddenly seized a sword, and bringing it down with force on his brother, who was kneeling before him as a criminal before the executioner, he cut off his head, and exclaimed, "Now the will of the Father is done." All who were standing round started back in horror, and the farm resounded with cries and groans. Thomas, whose whole clothing was shirt and pantaloons, went off barefoot and bareheaded, out of the house, and ran towards St. Gall, making frantic gestures. He entered the house of burgomaster Joachim Vadian, and, with haggard looks and loud cries, said to him, "I announce to thee the day of the Lord." The fearful news spread through St. Gall, "He has, like Cain," it was said, "killed his brother Abel."<sup>1</sup> The culprit was seized. "It is true I did it," repeated he incessantly; "but God did it by me." On the 16th February this poor creature was beheaded by the hand of the executioner. Fanaticism had made its last effort. The eyes of all were opened; and, as an old historian says, the same stroke cut off the head of Thomas Schucker and that of Anabaptism in St. Gall.

It still reigned at Zurich. On the 6th November of the previous year, a public discussion had taken place to please the Anabaptists, who kept continually crying, that they were condemning the innocent without a hearing. The three following theses were proposed by Zuinglius and his friends as the subject of the conference, and victoriously maintained by them in the hall of conference.

"Children born of believing parents, are children of God, like those who were born under the Old Testament, and, consequently, they may receive baptism.

"Baptism is under the New what circumcision was under the Old Testament; consequently baptism must now be administered to children as circumcision was.

"The custom of baptising anew cannot be proved either from examples, or from passages of Scripture, or reasons derived from Scripture. Those who get themselves re-baptised, crucify Jesus Christ."

But the Anabaptists did not confine themselves to merely religious questions. They demanded the abolition of tithes, considering, said

<sup>1</sup> Glych wie Kain den Abel sinen bruder ermort hat! (Bull. Chr., i, p. 324.)

they, that they are not of divine institution. Zuinglius replied that on tithes depended the maintenance of churches and schools. He wished a complete religious reform; but he was determined not to allow the public order, or political institutions to be interfered with in the least degree. This was the limit where he saw written in the handwriting of God these words, "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther."<sup>1</sup> It was necessary to stop somewhere; and here Zuingle and the Reformers stopped, in spite of the impetuous men who strove to hurry them still farther.

Still, though the Reformers stopped, they could not stop the enthusiasts who seemed placed beside them to bring out their wisdom and soberness. The Anabaptists did not think it enough to have formed a church. This church was in their eyes the true state. Were they cited before the courts, they declared that they would not recognise civil authority, which was only a remnant of paganism, and that they obeyed no other power but God. They taught that Christians were not permitted to exercise public functions, or bear the sword, and similar in that to certain irreligious enthusiasts who have appeared in our day, they regarded a community of goods as the *beau ideal* of humanity.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the danger increased: civil society was menaced, and arose to reject these destructive elements from its bosom. The government, in alarm, allowed themselves to be dragged into strange measures. Determined to make an example, they condemned Mantz to be drowned. On the 5th January, 1527, he was placed in a boat. His mother, who had formerly been the canon's concubine, and his brother, were among the crowd that accompanied him to the water-edge. "Persevere even to the end," exclaimed they to him. At the moment when the executioner made ready to throw Mantz into the lake, his brother melted into tears; but his mother stood by calm, with resolute heart, dry and sparkling eye, to witness the martyrdom of her son.<sup>3</sup>

The same day Blaurock was beaten with rods. As they were taking him out of the town, he shook his blue coat and the dust on his feet against it.<sup>4</sup> It appears that this poor man was, at a later period, burnt alive by the Roman Catholics of the Tyrol.

No doubt there was a spirit of revolt among the Anabaptists: without doubt the ancient ecclesiastical law, which condemned heretics to death, was still in force, and the Reformation could not, in one year or two, reform all errors. No doubt, moreover, the Catholic states would have accused the Protestant states of encouraging

<sup>1</sup> Job, xxxviii, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Füssl. Beytr., i, p. 229-258: ii, p. 263.

<sup>3</sup> Ohne das er

oder die Mutter, sondern nur der Bruder geweinet. (Hott. Helv., K. Gesch., iii, p. 385.)

<sup>4</sup> Und schüttlet seinen blauen rock und sine schüch über die Statt Zurich. (Bull. Chr., i, p. 382.)



disorder; but these considerations, while they explain the rigour of the magistrate, cannot justify it. Measures might have been taken against every assault made on the civil constitution; but religious errors, combated by religious teachers, ought to have had entire exemption from civil courts. Such opinions are not lashed away with the whip—they are not drowned when those who profess them are thrown into the water: they rise up from the bottom of the abyss, and the fire only kindles in their adherents greater enthusiasm and thirst for martyrdom. Zuinglius, whose sentiments on this head we have already seen, took no part in these severities.<sup>1</sup>

---

## CHAP. XI.

Popish Immobility—Protestant Progression—Zuinglius and Luther—Zuinglius and the Lord's Supper—Luther's great Principle—Carlstadt's writings prohibited—Zuinglius's Commentary—The Suabian Syngram—Capito and Bucer—Need of unity in diversity.

Baptism, however, was not the only subject on which dissension was to arise. The doctrine of the Supper was to occasion it in a still graver form.

The human mind, freed from the yoke under which it had groaned for so many ages, availed itself of its freedom; and if Roman Catholicism had its rocks of despotism, Protestantism had cause to fear rocks of anarchy. The characteristic of Protestantism is movement, as that of Rome is immobility.

Roman Catholicism, which possesses in the papacy a means of incessantly establishing new doctrines, does indeed at first appear to have a principle eminently favourable to variations. This it has used to a large extent; and we see Rome, from age to age, producing or ratifying new dogmas. But when once its system was completed, Roman Catholicism became the champion of immobility. Its safety lies here. It is like one of those tottering buildings, from which nothing can be taken away without producing a ruin. Allow the priests of Rome to marry, or do away with the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the whole system is shaken, the whole edifice falls.

It is not so with evangelical Christianity. Its principle is much less favourable to variations, and much more favourable to motion and life. On the one hand, the only source of truth which it re-

<sup>1</sup> Quod homines seditiosi, reipublicæ turbatores, magistratuum hostes, juxta Senatus sententia, damnati sunt, num id Zwinglio fraudi esse poterit? (Rod. Gualther Epist. ad lectorem, Op. 1544, ii.) Can it be any charge against Zuinglius, that seditious men, disturbers of the common weal and enemies of the magistrates, were condemned by a just sentence of the Senate?



cognises is one Scripture, standing alone, always the same from the beginning of the Church to its end; how then could it vary as the papacy has done. But, on the other hand, each Christian must go and draw for himself at this source. Hence arise motion and liberty. Thus evangelical Christianity, while it is in the nineteenth century what it was in the sixteenth, and also in the first, is at all times full of energy and activity, filling the world with researches, labours, Bibles, missionaries, light, salvation, and life.

It is a great error to rank and almost confound evangelical Christianity with mysticism and rationalism, and impute their vagaries to it. Movement is natural to evangelical Protestantism; it has an antipathy to immobility and death; but it is the movement of health and life that characterises it, and not the aberrations of the man who has lost his senses, or the agitations of disease. We are going to see this characteristic manifested in the doctrine of the Supper.

This was to be expected. This doctrine had received divers interpretations in the early days of the Church, and this diversity subsisted, until the period when the doctrine of transubstantiation and the scholastic theology began, at the same time, to exert an ascendancy over the middle ages. This ascendancy having been shaken, the ancient diversity behoved to re-appear.

Zuinglius and Luther, after having been developed apart, the former in Switzerland, the latter in Saxony, were one day to meet in presence of each other. They were animated by the same spirit, and, in many respects, by the same character. Both were full of love for truth and hatred for injustice: both were naturally violent; and in both this violence was tempered by sincere piety. But there was a feature in the character of Zuinglius which carried him farther onward than Luther. He loved liberty not merely as a man, but as a republican, a countryman of Tell. Accustomed to the decisions of a free state, he did not allow himself to be arrested by considerations before which Luther recoiled. He had, moreover, studied scholastic theology less than Luther, and in this way was less under trammels. Both ardently attached to their inmost convictions, both determined to defend them, and little accustomed to bend before the convictions of others, they were to meet, like two fiery steeds, which rush into battle, and suddenly encounter each other.

A practical tendency predominated in Zuinglius, and in the Reformation, of which he was the author; and this tendency was directed to two great results—to simplicity in worship, and to holiness in life. To bring worship into accordance with the wants of the mind, which seeks not external pomp, but things invisible,

was the first want of Zuinglius. The idea of a corporal presence of Jesus Christ in the Supper—an idea, the source of all the ceremonies and all the superstitions of the Church, behoved to be abolished. But another longing of the Swiss Reformer led him to the same results. He found that the doctrine of Rome on the Supper, and even that of Luther, pre-supposed a certain magical influence prejudicial to sanctification. He feared that the Christian, in imagining that he received Jesus Christ in the consecrated bread, would not be so zealous in seeking to be united to him by heart-felt faith. "Faith," said he, "is not knowledge, opinion, imagination, it is a reality.<sup>1</sup> It brings with it a real union in things divine." Hence, whatever the enemies of Zuinglius may allege, it was not a leaning to rationalism, but a profoundly religious idea, that led him to the adoption of his peculiar views. The result of the labours of Zuinglius coincided with his tendencies. In studying the Scriptures as a whole, as he was accustomed to do, and not merely in detached portions, and in having recourse to the classics, in order to solve any difficulties of expression, he came to be convinced that the word *is*, in the institution of the Supper, must be taken in the sense of *signifies*; and, as early as 1523, he wrote to a friend that the bread and wine, in the institution of the Supper, are only what the water is in baptism. "It were vain," added he, "to plunge him who believes not, a thousand times in water. Faith, then, is the thing essentially required."<sup>2</sup>

Luther at first set out from principles very much akin to those of the teacher of Zurich. "It is not the sacrament which sanctifies," said he, "it is faith in the sacrament." But the extravagances of the Anabaptists, whose mysticism spiritualised every thing, produced a great change in his views. When he saw enthusiasts, who pretended to a particular inspiration, breaking images, rejecting baptism, denying the presence of Christ in the Supper, he was alarmed: he had a kind of prophetic presentiment of the dangers which threatened the Church, if this ultra-spiritualist disposition gained the ascendancy, and he threw himself into a quite different path, like a pilot, who, seeing his bark leaning much over to one side and ready to upset, leans with all his weight on the other side, in order to establish the equilibrium.

From this time Luther attached a higher importance to the sacraments. He maintained that they were not only signs by means of which Christians are externally recognised, as Zuinglius held, but testimonials of the divine will, fitted to strengthen our

<sup>1</sup> Fidem rem esse, non scientiam, opinionem vel imaginationem. (Comment. de vera relig. Zw. Op. iii, p. 230.)

<sup>2</sup> Haud aliter hic panem et vinum esse puto quam aqua est in baptismo. (Ad. Wittenbachium Ep. 15th June, 1523.)

faith. More than this, Christ, according to him, had been pleased to impart to believers a full assurance of their salvation; and in order to seal this promise in the most effectual manner, had added his true body in the bread and wine. "In the same way," said he, "as iron and fire, which, however, are two distinct substances, are blended together in a furnace, so that in each of its parts there is at once iron and fire; in the same way, and *a fortiori*, the glorified body of Christ exists in all the parts of the bread."

Thus, on the part of Luther at this period, there was perhaps some return to scholastic theology. He had completely disconnected himself with it in the doctrine of justification by faith; but in the sacrament he abandoned only one point, that of transubstantiation, and kept the other, the corporal presence. He even went the length of saying, that he would rather receive only blood with the pope than receive only wine with Zuinglius.

The great principle of Luther was to withdraw from the doctrine and customs of the Church, only when the words of Scripture rendered it absolutely necessary. "Where has Christ ordered the host to be elevated and shown to the people?" asked Carlstadt. "And where has Christ forbidden it?" replied Luther. Here is the principle of the two Reformations. Ecclesiastical traditions were dear to the Saxon Reformer. If he separated from them in several points, it was only after severe struggles, and because it was necessary, first of all, to obey the Word. But when the letter of the Word appeared in harmony with tradition and the usage of the Church, he clung to it with immoveable firmness. Now, this is just what happened in the case of the Supper. He denied not that the word *is* might be taken in the sense pointed out by Zuinglius. He acknowledged, for instance, that it was necessary so to understand it in the words, "*That rock was Christ*;"<sup>1</sup> but he denied that it could have this meaning in the institution of the Supper.

In one of the later schoolmen, the one whom he preferred to all the others, Occam,<sup>2</sup> he found an opinion which he embraced. Like Occam, he abandoned the constantly repeated miracle, in virtue of which, according to the Romish Church, the body and blood are, on each occasion, after consecration by the priest, substituted for the bread and wine; and, like this doctor, he substituted for it an universal miracle, performed once for all,—that of the ubiquity or omnipresence of the body of Jesus Christ. "Christ,

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. x, 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Diu multumque legit scripta Occam cujus acumen anteferebat Thomæ et Scoti.* (Melanc. Vita Luth.) Often and long he read the writings of Occam, whose acumen he preferred to Aquinas and Scotus.



said he, "is present in the bread and wine, because he is present every where, and especially every where he chooses."<sup>1</sup>

The tendency of Zuinglius was quite different from that of Luther. He was less disposed to preserve a certain union with the universal Church, and maintain a connection with the tradition of past ages. As a theologian, he looked to the Scriptures alone, from which he wished to receive his faith freely, and immediately, without troubling himself with what others had previously thought. As a republican, he looked to his community of Zurich. It was the idea of the present Church that engrossed him, not the idea of the Church of other times. He dwelt particularly on these words of St. Paul, "*Because there is but one bread,—we who are many are one body.*" And he saw in the Supper the sign of a spiritual communion between Christ and all Christians. "Whoever," he said, "conducts himself unworthily, becomes guilty towards the body of Christ, of which he forms part." This idea had a great practical influence; and the effects which it produced on the lives of many persons, confirmed Zuinglius in it.

Thus Luther and Zuinglius had insensibly withdrawn from each other. Perhaps, however, peace would have longer subsisted between them, had not the turbulent Carlstadt, who was coming and going between Germany and Switzerland, set fire to these opposite opinions.

A proceeding, taken to maintain peace, had the effect of kindling war. The council of Zurich, wishing to prevent all controversy, prohibited the sale of Carlstadt's writings. Zuinglius, who disapproved of the violence of Carlstadt, and blamed his mystical and obscure expressions,<sup>2</sup> then thought himself bound to defend his doctrine, whether in the pulpit or before the council, and soon after wrote pastor Albert of Reutlingen a letter, in which he said, "Whether or not Christ speaks of the Sacrament in the sixth chapter of John, it is very clear that he speaks of a mode of eating his flesh and drinking his blood, in which there is nothing corporeal."<sup>3</sup> He then endeavoured to prove that the Supper, by reminding believers, according to Christ's intention, of his body broken for them, procured for them that spiritual eating, which alone is truly salutary.

Still Zuinglius was as yet very averse to a rupture with Luther. He trembled to think that new dissensions should rend this new

<sup>1</sup> Occam und Luther. Studien und Kritiken, 1839, p. 69.  
est (Carlstadius) in ceremoniis non ferendis, non admodum probò.

<sup>2</sup> Quod morosior est (Zw. Ep. p. 369.)

<sup>3</sup> A manducatione cibi, qui ventrem implet, transiit ad verbi manducationem, quam cibum vocat celestem, qui mundum vivificet. (Zw. Op. iii, p. 573.) From the eating of food, which nourishes the body, he passed to the eating of what he calls heavenly food, which shall give life to the world.



society which was then forming in the midst of decayed Christendom. Luther did not feel in the same way. He hesitated not to class Zuinglius with the enthusiasts, with whom he had already broken so many lances. He did not reflect that if images had been removed at Zurich, it was legally and by public authority. Accustomed to the forms of the Germanic States, he had little acquaintance with the procedure of Swiss republics; and he inveighed against the grave Helvetic theologians, as against the Münzers and Carlstadts.

Luther having published his treatise against "*the heavenly prophets*," Zuinglius no longer hesitated, and published almost at the same time his *Letter to Albert*, and his *Commentary on True and False Religion*, dedicated to Francis I. He here said, "Since Christ, in the sixth chapter of John, attributes to faith the power of imparting eternal life, and uniting the believer with himself in the most intimate manner, what need have we of any thing else? Why should he afterwards have attributed this virtue to his flesh, while he himself declares that his flesh profiteth nothing? The flesh of Christ, in so far as it was put to death for us, is of immense benefit to us: for it saves us from perdition; but in so far as eaten by us does us no good."

The struggle commenced. Pomeranus, Luther's friend, rushed to battle, and attacked the evangelist of Zurich somewhat too disdainfully. Œcolampadius then began to blush at having so long combated his doubts, and preached doctrines which already wavered in his mind. He took courage, and wrote from Basle to Zuinglius. The dogma of the real presence is the fortress and strong tower of their impiety. So long as they keep this idol, it will be impossible to vanquish them. He then also entered the lists, by publishing a tract on the meaning of our Saviour's words, "*This is my body*."<sup>1</sup>

The mere fact of Œcolampadius joining the Reformer produced an immense sensation, not only at Basle, but throughout Germany. Luther was deeply moved at it. Brentz, Schnepff and twelve other pastors of Suabia, to whom Œcolampadius had dedicated his book, and who had almost all been his pupils, felt the greatest pain. "At the very moment of separating from him for a just cause," said Brentz, in taking up the pen to answer him, "I honour and admire him as much as it is possible to do. The bond of love is not broken between us, because we are not agreed." Then he published, with his friends, the famous *Syngram of Suabia*, in which he replied to Œcolampadius firmly, but charitably and respectfully.

<sup>1</sup> He took the word *is* in its ordinary acceptation; but by *body* he understood a symbol of the body.

“If an emperor,” said the authors of the *Syngram*, “give a baton to a judge, saying to him, ‘Take! this is the power of judging,’ the baton, doubtless, is only a simple symbol, but these words being added, the judge has not only the symbol of power—he has power itself.” The true Reformed Churches may admit this comparison. The *Syngram* was received with acclamation; its authors were regarded as the champions of the truth; several theologians, and even laymen, wishing to share in their glory, began to defend the doctrine which was attacked, and made a rush at Ecolampadius.

Strasburg then came forward as a mediator between Switzerland and Germany. Capito and Bucer were friends of peace, and the question in debate was, according to them, of secondary importance; they therefore placed themselves between the two parties, sent George Cassel, one of their colleagues, to Luther, and besought him not to break the bond of brotherhood which united him to the teachers of Switzerland.

No where was Luther's character more strikingly manifested than in this controversy on the Supper. Never did he so fully manifest the firmness with which he kept to what he believed to be a Christian conviction, his fidelity in seeking a foundation for it only in Scripture, the sagacity of his defence, and his animated, eloquent, often over-powering argumentation. But never, also, did he more strikingly manifest the obstinacy with which he adhered to his own views, the little attention which he paid to the reasons of his adversaries, and the uncharitable readiness which led him to attribute their errors to the wickedness of their hearts and the wiles of the devil. “One or other,” said he to the mediator of Strasburg; “the Swiss or we must be the ministers of Satan. . . .”

This was what Capito called “the madness of the Saxon Orestes,” and the madness was followed by exhaustion. Luther's health was affected; one day he fainted away in the arms of his wife and his friends, and he was for a whole week, as it were, “in death and hell.”<sup>1</sup> “He had,” he said, “lost Jesus Christ, and was tossed to and fro by the tempest of despair. . . . The world was mouldering away, and announcing by prodigies that the last day was at hand.”

But the divisions of the friends of the Reformation were to have still more fatal consequences. The Roman theologians triumphed, especially in Switzerland, in being able to oppose Luther to Zuinglius. Still, after three centuries, the remembrance of these divisions furnish evangelical Christians with the precious fruit of unity in diversity. Even then the Reformers, by setting themselves in opposition to each other, showed that the feeling which

<sup>1</sup> In morte et in inferno jactatus. (L. Ep. iii, p. 132.)

animated them was not a blind hatred of Rome, and that truth was the first aim of their researches. Herein it must be acknowledged there is something noble. A conduct thus disinterested failed not to bear some fruit, and to force, even from enemies, a feeling of interest and esteem.

Nor is this all. We may here perceive that the Sovereign hand which disposes of all events, permits nothing without the wisest design. Luther, notwithstanding of his opposition to the papacy, was, in an eminent degree, conservative. Zuinglius, on the contrary, was inclined to a radical reformation. These two opposite tendencies were necessary. If only Luther and his adherents had appeared in the days of the Reformation, the work would have been too soon arrested, and the reforming principle would not have fulfilled its task. If, on the contrary, Zuinglius only had appeared, the thread would have been too suddenly snapped, and the Reformation would have been isolated from the ages which preceded it.

These two tendencies, which, on a superficial glance, may seem to have existed merely that they might oppose each other, had, on the contrary, a task to accomplish, and we are able to say, after a lapse of three centuries, that they fulfilled their mission.

---

## CHAP. XII.

The Tockenburgh—An Assembly of the People—Reformation—The Grisons—Discussion of Ilantz—Results—Reform at Zurich.

Thus the Reformation had struggles to maintain in every quarter. After combating with the rationalist philosophy of Erasmus, and the fanatical enthusiasm of the Anabaptists, it had still a struggle with itself. But its great struggle ever was with the papacy, and the attack which it had begun in the cities of the plain, it now continued on the remotest mountains.

On the heights of the Tockenburgh, the sound of the gospel had been heard, and three ecclesiastics were prosecuted by order of the bishop on a charge of heresy. "Let them convince us, with the Word of God in their hand," said Miittus, Döring, and Farer, "and we will submit, not only to the chapter, but to the least of the brethren in Jesus Christ; if not, we will not obey any one, not even the man highest in power."<sup>1</sup>

This was indeed the spirit of Zuinglius and the Reformation.

<sup>1</sup> Ne potentissimo quidem, sed soli Deo ejusque verbo. (Zw. Ep. p. 370.) Not to the most powerful even, but to God alone, and his Word.



Shortly after, a circumstance occurred which inflamed the minds of those living in these high vallies. An assembly of the people had been held on St. Catherine's day. The citizens were met, and two men of Schwitz, who had come to the Tockenbourg on business, were at one of the tables: conversation went on; "Ulric Zuinglius," exclaimed one of them, "is a heretic and a robber!" Steiger, secretary of state, undertook the Reformer's defence; the noise drew the attention of the whole assembly. George Bruggman, the uncle of Zuinglius, who was sitting at another table, darted from his seat in a rage, exclaiming, "Certainly it is of Master Zuinglius they are speaking." All the guests rose and followed him, fearing a scuffle.<sup>1</sup> The tumult increasing, the bailie hastily assembled the council in the open street, and Bruggman was entreated for peace' sake to content himself with saying to these men, "If you do not retract, you yourselves are the parties guilty of falsehood and robbery." "Remember what you have just said, replied the men of Schwitz, "we too will remember it." They then mounted their horses, and galloped off by the road to Schwitz.<sup>2</sup>

The government of Schwitz sent a threatening letter to the inhabitants of the Tockenbourg. All were in alarm. "Be strong and fearless,"<sup>3</sup> wrote Zuinglius to the council of his native district. "Dont let the lies which are retailed against me give you any uneasiness. There is not a clamourer but who can call me heretic, but do you abstain from insult, disorder, debauchery, and mercenary wars; assist the poor, protect the oppressed, and whatever be the insults poured upon you, put unshaken confidence in Almighty God."<sup>4</sup>

The exhortations of Zuinglius were successful. The council still hesitated, but the people assembled in their parishes, and came to an unanimous resolution, that the mass should be abolished, and that they would be faithful to the Word of God.<sup>5</sup>

The conquests were not less important in Rhetia, which Salandronius had been compelled to quit, but where Comander boldly preached the gospel. The Anabaptists, it is true, preaching their fanatical doctrines in the Grisons, had at first greatly injured the Reformation. The people had been divided into three parties. Some had thrown themselves into the arms of these new prophets; others, looking on in silent astonishment, were disquieted by the schism. In fine, the partisans of Rome shouted triumph.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Totumque convivium sequi, grandem conflictum timentes. (Zw. Ep. p. 371.)

<sup>2</sup> Aufsolches, ritten sie wieder heim. (Ibid., p. 374.) Macti animo este et interriti. (Ibid., p. 351.) <sup>4</sup> Verbis diris abstinete . . . opem ferite egenis . . . spem certissimam in Deo reponatis omnipotente. (Ibid.) One of the dates of the letters, 14th and 23rd, 1524, must be erroneous, or a letter of Zuinglius to his fellow-mountaineers of the Tockenbourg must be lost. <sup>5</sup> Parochiæ uno consensu statuerunt in verbo Dei manere. (Ibid., p. 423.) <sup>6</sup> Pars tertia papistarum est in immensum gloriantium de schismate inter nos facto. (Ibid., p. 400.) The third part consists of papists glorying immensely in our schism.



An assembly was held at Ilantz, in the country of the Grisons, for a discussion: the supporters of the papacy, on the one hand, and the friends of the Reformation on the other, drew together their forces. The vicar of the bishop endeavoured at first to evade the combat. "These discussions occasioning great expense," said he, "I am ready, in order to cover it, to deposit ten thousand florins; but I demand that an equal sum be deposited by the other party." "If the bishop has ten thousand florins at his disposal," exclaimed the burly voice of a peasant from amid the crowd, "it is from us he has extorted them; to give as much more to these poor priests would truly be too much." "We are poor people with empty purses," said Comander, pastor of Coire; "scarcely have we the means of buying soup: where should we find ten thousand florins?"<sup>1</sup> Every one laughed at this expedient, and nothing more was said of it.

Among those present were Sebastian Hofmeister and James Amman of Zurich, holding in their hands the Holy Scriptures in Hebrew and Greek. The vicar of the bishop demanded that strangers should be excluded. Hofmeister saw that this was aimed at him, and said, "We have come provided with a Greek and Hebrew Bible, in order that no violence may be done in any manner of way to the Scriptures. However, sooner than prevent the conference, we are ready to withdraw." "Ah," exclaimed the curate of Dintzen, looking at the books of the two Zurichers, "if the Greek tongue and the Hebrew tongue had never entered our country, there would be fewer heresies."<sup>2</sup> "St. Jerome," said another, "translated the Bible for us; we have no need of Jewish books." "If the Zurichers are excluded," said the banneret of Ilantz, "the community will interfere." "Well then," it was answered, "let them listen, but say nothing!" The Zurichers accordingly remained, and their Bible with them.

Then Comander standing up, read the first of the theses which he had published. It was—"The Christian Church springs from the Word of God. It must abide by this Word, and listen only to its voice." He proceeded to prove his proposition by numerous passages of Scripture. "He walked with a sure step," said an eye-witness,<sup>3</sup> "and set down his foot with the tramp of an ox." "We have too much of this," said the vicar. "When among his boon companions listening to the flute," said Hofmeister, "he does not find it too much."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sie wären gute arme Gesellen mit lehren Secklen. (Füssl. Beytr. i, p. 358.)

<sup>2</sup> Wäre die Griechische und Hebraische Sprache nicht in das Land gekommen. (Ibid., p. 360.) <sup>3</sup> Satzte den Fuss wie ein müder Ochs. (Ibid., p. 362.) <sup>4</sup> Den Pfeiffern zuzuhören, die . . . wie den Fürsten hofierten. (Ibid.)

A man rose from the middle of the assembly and came forward, waving his arms, twinkling with his eyes, and knitting his brows,<sup>1</sup> and apparently out of his senses: he sprang towards Comander, and several thought he was going to strike him. It was a schoolmaster of Coire. "I have put down several questions for you in writing," said he to Comander, "answer them instantly." "I am here," said the Grison Reformer, to defend my doctrine; attack it, and I will defend it: if not, return to your place. I will answer you when I have done." The schoolmaster stood for a moment in suspense. "Very good," he at length said, and resumed his seat.

It was proposed to pass to the doctrine of the sacraments. The Abbot of St. Luke declared it was not without fear he approached such a subject, while the frightened vicar made the sign of the cross.

The schoolmaster, who had already desired to attack Comander, began with much volubility to maintain the doctrine of the sacraments, founding on the words, "This is my body." "Dear Berre," said Comander to him, "how do you understand the words, 'John is Elias'?" "I understand," replied Berre, who saw Comander's drift, "that he was truly and essentially Elias." "And why then," continued Comander, "did John Baptist himself say that he was not Elias?" The schoolmaster was silent, and at length said, "It is true." There was a general burst of laughter, even from those who had employed him to speak.

The Abbot of St. Luke delivered a long harangue on the Supper, and the conference was closed. Seven priests embraced the evangelical doctrine; full religious freedom was proclaimed, and the Romish ritual was abolished in several churches. "Christ," to use the words of Salandronius, "every where sprang up in these mountains like the tender grass in spring, and the pastors were like living springs which watered these high vallies."<sup>2</sup>

The Reformation made still more rapid strides at Zurich. The Dominicans, Augustins, and Capuchins were compelled to live together—the hell anticipated for these poor monks. Instead of these corrupt institutions, schools, an hospital, and a theological seminary, were founded. Knowledge and charity every where took the place of idleness and selfishness.

<sup>1</sup> Blintzete mit den Augen, rumpfete die Stirne. (Füssli, Beytr. i, p. 368.)

<sup>2</sup> Vita, moribus et doctrina herbescenti Christo apud Rhætos fons irrigans. (Zw Ep. p. 485.)

## CHAP. XIII.

Executions—Discussion at Baden—Rules of the Discussion—Riches and Poverty—Eck and Œcolampadius—Discussion—Part taken by Zuinglius—Boasting of the Romans—Insults of a Monk—End of the Discussion.

These victories of the Reformation could not be overlooked. Monks, priests, and prelates, transported with rage, felt that the ground was every where moving from under their feet, and that the Church was ready to give way before unparalleled dangers. The oligarchs of the cantons—the men of pensions and foreign enlistments, became aware that they could no longer delay, if they wished to save their privileges; and at the moment when the Church was in fear and beginning to sink, they offered her their arm of steel. A Stein and a John Hug of Lucerne united with a John Faber, and the civil authority rushed to the assistance of that hierarchical power which utters high sounding words of pride, and makes war on the saints.<sup>1</sup>

Public opinion had long been demanding a discussion. There was no other means of calming the people.<sup>2</sup> The Councils of Zurich had said to the Diet—"Convince us from Scripture, and we will yield to your invitations." It was every where repeated, "The Zurichers have given you a promise: if you can convince them by the Bible, why don't you do it? and if you cannot, why don't you conform to the Bible?"

The conferences held at Zurich had exercised an immense influence: it was necessary to oppose them with a conference held in a Romish town, taking all necessary precautions to secure the victory to the papal party.

It is true these discussions had been declared unlawful; but means were found to escape from this difficulty. "The only thing to be done," it was said, "is to arrest and condemn the pernicious doctrines of Zuinglius."<sup>3</sup> This being agreed, a stout champion was wanted, and Dr. Eck presented himself. He had no fear. His expression, according to Hofmeister, was, "Zuinglius has doubtless milked more cows than he has read books."<sup>4</sup>

The great Council of Zurich sent Dr. Eck a safe conduct to come to Zurich itself; but Eck replied that he would await the answer of the confederation. Zuinglius then offered to debate at St. Gall or Schaffhausen; but the Council, founding on an article of the

<sup>1</sup> Rev. xiii.      <sup>2</sup> Das der gmeir man, one eine offne disputation, nitt zü stillen was. (Bull. Chr. i, p. 331.)      <sup>3</sup> Diet of Lucerne, 13th of March, 1526.      <sup>4</sup> Er habe wohl mehr Kühe gemolken als Bücher gelesen. (Zw. Op. ii, p. 405.)

federal compact, which bore, "that every person accused shall be tried in the place where he resides," ordered Zuinglius to withdraw his offer.

The Diet at length decreed that a conference should take place at Baden, and fixed it for the 16th May, 1526. This conference was to be important, for it was the result and seal of the alliance which had been made between the ecclesiastical power and the oligarchs of the confederation. "See," said Zuinglius to Vadian, "what the oligarchs and Faber dare at this hour to undertake."<sup>1</sup>

Accordingly, the decision of the Diet produced a great impression in Switzerland. It was not doubted that a conference, held under such auspices, would prove unfavourable to the Reformation. It was said at Zurich, "Do not the five cantons most devoted to the pope rule in Baden? Have they not already declared the doctrine of Zuinglius heretical, and employed sword and fire against it? Has not Zuinglius been burned in effigy at Lucerne, after being subject to all kinds of insult? Have not his writings been given to the flames at Friburg? Is not his death every where longed for? Have not the cantons which exercise sovereign rights in Baden declared that, should Zuinglius set foot on any part whatever of their territory, they would apprehend him?"<sup>2</sup> Has not Uberlingen, one of their leaders, said, that his only wish in this world was to hang Zuinglius, were he himself to be the executioner on the last day of his life?<sup>3</sup> And has not Dr. Eck been crying for years that heretics must be attacked with fire and sword? What then will be this discussion, and what the issue of it, but just the death of the Reformer!

Such were the fears which agitated the committee appointed at Zurich to examine this affair. Zuinglius, who was a witness of their agitation, rose and said, "You know what was the fate of the valiant men of Stammheim at Baden, and how the blood of the Wirths dyed the scaffold . . . and we are invited to the very place of their execution. . . . Let the place of conference be Zurich, Berne, St. Gall, or even Basle, Constance, Schaffhausen; let it be agreed to discuss fundamental points only, employing only the Word of God. Let no judge be set over it; in that case, I am ready to appear."<sup>4</sup>

Meanwhile fanaticism bestirred herself, and made victims. A consistory, headed by this same Faber who challenged Zuinglius, on 10th May, 1526, (about eight days before the discussion of

<sup>1</sup> Vide nunc quid audeant oligarchi atque Faber. (Zw. Ep. p. 484.)  
in ihrem Gebiet, wo er betreten werde, gefangen zu nehmen. (Ibid., p. 422.)  
wollte er gern all sein Lebtag ein Henker genannt werden. (Ibid., p. 454.)

<sup>2</sup> Zwingli

<sup>3</sup> Da

<sup>4</sup> Wel-

lend wir ganz geneigt syn ze erschynen. (Ibid., p. 423.)



Baden,) condemned to the flames as a heretic an evangelical minister named John Hügler, pastor of Lindau,<sup>1</sup> who walked to execution singing the *Te Deum*. At the same time Peter Spengler, another minister, was drowned at Friburg by order of the Bishop of Constance.

From all quarters sinister rumours reached Zuinglius. His brother-in-law, Leonard Tremp, wrote him from Berne, "I beseech you, as you value your life, don't come to Baden. I know that the safe-conduct will be violated."<sup>2</sup>

It was confidently stated that a plan had been formed to carry him off, gag him, put him into a boat, and carry him to some unknown place.<sup>3</sup> In the view of these menaces and scaffolds, the council of Zurich decreed that Zuinglius should not go to Baden.<sup>4</sup>

The discussion being fixed for the 19th May, the combatants, the representatives of the cantons, and the bishops, began gradually to arrive. On the part of the Roman Catholics appeared, first of all, the warlike and vain-glorious Dr. Eck: on the part of the Protestants, the modest and gentle Œcolampadius. The latter was well aware of the perils of this discussion. As an old biographer expresses it,—like a timid stag pursued by raging dogs, he had long hesitated. At last he determined to repair to Baden. Previously, however, he put forward the solemn protestation, "I acknowledge no rule of judgment but the Word of God." At first he had earnestly desired that Zuinglius should share his dangers;<sup>5</sup> but he soon doubted not that if the intrepid teacher had appeared in this fanatical town, the rage of the Roman Catholics firing at his presence would have put them both to death.

The first thing done was to determine the laws of the combat. Dr. Eck proposed that the deputies of the Wallenstein should be appointed to pronounce a definitive judgment. This was just to anticipate the condemnation of the Reformation. Thomas Plater, who had come from Zurich to Baden to be present at the conference, was despatched by Œcolampadius to Zuinglius to obtain his opinion. Having arrived at night, he found some difficulty in gaining admission into the Reformer's house. "Unfortunate disturber," said Zuinglius to him, rubbing his eyes. "For six weeks now, (thanks to this discussion,) I have not been in bed.<sup>6</sup> . . . What is your message?" Plater explained the proposals of Dr. Eck. "And who," replied Zuinglius, "would put these peasants

<sup>1</sup> Hunc hominem hæreticum damnamus, projicimus et conculcamus. (Hotting. *Helv. K. Gesch.* iii, p. 300.) This heretic we condemn, cast forth, and trample under our feet.

<sup>2</sup> Caveatis per caput vestrum. (Zw. Ep. p. 483.)

<sup>3</sup> Navigio captum, ore mox obturato, clam fuisse deportandum. (Osw. *Myc. Vit. Zw.*)

<sup>4</sup> Zwinglium Senatus Tigurinus Badenam demittere recusavit. (*Ibid.*)

<sup>5</sup> Si periclitaberis, periclitabimur omnes tecum. (Zw. Ep. p. 312.) If you are in danger, we will all be endangered with you.

<sup>6</sup> Ich bin in 6 Wochen nie in das Beth Kommen. (Plater's *Leben*, p. 263.)

into a condition to comprehend such things? Verily the milking of cows would be more intelligible to them." <sup>1</sup>

On 21st May, the conference commenced. Eck and Faber, accompanied by prelates, magistrates, and doctors, clothed in vestments of damask and silk, and decked with rings, chains, and crosses, repaired to the church.<sup>2</sup> Eck strutted proudly into a magnificently ornamented pulpit, while the humble Œcolampadius, in mean clothing, had to face his haughty opponent on a platform of rude construction. "The whole time the conference lasted," says the chronicler Bullinger, "Eck and his people were lodged at the curacy of Baden, making good cheer, leading a gay and scandalous life, and drinking much wine with which the abbot of Wettin-gen supplied them."<sup>3</sup> Eck," it was said, "bathes at Baden—in wine." The evangelicals, on the contrary, made a poor appearance, and were laughed at as a band of mendicants. Their mode of life contrasted strikingly with that of the champions of the papacy. The host of the inn of the Pike, where Œcolampadius lodged, being desirous to see what he was doing in his room, stated, that, whenever he looked in, he saw him reading or praying. It must be confessed," said he, "that he is a very pious heretic."

The discussion lasted eighteen days, and, during the whole period, the clergy of Baden daily made a solemn procession, chanting litanies in order to obtain the victory. Eck was sole speaker in defence of the Romish doctrine. It was still the champion of the Leipsic discussion, with his German accent, his broad shoulders, and powerful lungs, an excellent public crier, with more in his exterior of the butcher than of the divine. He debated, according to his wont, with great violence, trying to wound his opponents by cutting expressions, and sometimes even mincing an oath.<sup>4</sup> But the president never called him to order.

Eck thumps the desk with feet and hands,  
And roars, and raves, and scolds, and bans.  
"What pope and cardinals propound  
I hold as creed, ay creed most sound."<sup>5</sup>

Œcolampadius, on the contrary, with a serene, noble, and patriarchal air, spoke so meekly, and, at the same time, with so much ability and courage, that even his adversaries, moved and transported, said, one to another, "Oh, if the tall yellow man were on our side."<sup>6</sup> His equanimity, however, was occasionally disturbed on

<sup>1</sup> Sie verstunden sich bas auf Kuh mälken. (Plater's Leben, p. 263.)  
Syden, Damast und Sammet bekleydet. (Bull. Chr., i, p. 351.)

vil wyn. (Ibid.)

<sup>2</sup> Mit  
<sup>3</sup> Verbruchten

<sup>4</sup> So entwuscht imm ettwan ein Schwür. (Ibid.)

<sup>5</sup> Egg zablet mit fussen und henden

Fing an schelken und schenden, etc.

(Contemporaneous Poetry of Nicolas Manuel of Berne.)

<sup>6</sup> O were der lange gäl man uff unser syten. (Bull. Chr., i, p. 353.)

seeing the enmity and violence of the hearers. "Oh!" said he, "with what impatience they listen to me; but God is not wanting to his own glory, and this is all that we seek."<sup>1</sup>

Æcolampadius, having attacked the first thesis of Dr. Eck, which turned on the real presence, Haller, who had arrived at Baden after the commencement of the discussion, entered the lists against the second. Little accustomed to such conferences, of a timid disposition, trammelled by the orders of his government, and embarrassed by the looks of his avoyer, Gaspard Mullinen, Haller had not the proud confidence of his antagonist, but he had more real force. After Haller had finished, Æcolampadius again entered the lists, and pressed Dr. Eck so closely, that he was reduced to the necessity of only appealing to the usage of the Church. "Usage," replied Æcolampadius, "has only weight in our Switzerland according to the constitution; now, in matters of faith, the constitution is the Bible."

The third thesis, on the invocation of saints, the fourth, on images, and the fifth, on purgatory, were successively discussed. Nobody rose to dispute the truth of the two last theses, which turned upon original sin and baptism.

Zuinglius took an active part in the whole discussion. The Catholic party, who had four secretaries, had forbidden any other person, under pain of death, from taking any thing down in writing.<sup>2</sup> But a student of the Valais, named Jerome Wälsch, who possessed a very retentive memory, fixed what he had heard in his mind, and, hastening home, wrote it down. Thomas Plater, and Zimmerman of Winterthur, daily carried these notes and letters from Æcolampadius to Zuinglius, and brought back the Reformer's answers. All the gates of Baden were guarded by soldiers, armed with halberds, and the two messengers were obliged, by divers excuses, to elude the interrogatories of the soldiers, who did not understand why these youths were continually returning to the town.<sup>3</sup> Thus Zuinglius, though absent from Baden in body was present in mind.

He counselled and encouraged his friends, and refuted his enemies. "Zuinglius," says Oswald Myconius, "laboured more by his meditations, his vigils, and his counsels sent to Baden, than he could have done by debating personally in the midst of his enemies."<sup>4</sup>

During the whole conference the Roman Catholics kept up an

<sup>1</sup> Domino suam gloriam, quam salvam cupimus ne utiquam deserturo. (Zw. Ep. p. 511.)

<sup>2</sup> Man sollte einem ohne aller weiter Urtheilen, den Kopf abhauen. (Thom. Plateri. Lebens Beschreib., p. 262.)

<sup>3</sup> When I was asked, what do you come here for? I bring chickens to sell to the gentry who come to the baths; for chickens were given me at Zurich, and the guards could not understand how I could always get new ones so quickly. (Autobiography of Plater.)

<sup>4</sup> Quam laborasset disputando vel inter medios hostes. (Osw. Myc. Vit. Zw.) See the various writings of Zuinglius relating to the discussion at Baden. (Op. ii, pp. 398—520.)



agitation, sent letters in all directions, and shouted victory "Æcolampadius," exclaimed they, "conquered by Dr. Eck, and stretched out on the arena, has sung a palinode.<sup>1</sup> The reign of the pope is about to be every where re-established.<sup>2</sup>" These shouts were heard over all the cantons, and the people, ready to believe whatever they hear, credited all these boastings of the partisans of Rome.

The discussion being ended, the monk Murner, of Lucerne, who was surnamed, "the tom cat," came forward and read forty accusations directed against Zuinglius. "I thought," said he, "that the coward would come and answer: he has not appeared. Very well, by all the laws which govern things human and divine, I declare forty times that the tyrant of Zurich, and all his partisans, are disloyal subjects, liars, perjurers, adulterers, infidels, robbers, blasphemers, true gallows birds, and that every honest man must blush at being in any way connected with them." Such were the insulting terms which, at this early period, doctors, whom the Roman Catholic Church herself ought to have disclaimed, decorated with the name of "Christian polemics."

There was great agitation in Baden: the general feeling being that the Roman champions had made the loudest noise, but used the weakest arguments.<sup>3</sup> Æcolampadius and ten of his friends were all who signed the rejection of Eck's theses, whereas, eighty-four persons, among whom were the presidents of the discussion and all the monks of Wittemberg, adhered to them. Haller had left Baden before the end of the conference.

The majority of the Diet then decided that Zuinglius, the head of this pernicious doctrine, having refused to appear, and the ministers who had come to Baden having refused to be convinced, they were all cast out of the universal Church.<sup>4</sup>

---

## CHAP. XIV

Consequences at Basle, Berne, St. Gall, and other places—Diet at Zurich—The Small Cantons—Menaces at Berne—Foreign Aid.

But this famous conference, due to the zeal of the oligarchs and clergy, was to prove fatal to both. Those who had then con-

<sup>1</sup> Æcolampadius victus jacet in arena prostratus ab Eccio, herbam porrexit. (Zw. Ep. p. 514.)

<sup>2</sup> Spem concipiunt lætam fore ut regnum ipsorum restituatur.

(Ibid., p. 513.) <sup>3</sup> Die Evangelische weren wol *überschryen*, nicht aber *uberdisputiert* worden. (Hotting. Helv. K. Gesch. iii, p. 320.)

<sup>4</sup> Von gemeiner Klychen aussgestossen. (Bull. Chr. p. 355.)



tended for the gospel, on returning to their firesides, were to fill their fellow-citizens with enthusiasm for the cause which they had defended; and two of the most important cantons of the Helvetic alliance were thenceforth to begin to break off all connection with the papacy.

It was on Ecolampadius, a stranger to Switzerland, that the first blows were to fall, and he returned to Basle not without some misgivings. But his disquietude was soon dissipated. His mild sentences had struck impartial witnesses more than the clamour of Dr. Eck, and he was received with acclamation by all pious men. The adversary, it is true, used every effort to exclude him from the pulpit, but in vain; he taught and preached more forcibly than before, and never had the people shown such thirst for the Word.<sup>1</sup>

Similar results followed at Berne. The conference of Baden, which was to have stifled the Reformation, gave it a new impulse in this canton, the most powerful in the whole Swiss confederation. No sooner did Haller arrive in the capital, than the little council summoned him to appear, and ordered him to celebrate mass. Haller demanded to be heard before the great council; and the people feeling bound to defend their pastor, flocked in crowds. Haller, alarmed, declared that he would sooner leave the town than be the cause of any disturbance. Tranquility being restored, the Reformer said, "If I am required to celebrate this ceremony, I resign my charge: the honour of God and the truth of his holy Word are dearer to my heart than any anxiety as to what I shall eat, or wherewithal I shall be clothed." Haller spoke these words with deep emotion; the members of the Council were affected; even some of his opponents shed tears.<sup>2</sup> Moderation proved still stronger than force. To give Rome some satisfaction, Haller was deprived of his office as canon, but was appointed preacher. His most violent enemies, Louis and Anthony Diesbach and Anthony Erlach, indignant at this resolution, immediately left the Council and the town, and renounced their right of citizenship. "Berne has had a fall," said Haller, "but it has risen with more power than ever." This firmness of the Bernese produced a great impression in Switzerland.<sup>2</sup>

But the consequences of the conference of Baden were not confined to Berne and Basle. While these things were taking place there, a movement, more or less similar, was taking place in several of the States of the confederation. The preachers of St. Gall, on their return from Baden, preached the gospel:<sup>4</sup> at the end of a conference, the images were removed from the parochial church of

<sup>1</sup> Plebe Verbi Domini admodum sitiente. (Zw. Ep. p. 518.)  
v. Bern., iii, p. 242.)

<sup>2</sup> Tillier, Gesch.  
<sup>3</sup> Profuit hic nobis Bernates tam dextre in servando Berch-  
toldo suo egisse. (Ecol. ad Zw. Ep. p. 518.) It was of great advantage to us that the  
Bernese acted so dexterously in keeping their Berthold.

<sup>4</sup> San Gallenses officii

suis restitutos. (Zw. Ep. p. 518.)

St. Lawrence, and the inhabitants sold their most valuable articles of dress, their jewels, their rings, their gold chains, to found houses of charity. The Reformation spoiled, but it was to clothe the poor, and the spoils were those of the Reformers themselves.<sup>1</sup>

At Mulhausen, the gospel was preached with new courage. Thurgovia and the Rheintal always approximated more and more to Zurich. Immediately after the discussion, Zurzach carried off the images of its churches, and the district of Baden almost every where received the gospel.

Nothing can be better fitted than such facts to prove to which party the victory truly belonged. Accordingly Zuinglius, on looking around him, gave glory to God. "We are attacked in many ways," said he, "but the Lord is stronger not only than menaces, but also than wars themselves. In the town and canton of Zurich there is an admirable agreement in favour of the gospel. We will surmount all difficulties by prayers offered up in faith."<sup>2</sup> Shortly after addressing Haller, Zuinglius said to him, "Every thing here below follows its destiny. To the boisterous blast of the north succeeds a gentler breeze. After the broiling days of summer, autumn pours its treasures into our lap. And now, after severe combats, the Creator of all things, in whose service we are, opens the way for us into the heart of the enemy's camp. We are still able to receive Christian doctrine, that dove so long driven off, but which never ceased waiting to spy the hour of its return. Be thou the Noah to receive and save it. . . ."

This same year Zurich had made an important acquisition. Conrad Pellican, guardian of the Franciscan convent at Basle, and professor of theology at twenty-four, had been invited, by the exertions of Zuinglius, to be professor of Hebrew at Zurich. "It is long," said he on arriving, "since I have renounced the pope, and desire only to live for Jesus Christ."<sup>3</sup> Pellican, by his energetic talents, became one of the most useful labourers in the work of the Reformation.

Zurich continuing to be excluded from the Diet by the Romish cantons, and wishing to take advantage of the better dispositions manifested by some of the confederates, in the beginning of 1527, summoned a Diet, to be held at Zurich itself. The deputies of Berne, Basle, Schaffhausen, Appenzell, and St. Gall, repaired to it. "We wish," said the deputies of Zurich, "that the Word of God which alone leads us to Christ crucified, should alone be preached, alone taught, alone magnified. We abandon all human doctrines, whatever may have been the ancient customs of our forefathers, certain

<sup>1</sup> Kostbare Kleider, Kleinodien, Ring, Ketten, etc. freywillig verkauft. (Hott. iii, p. 388.)

<sup>2</sup> Fideli enim oratione omnia superabimus. (Zw. Ep. p. 519.)

<sup>3</sup> Jamdudum pape renuntiavi et Christo vivere concupivi. (Ibid., p. 455.)

that if they had had the light of the Divine word which we enjoy, they would have embraced it with more respect than we, their feeble descendants, do."<sup>1</sup> The deputies present promised to take the representations of Zurich into consideration.

Thus the breach which had been made in Rome became larger every day. The discussion of Baden was to have repaired all her losses, and thereafter, on the contrary, cantons which had been undecided were disposed to go hand in hand with Zurich. The inhabitants of the plain already inclined to the Reformation: and now she drew closer to the mountains, and invaded them, while the primitive cantons, which were in a manner the cradle, and are still in a manner the citadel of Switzerland, hemmed in by their high Alps, seemed alone firmly to maintain the doctrine of their fathers. These mountaineers, continually exposed to violent tempests, to avalanches, to the overflow of torrents and rivers, have to struggle all their lives against these formidable enemies, and to sacrifice every thing to preserve the meadow that pastures their flocks, and the hut which shelters them from the storm, but which the first inundation sweeps away. Accordingly, a conservative instinct is strongly developed in them, and has for ages been transmitted from generation to generation. To preserve what they have received from their fathers, is the only wisdom recognised in these mountains. These rude Helvetians accordingly struggled against the Reformation, which sought to change their faith and worship, as they struggle still against the torrents which dash down from their snowy peaks, or against the new political ideas which are established at their threshold in the cantons around them. They will be the last to lay down their arms before the double power which is already displaying its signals on all the surrounding hills, and more closely threatening these conservative districts.

Accordingly, at the period of which I speak, these cantons, still more irritated against Berne than against Zurich, and trembling when they saw this powerful State escaping from them, called a meeting of their deputies at Berne itself, eight days after the conference of Zurich. They called upon the council to depose the new teachers, to proscribe their doctrines, and to maintain the ancient and true Christian faith, as it had been confirmed by centuries and confessed by martyrs. "Assemble all the bailiwicks of the canton: if you refuse, we will take it upon ourselves." The Bernese felt irritated, and replied, "We are able enough to speak to our own constituents."

<sup>1</sup> Mit höherem Werth und mehr Dankbarkeit dann wir angenommen. (Zurich Archiv. Absch. Sonntag nach Lichtmess.)



This reply only increased the wrath of the Waldstettes and those cantons which had been the cradle of the political liberty of Switzerland, alarmed at the progress which religious liberty was making, began even to look abroad for allies to destroy it. In combating the enemies of enlistments an appeal might be made to enlistments themselves, and if the oligarchs of Switzerland were insufficient, was it not natural to have recourse to the princes their allies? In fact, Austria, which had not been able to maintain its power in the confederation, was ready to interpose for the purpose of then strengthening the power of Rome. Berne heard with dismay that Ferdinand, brother of Charles V, was making preparations against Zurich, and against all the adherents of the Reformation.<sup>1</sup>

Circumstances were becoming more critical. A succession of events more or less unfortunate, the successes of the Anabaptists, the disputes with Luther about the supper, and others besides, seemed to have, in a great measure, compromised the Reformation in Switzerland. The discussion of Baden had disappointed the hopes of the friends of the papacy, and the sword which they had brandished against their enemies, had broken in their hands; but spite and anger had increased, and a new effort was prepared. Already, even the imperial power began to put itself in motion, and the Austrian bands, which had been forced to flee from the defiles of Morgarten and the heights of Sempach, were ready again to enter Switzerland, with colours flying, to give strength to tottering Rome. The moment was decisive. It was no longer possible to chime in with both parties, and be neither "muddy nor clear." Berne and other cantons, which had so long been hesitating, behoved to come to a determination. It was necessary to return promptly to the papacy, or rally with new courage under the standard of Christ.

A Frenchman, from the mountains of Dauphiny, by name William Farel, at this time gave a powerful impulse to Switzerland, determined the Reformation of Romish Helvetia, which was still in a profound sleep, and thus turned the balance throughout the confederation in favour of the new doctrines. Farel arrived on the field of battle like those fresh troops, which at the moment when the fate of arms is still uncertain, rush into the thickest of the fight, and carry the day. He prepared the way in Switzerland for another Frenchman, whose stern faith and powerful genius were to put a finishing hand to the Reformation, and render it a complete work. In this way, by means of these illustrious men, France took rank in the great movement which was agitating Christian society. It is time to turn our eye toward her.

<sup>1</sup> Berne to Zurich, Monday after *Misericorde*. (Kirchoff, B. Haller, p. 85.)



## BOOK TWELFTH.

## THE FRENCH.

1500—1526.

## CHAP. I.

Universality of Christianity—Enemies of the Reformation in France—Heresy and Persecution in Dauphiny—A Gentleman's Family—The Family Farel—Pilgrimage to St. Croix—Immorality and Superstition—William desires to become a Student.

UNIVERSALITY is one of the essential features of Christianity. It is not thus with religions of human origin. They adapt themselves to certain nations, and to the degree of culture which they have attained. They keep these nations fixed at a certain point, or if by any extraordinary circumstance these nations rise in the scale, religion being left behind thereby becomes useless.

There was an Egyptian, a Greek, a Latin, and even a Jewish religion; Christianity is the only religion for the whole human race.

Its point of departure in man is sin—a characteristic which belongs not to a single tribe, but is the inheritance of humanity. Accordingly, satisfying the most universal and the most elevated wants of our nature, the gospel is received as coming from God by the most barbarous tribes, and the most civilised nations. It does not consecrate national peculiarities, as did the religions of antiquity; but neither does it destroy them as modern cosmopolism would do. It does better. It sanctifies, ennobles, elevates them to a holy unity by the new and living principle which it imparts to them.

The introduction of Christianity into the world has produced a great revolution in history. Till then there was only a history of particular nations; now there is a history of humanity. The idea of an universal education of the human race, accomplished by Jesus Christ, has become the historian's compass—the key of history, and the hope of nations.

But Christianity not merely acts on all nations, it acts on all periods of their history.

At the moment when it appeared, the world was like a torch on the point of being extinguished. Christianity made it revive as a celestial light.

At a later period, the barbarians, rushing upon the Roman empire, had broken down and confounded every thing. Christianity, opposing the cross to this devastating torrent, thereby subdued the wild child of the north, and gave humanity a new form.

A corrupting element, however, was already hidden in the religion brought by intrepid missionaries to these rude tribes. Their faith came from Rome almost as much as from the Bible. This element rapidly increased: man was every where substituted for God, (an essential feature in the Romish Church,) and a renovation of religion became necessary. Christianity accomplished it at the period of which we write.

The history of the Reformation in the countries, which we have already surveyed, has shown how the new doctrine rejected the extravagances of the Anabaptists and the new prophets, but infidelity is the obstacle which it encounters, especially in the kingdom towards which we now turn. No where had bolder protests been taken against the superstitions and abuses of the Church. No where was there seen a more powerful developement of a certain love of letters, a love which, independent of Christianity, often leads to irreligion. France carried in her bosom at the same time two reformations, the one of man, the other of God. "Two nations are in thy womb, and two manner of people shall be separated from thy bowels."<sup>1</sup>

In France, not only had the Reformation to combat infidelity as well as superstition, there was a third enemy which it had not encountered, at least in so powerful a form among the Germanic nations,—I mean immorality. The disorders in the Church were great; debauchery sat upon the throne of Francis I and Catherine de Medicis, and the stern virtues of the Reformers irritated these "Sardanapaluses."<sup>2</sup> Every where, no doubt, but especially in France, the Reformation behaved to be not only doctrinal and ecclesiastical, but also moral.

The violent enemies whom the Reformation thus encountered at the very outset among the French, stamped it with a peculiar character. No where did it dwell so much in dungeons, and resemble primitive Christianity in faith and charity, and the number of its martyrs. If in the countries of which we have hitherto spoken, the Reformation behaved to be more glorious by its triumphs in those

<sup>1</sup> Genesis, xxv, 23.

<sup>2</sup> Sardanapalus (Henry II) inter scorta. (Calvini, Ep. M.S.)

to which our attention is now to be directed, it was rendered more glorious by its defeats. If elsewhere it can show more thrones and sovereign councils, here it can enumerate more scaffolds and meetings in the wilderness. Whoever knows what constitutes the true glory of Christianity on the earth, and the features which give it a resemblance to its Head, will, with a deep feeling of respect and love, study the history, the often times bloody history, which we are going to relate.

The most of the men who have shone on the stage of the world were born in the provinces, and there began to be developed. Paris is a tree which presents to the eye a great deal of blossom and fruit, but a tree whose roots spread far into the bowels of the earth in search of the nourishing juices which these assimilate. The Reformation also followed this law.

The Alps, which saw Christian and intrepid men appear in every canton, and almost in every valley of Switzerland, were in France also to throw their gigantic shadows over the childhood of some of the first Reformers. There were ages when they kept the treasure more or less pure in their high valleys, among the inhabitants of the Piedmontese districts of Luzerne, Angrogne, Peyrouse. The truth, which Rome had not been able to attack there, had spread from these valleys along the slopes and at the foot of these mountains in Provence and Dauphiny.

The year after the accession of Charles VIII, son of Louis XI, a sickly, timid child, Innocent VIII had encircled his brow with the pontifical tiara (1484). He had seven or eight sons by different mothers, and hence, according to an epigram of the time, Rome was unanimous in saluting him by the name of *Father*.<sup>1</sup>

There was at this time on all the slopes of the Alps of Dauphiny and along all the banks of the Durance, a tinge of ancient Vaudois principles. "The roots," says an ancient chronicler, "were constantly and every where setting out new saplings."<sup>2</sup> Bold men termed the Romish Church the Church of the evil ones, and maintained that it is as profitable to pray in a stable as in a church.

The priests, bishops, and legates of Rome sent forth a cry of alarm, and on the fifth of the calends of May, 1487, Innocent VIII, the father of the Romans, launched a bull at these humble Christians. "To arms," said the pontiff, "and trample these heretics under foot as venomous asps."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Octo nocens pueros genuit totidemque puellas.  
Hunc merito poterit dicere Roma Patrem.

<sup>2</sup> In Ebredunensi archiepiscopatu veteres Waldensium hæreticorum fibræ repulularunt. (Raynald, Annales Ecclesiast. ad ann. 1487.)

<sup>3</sup> Armis insurgant, eosque veluti aspidēs venenosos . . . conculcent. (Bull of Innocent VIII, preserved at Cambridge. Ledger Histoire des Eglises Vaudoises, ii, p. 8.)

At the approach of the legate, followed by an army of eighteen thousand men, and a multitude of volunteers who wished to share the spoil, the Vaudois abandoned their dwellings, and withdrew to the mountains, to caverns, and the clefts of rocks, as birds fly away the moment the tempest begins to grumble. Not a valley, not a wood, not a rock escaped the persecutors; every where in this part of the Alps, and particularly in the direction of Italy, these poor disciples of Christ were tracked like deer. At length the satellites of the pope grew weary, their strength was exhausted, their feet could no longer climb the steep retreats of "the heretics," and their arms refused to strike.

In these Alpine countries, thus agitated by the fanaticism of Rome, about three leagues from the ancient town of Gap,<sup>1</sup> in the direction of Grenoble, not far from the flowery turf which carpets the flat top of the mountain of Bayard, at the bottom of mount Aiguille, and near the Col de Glaize, not far from where the Buzon takes its rise, there was, and still is, a group of houses half hid by trees, and which bears the name of Farel, or, in provincial dialect, Fareau.<sup>2</sup> On an extensive terrace raised above the neighbouring huts, there stood one of those houses which are called mansion houses. It was surrounded by an orchard which was continued to the village. There, in those troublous times, lived, as it appears, a noble family of known piety, of the name of Farel.<sup>3</sup> In the year when the papacy displayed its greatest severities in Dauphiny, in the year 1489, was born, in this modest residence, a son, who was named William. Three brothers, Daniel, Walter, and Claude, and a sister, grew up with William and shared his sports on the banks of the Buzon, and at the foot of the Bayard.

There passed William's childhood and early youth. His father and mother were most devoted servants of the papacy. He says himself, "my father and mother believed everything;"<sup>4</sup> they accordingly brought up their children in all the observances of Rome.

God had endowed William Farel with rare qualities, fitted to give him an ascendancy over others. Of a penetrating intellect, a lively imagination, great sincerity and uprightness, and a greatness of soul which would not allow him, for any consideration, to betray the convictions of his heart, he had, moreover, an ardour

<sup>1</sup> Principal town in the High Alps. <sup>2</sup> Survey of Dauphiny, July, 1837, p. 35. In going from Grenoble to Gap, about a quarter of an hour after passing the last stage, about a stone cast to the right of the public road, is seen the village of the Farels. The terrace on which the house of Farel's father stood is still shown. It is now indeed only occupied as a hut, but we see, by its dimensions, that it is much larger than an ordinary house. The occupier of the hut bears the name of Farel. I owe this information to Mr. Blanc, pastor of Mens. <sup>3</sup> Gulielmum Farellum Delphinatens nobili familia ortum. (Bezzæ Icones.) Calvin, in his letter to Cardinal Sadolet, mentions, as proof of Farel's disinterestedness, "his being sprung from so noble a house." (Opuscula, p. 148.) <sup>4</sup> Of the True Use of the Cross, by William Farel, p. 237.



a fire, an indomitable courage, an intrepidity which recoiled at no obstacle. But, at the same time, he had the faults which accompany these qualities, and his parents had frequent occasion to check his violence.

William entered with his whole soul into the superstitious views of his credulous family. "I am horrified," said he, "when I think of the hours, the prayers, and divine services which I have paid, and caused to be paid, to the cross and other such like things."<sup>1</sup>

Four leagues to the south of Gap, near Tallard, on a mountain which rises above the impetuous waters of the Durance, was a place in high repute, named St. Croix. When William was scarcely seven or eight years of age, his parents resolved to take him on a pilgrimage.<sup>2</sup> "The cross at this place," said they, "is made of the real wood on which Jesus Christ was crucified."

The family set out, and at length reached the venerated cross, before which they prostrated themselves. After considering the sacred wood and the copper of the cross, made, said the priest, of the basin in which our Lord washed his disciples' feet, the eyes of the pilgrims were directed to a little crucifix attached to the cross. "When the devils," resumed the priest, "make hail and thunder; this crucifix moves so that it seems to detach itself from the cross, as if wishing to rush against the devil. It also throws out fiery sparks previous to bad weather: did it not do so the whole fruits of the earth would be destroyed."<sup>3</sup>

The pious pilgrims were deeply moved on being told of these great prodigies. "No one," continued the priest, "knows and sees any of these things save I and this man . . ." The pilgrims turned round and saw a man near them of a strange exterior. "His very appearance caused fear," says Farel.<sup>4</sup> There were white specks on the balls of both his eyes—"whether they were real, or Satan only made a semblance of them." This extraordinary man whom the unbelieving called "the priest's sorcerer," being appealed to by the priest, immediately confirmed his statements.<sup>5</sup> A new episode completed the picture, and to superstition added a suspicion of criminal irregularities. "Lo, a young female, who had some other devotion than the cross, carrying an infant under her cloak. Then the priest came forward, and, taking the woman and the child, led them within the chapel. I venture to say, ne'er did dancer take a female and lead her off in better style. But the blindness was such that no regard was paid to this. Had they even acted indecently before us, we should still have deemed it

<sup>1</sup> Of the True Use of the Cross, by William Farel, p. 232.  
and could scarcely read. (Ibid., p. 232.) My first pilgrimage was to the holy cross. (Ibid., p. 233.)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 235—239.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 237.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 258.

<sup>3</sup> I was very young

good and holy. It was too clear that the woman, and her gallant of a priest, well knew the miracle, and made it a cover to their intercourse." <sup>1</sup>

We have here a faithful picture of the religion and manners of France at the commencement of the Reformation. Morality and doctrine were equally poisoned, and a powerful revival was required for both. The greater the value men attached to external works, the farther they were removed from holiness of heart; dead ordinances had every where been substituted for the Christian life, and (strange, yet natural union) the most scandalous profligacy was seen united to the most superstitious devotion. Theft had been perpetrated before the altar, seduction at the confessional, poisoning in the mass, adultery at the foot of a cross: superstition, by destroying doctrine, had destroyed morality.

Still, there were numerous exceptions in Christendom during the middle ages. A faith, even though superstitious, may be sincere. Of this, William Farel is an instance. The same zeal that at a later period carried him to so many places to spread the knowledge of Jesus Christ, now drew him to every place where the church exhibited some miracle, or claimed some adoration. Dauphiny had its seven wonders, which had long worked upon the imagination of its inhabitants.<sup>2</sup> But there were also in the natural beauties with which it is surrounded objects that might well raise their souls to the Creator.

The magnificent chain of the Alps, those summits covered with eternal snow, those vast rocks which sometimes throw up their sharp peaks into the air, sometimes extend their broken ridges beyond the clouds, where they seem like some solitary island in the skies; all these sublimities of creation which were then elevating the soul of Ulric Zuinglius, in the Tockenbourg, were also speaking powerfully to the heart of William Farel in the mountains of Dauphiny. He was thirsting for life, light, and knowledge: his aspirations were for something great . . . he asked leave to study.

This was a great blow to his father, who thought that a young noble ought to know only his rosary and his sword. At this time the country was ringing with the fame of a young countryman of William Farel, from Dauphiny like himself named Du Terrail, but better known by the name of Bayard, who, at the battle of Tar, on the other side of the Alps, had given a signal display of courage. "Such sons," it was said, "are like arrows in the hand of a mighty man. Happy the man who has his quiver filled with them." Farel's father, accordingly, opposed his son's inclination for study. But

<sup>1</sup> True Use of the Cross, p. 235. Some of the words are softened.

<sup>2</sup> The burning spring, the pools of Sassenage, the manna of Briangon, etc.

the young man was inflexible. God designed him for nobler contests than those of Bayard. He continually returned to the charge, and at last the old gentleman yielded.<sup>1</sup>

Farel immediately devoted himself to his task with astonishing ardour. The masters whom he found in Dauphiny were of little use to him, and he had to struggle against the bad methods and trifling of his preceptors.<sup>2</sup> These difficulties only stimulated him, and he had soon surmounted them. His brothers followed his example. Daniel ultimately became a politician, and was employed in some important negotiations concerning religion.<sup>3</sup> Gautier gained the entire confidence of the Count of Furstemberg.

Farel, having learned all that could be learned in his province, and still feeling eager for knowledge, turned his eyes to another quarter. The university of Paris had long been renowned over the Christian world. He was desirous to see "this mother of all the sciences, this true light of the Church, which never suffers an eclipse, this pure and polished mirror of the faith which no cloud obscures, and no touch stains."<sup>4</sup> He obtained permission from his parents, and set out for the capital of France.

## CHAPTER II.

Louis XII, and the Assembly of Tours—Francis and Margaret—The Literati—Lefevre—His teaching at the University—Lefevre and Farel meet—Doubts and Inquiries of Farel—First awakening—Prophecy of Lefevre—He teaches Justification by Faith—Objections—Irregularities in Colleges—Effects on Farel—Election—Holiness of Life.

One day, in the year 1510, or shortly after, the young stranger from Dauphiny arrived in Paris. The province life had made him an ardent follower of the papacy—the capital was to make him something different. The Reformation in France was not to come forth from a small town, as it did in Germany. All the impetus which agitate the population proceed from the metropolis. At the commencement of the sixteenth century various providential circumstances concurred to make Paris a kind of focus from which a spark of fire might easily escape. The youth from the neighbourhood of Gap, who now arrived, humble and unknown, was to receive this spark into his heart. Several others received it with him.

<sup>1</sup> Cum a parentibus vix impetrassem ad litteras concessum. (Farel, Natali Galeoto, 1527, M.S. Letters of the Consistory of Neuchâtel.) <sup>2</sup> A præceptoribus præcipue in Latina lingua ineptissimis institutus. (Farelli Epist.) I had the silliest teachers, especially in Latin. <sup>3</sup> Life of Farel, M.S., at Geneva. <sup>4</sup> Universitatem Parisiensem matrem omnium scientiarum . . . . speculum fidei torsum et politum . . . . (Prima Apellat Universit. an. 1396, Bulceus, iv, p. 806.)



Louis XII, the father of his people, had just called a convocation of the French clergy at Tours. This prince seems to have anticipated the days of the Reformation; so much so, that, had this great revolution taken place during his reign, all France might perhaps have been Protestant. The assembly of Tours had declared that the king was entitled to make war on the pope, and execute the decrees of the Council of Basle. These decrees were the subject of general conversation in the colleges, as well as in the city and at court, and must have made a deep impression on young Farel's mind.

Two children were then growing up at the court of France. The one was a young prince of a tall and striking figure, who showed little moderation in his character, and recklessly followed any course that passion dictated. Hence the king was wont to say, "This great boy will spoil all."<sup>1</sup> This was Francis of Angoulême, Duke of Valois, and cousin to the king. Boisy, his preceptor, however, taught him to honour literature.

Beside Francis was his sister Margaret, two years older than he, "a princess," says Brantôme, "of very great wit and ability, as well natural as acquired."<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, Louis XII had spared nothing on her education, and the most learned men in the kingdom hastened to acknowledge her as their patroness.

In fact, a body of distinguished characters already surrounded Francis and Margaret of Valois. William Budé, who, at twenty-three, given up to his passions, and especially to the chase, living only for his birds, horses, and dogs, had all at once stopped short, sold his equipage, and begun to study with the same ardour which had led him amid his hounds to scour the fields and forests,<sup>3</sup> the physician Cop, Francis Vatable, a wonder to the Jewish masters themselves for the extent of his knowledge of Hebrew, James Tusan, a celebrated Greek scholar, and other literati besides, encouraged by Stephen Poncher, Bishop of Paris, by Louis Ruzé, civil lieutenant, and by Francis of Luynes, and already patronised by the two young Valois, withstood the violent attacks of the Sorbonne, who regarded the study of Greek and Hebrew as the most dreadful heresy. At Paris, as in Germany and Switzerland, the re-establishment of sound doctrine, was to be preceded by the revival of letters. But in France, the hands which thus prepared the materials, were not to erect the edifice.

Among the teachers who then adorned the capital, was remarked a man of very small stature, of mean appearance, and humble origin,<sup>4</sup> whose intellect, learning, and powerful eloquence

<sup>1</sup> Mezeray, vol. iv, p. 127.

<sup>2</sup> Brantôme Dames Illustres, p. 331.

<sup>3</sup> His wife and children came to Geneva in 1540, after his death.

<sup>4</sup> Homunculi unius neque genere insignis. (Bezæ Icones.) One little man of no family.



had an indescribable charm over his hearers. He was named Lefevre, and was born about 1455, at Etaples, a small place in Picardy. He had received only a rude, or as Theodore Beza calls it, a barbarous education; but his genius had supplied the place of teachers, and his piety, learning, and nobleness of character only shone with greater lustre. He had travelled much. It would even seem that the desire of extending his knowledge had taken him to Asia and Africa.<sup>1</sup> As early as 1493, Lefevre, who had taken his degree as doctor in theology, was a professor at the university of Paris. He forthwith obtained an eminent,—in the opinion of Erasmus,<sup>2</sup>—the first place.

Lefevre felt that he had a task to perform. Although attached to the observances of Rome, he proposed to combat the barbarism which prevailed at the university,<sup>3</sup> and began to teach the branches of philosophy with a clearness previously unknown. He laboured to revive the study of languages and of classical antiquity. He went still farther. He became aware that, when a work of revival is in question, philosophy and literature are insufficient. Therefore, leaving scholastics, which alone had for several ages occupied the school, he returned to the Bible, and brought back to Christendom the study of the Holy Scriptures and evangelical knowledge. He did not devote himself to barren researches: he went to the core of the Bible. His eloquence, frankness, and amiable manners, captivated all hearts. Grave, and full of unction in the pulpit, he lived on terms of gentle familiarity with his pupils. Glarean, one of them, writing to Zuinglius, says, "He is exceedingly kind to me. Full of candour and goodness, he sings, plays, and debates with me, and often laughs at the folly of this world."<sup>4</sup> Accordingly a great number of pupils from every country sat at his feet.

This man, with all his learning, submitted, with the simplicity of a child, to all the ordinances of the Church. He spent as much time in churches as in his study, so that an intimate connection might have been predicted between the old doctor of Picardy, and the young scholar of Dauphiny. When two natures, so much alike, meet, they draw to each other. In his pious pilgrimages young Farel soon remarked an old man, and was struck with his devoutness. He prostrated himself before the images, and, remaining long upon his knees, prayed with fervour, and devoutly repeated his hours. "Never," says Farel, "had I seen any singer of mass who

<sup>1</sup> See his Commentary on the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, where there is a singular account of Mecca and its temple from a traveller.

<sup>2</sup> Fabro, viro quo vix in multis millibus reperias vel integriorem vel humaniorem. (Er. Ep. p. 174.) Lefevre, than whom you will scarcely find a man among thousands of greater integrity or refinement.

<sup>3</sup> Barbariem nobilissimæ academix . . . incumbentem detruði. Bezeæ icones.)

<sup>4</sup> Supra modum me amat totus integer et candidus, mecum cantillat, ludit, disputat, ridet mecum. (Zw. Ep. p. 26.)

sang it with greater reverence.”<sup>1</sup> This was Lefevre. William Farel immediately desired to approach him, and was overjoyed when this celebrated man kindly accosted him. William had gained his object in coming to the capital. From this time his greatest happiness was to converse with the doctor of Etaples, to hear him and his admirable lectures, and devoutly prostrate himself with him before the same images. Old Lefevre and his young pupil were often seen carefully decking an image of the Virgin with flowers, and far from all Paris, far from pupils and teachers, muttering together by themselves the fervent prayers which they addressed to Mary.<sup>2</sup>

The attachment of Farel for Lefevre being observed by several, the respect which was felt for the old doctor was reflected on his young disciple. This illustrious friendship brought the stranger of Dauphiny out of obscurity. He soon gained a name for zeal, and several rich and devout persons in Paris entrusted him with different sums for the maintenance of poor students.<sup>3</sup>

Some time elapsed before Lefevre and his pupil came to a clear view of the truth. It was not the hope of a rich benefice, nor a longing for a life of dissoluteness that attached Farel to the pope—these vulgarities were not made for such a soul. To him the pope was the visible head of the Church—a sort of god by whose commands souls were saved. If he heard a word uttered against his venerated pontiff, he gnashed his teeth like a raging wolf, and could have wished the thunder to strike the guilty individual, and thereby “completely sink and ruin him.”—“I believe,” said he, “in the cross, in pilgrimages, in images, vows, and bones. What the priest holds in his hands, puts in the box, encloses, eats, and gives to be eaten, is my only true God. I have no other, either in heaven or on the earth.”<sup>4</sup>—“Satan,” said he, on another occasion, “had lodged the pope, the papacy, and all that belongs to it, in my heart, so that even the pope had not so much of it in himself.”

Thus, the more Farel seemed to seek God, the more his piety languished, and the more superstition increased in his soul; every thing went from bad to worse. He has himself described his state with great energy.<sup>5</sup> “Oh how I am horrified at myself, and my faults, when I think how great and wonderful the work of God in making it possible for man to be delivered from such an abyss.”

But though he was delivered, it was only by degrees. At first he had read profane authors, but his piety, finding no nurture in them,

<sup>1</sup> Epistle of Farel to all lords, people, and pastors.

<sup>2</sup> Floribus jubebat Marianum idolum, dum una soli murmuraremus preces Marianas ad idolum, ornari. (Farellus Pellicano, an. 1556.)

<sup>3</sup> Manuscript at Geneva.

<sup>4</sup> Farel, to all

lords, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Quo plus pergere et promovere adnitebar, eo amplius retrocedebam. (Far. Galeoto, M.S. Letters of Neufchatel.)

he began to meditate on the lives of the saints; foolish as he was, these lives made him become still more foolish.<sup>1</sup> He then attached himself to several teachers of the day, but, after coming to them unhappy, he left them miserable. He at length began to study the ancient philosophers, and expected Aristotle would teach him how to be a Christian: his hopes were still disappointed. Books, images, relics, Aristotle, Mary, and the saints, all were useless. This ardent soul passed from one human wisdom to another human wisdom, without ever finding wherewith to appease the hunger which was wasting him.

Meanwhile, the pope allowing the writings of the Old and New Testament to be called the *Holy Bible*, Farel began to read them, as Luther once did in the cloister of Erfurth, and he stood quite aghast,<sup>2</sup> on seeing that every thing on the earth was different from what the Holy Scriptures enjoin. Perhaps he was on the eve of arriving at the truth, but suddenly double darkness fell upon him, and he was plunged into a new abyss. "Satan suddenly arrived," says he, "in order that he might not lose his possession, and dealt with me according to his custom."<sup>3</sup> A fierce struggle between the word of God and the word of the Church then arose in his heart. When he met with any passages of Scripture opposed to the usages of Rome, he held down his eyes, blushed, and durst scarcely believe what he read.<sup>4</sup> "Ah," said he, fearing to fix his eyes on the Bible, "I don't well understand such things. I must give these Scripture another meaning than they seem to have: I must keep to the interpretation of the Church and the view of the pope!"

One day when he was reading the Bible, a doctor having entered, rebuked him sharply. "No man," said he, "should read the Holy Scriptures till he has learned philosophy, and finished his course of arts." This was a preparation which the apostles had not demanded; but Farel believed it was. "I was," says he, "the unhappiest of men, shutting my eyes that I might not see."<sup>5</sup>

Thenceforth there was in the young Dauphinist a revival of Romish fervour. The legends of the saints excited his imagination. The more severe the monastic rules were, the greater his inclination for them. Carthusians dwelt in gloomy cells in the midst of woods. He visited them with respect, and took part in their abstinences. "I employed myself entirely night and day," says he, "in serving the devil, according to the man of sin—the pope. I had my Pantheon in my heart, and so many intercessors, so many saviours, so many gods, that I might well have been taken for a popish register."

<sup>1</sup> Quæ de sanctis conscripta offendebar, verum ex stulto insanum faciebant. (Farel Galeoto, M.S. Letters at Neuchâtel.)

<sup>2</sup> Farel to all lords, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Oculos demittens, visis non credebam. (Farel Galeoto.)

<sup>5</sup> Oculos a luce

avertebar.



The darkness could not become greater, the star of the morning was soon to rise, and it was at Lefevre's word that it was to appear. In the doctor of Etaples there were already some rays of light: a feeling within told him that the Church could not remain in the state in which it then was; and often, at the very moment when he was returning from mass, or rising up from before some image, the old man turned to his young pupil, and, grasping his hand, said to him with a grave tone, "My dear William, God will renovate the world, as you shall see."<sup>1</sup> Farel did not perfectly understand these words. Lefevre, however, did not confine himself to mysterious expressions. A great change which then took place in himself, was to produce a similar change in his pupil.

The old doctor was engaged in a work of vast labour. He was carefully collecting the legends of the saints and martyrs, and arranging them according to the order of their names in the Calendar. Two months were already printed, when one of those rays which come from above beamed upon his soul. He could not withstand the disgust which childish superstitions begot in a christian heart. The grandeur of the word of God made him sensible of the wretchedness of these fables. They now appeared to him nothing better than "sulphur to kindle the fire of idolatry." He abandoned his task, and throwing away the legends, turned with affection to the second volume. The moment when Lefevre, quitting the marvellous tales of the saints, laid his hand upon the word of God, is the commencement of a new era in France, and the beginning of its Reformation.

In fact, Lefevre on returning from the fables of the Breviary began to study the Epistles of St. Paul. The light grew rapidly in his heart, and he immediately put his pupils in possession of that knowledge of the truth, which we find in his Commentaries.<sup>3</sup> Strange to the school and to the age were those doctrines which were then heard in Paris, and which the press diffused over the Christian world. We easily conceive that the young scholars who listened to them were struck, moved, changed, and that thus, even before the year 1512, the dawn of a new day was prepared for France.

The doctrine of justification by faith, which at one blow overthrew the subtilties of the schoolmen, and the observances of the

<sup>1</sup> Farel to all lords, etc. See, also the letter to Pellican. Ante annos plus minus quadraginta, me manu apprehensum ita alloquebatur:—"Guillelme, oportet orbem immutari et tu videbis!" About forty years ago, less or more, having taken me by the hand, he thus addressed me, "William, the world must be changed, and you shall see it."

<sup>2</sup> Farel to all lords, etc.

<sup>3</sup> The first edition of his Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul, is dated, I believe in 1512. There is a copy in the Royal Library at Paris. I quote from the second edition. The learned Simon says, (Observations on the New Testament,) that "James Lefevre must be placed among the ablest commentators of his age." We would go still farther.



papacy, was openly announced in the bosom of the Sorbonne. "It is God alone," said the doctor, and the halls of the University must have been astonished when they re-echoed these strange words, "It is God alone, who by his grace through faith justifies unto eternal life.<sup>1</sup> There is a righteousness of works, and there is a righteousness of grace; the one comes from man, the other from God; the one is earthly and transient, the other is divine and eternal; the one is the shadow and the sign, the other is the light and the truth; the one gives the knowledge of sin in order that we may flee from death, the other gives knowledge of grace that we may obtain life."<sup>2</sup>

"What then," it was asked, on hearing doctrines which contradicted those of four previous centuries, "was there ever a single man justified without works?"—"A single man," replied Lefevre, "innumerable men. How many among people of bad lives have ardently desired the grace of baptism, having only faith in Christ, and have if they died immediately after, entered the mansions of the blessed without works!"—"But some will say, if we are not justified by works, it is in vain for us to do them." The doctor of Paris replied, and perhaps the other Reformers would not have entirely approved of the reply; "Certainly not it is not in vain. If I hold a mirror turned toward the sun, it receives the sun's image. The more it is polished and cleaned, the more brilliant the image is, but if it is soiled the brilliancy is lost. It is the same with justification in those who lead an impure life." Lefevre in this passage, as St. Augustine in several, perhaps does not distinguish sufficiently between justification and sanctification. The doctor of Etaples reminds us somewhat of the bishop of Hippo. Those who lead an impure life, have never had justification, and consequently they cannot lose it. But perhaps Lefevre meant, that when the Christian falls into some fault, he loses the impression of his salvation, not salvation itself. In that case there is nothing to object to his doctrine.

Thus a new life and a new doctrine had penetrated the university of Paris. The doctrine of faith, which a Pothinus and an Irenæus preached of old in Gaul again resounded. Thenceforth there were two parties and two classes of people in this great school of Christendom. The lessons of Lefevre, the zeal of his scholars formed a very striking contrast with the scholastic lectures of the greater part of the teachers, and the fickle giddy lives of the greater part of the students. In colleges, to learn to play parts in comedy, to deck

<sup>1</sup> Solus enim Deus est qui hanc justitiam per fidem tradit, qui sola gratia ad vitam justificat æternam, (Fabri Comm. in Epp. Pauli, p. 70.)

<sup>2</sup> Illa umbratile

vestigium atque signum, hæc lux et veritas est. (Ibid.)

in putting on grotesque dresses, and acting farces in the streets, than in studying to become acquainted with the oracles of God. These farces often attacked the honour of grandees, princes, and the king himself. The parliament interposed about the time of which we speak, calling the principals of several colleges before it, and forbidding these indulgent masters to allow such comedies to be performed in their houses.<sup>1</sup>

But these disorders were suddenly corrected by a more powerful dissuasive than the decrees of Parliament. Jesus Christ was taught. Rumour was loud on the benches of the university, and the students began to occupy themselves almost as much with evangelical doctrines, as with the subtleties of the school, or with comedies. Several of those whose lives were not the most irreproachable, stood out for *works*, and perceiving that the doctrine of faith condemned their conduct, maintained that St. James was opposed to St. Paul. Lefevre determined to defend the treasure which he had discovered, and demonstrated the agreement of the two apostles. "Does not St. James say (chap. i.) that every good and perfect gift cometh from above? Now who denies that justification is the perfect gift, the crowning grace? . . . When we see an individual breathe, we regard it as a sign of life. Thus works are necessary but only as signs of a living faith, which justification accompanies.<sup>2</sup> Do Collyriums or purifications give light to the eye? No; it is the power of the sun. Very well; these purifications and these collyriums are our works. The only ray which the sun darts from above is justification itself."<sup>3</sup>

At these lectures, Farel was an eager listener. This doctrine of salvation by grace had soon an indescribable charm for him. Every objection gave way, all struggle ceased. No sooner had Lefevre broached the doctrine, than Farel embraced it with his whole soul. He had had enough of toils and wrestlings to know that he could not save himself. Accordingly, as soon as he saw in the word, that God saves gratuitously, he believed. "Lefevre," says he, "drew me off from my false idea of merit, and taught me that every thing comes by grace: this I believed as soon as it was told me."<sup>4</sup> Thus by a sudden and decisive conversion like that of St. Paul, was brought to the faith, this Farel who as Theodore Beza expresses it, not being deterred by threatenings, or insults, or blows, won for Jesus Christ, Montbelliard, Neufchatel, Lausanne, Aigle, and lastly Geneva.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Crevier History of the University, V, p. 95.      <sup>2</sup> Opera signa vivæ fidei, quam justificatio sequitur. (Fabri Comm. in Epp. Pauli, p. 73.)

desuper a sole vibratus, justificatio est. (Ibid. p. 73.)

<sup>3</sup> Sed radius

<sup>4</sup> Farel to all lords.

<sup>5</sup> Nullis difficultatibus fractus, nullis minis, convitis, verberibus denique inflictis territus. (Bezae Icones.)

Meanwhile, Lefevre continuing his lectures and taking pleasure like Luther, in employing contrasts, and paradoxes, which cover great truths, extolled the grandeur of the mystery of redemption. "Ineffable exchange, exclaimed he, innocence is condemned and the guilty is acquitted; blessing is cursed, and he who was cursed is blest; life dies and death receives life; glory is covered with confusion, and he who was confounded is covered with glory." <sup>1</sup> The pious doctor penetrating still farther, perceived that all salvation emanates from the love of God. "Those who are saved," said he, "are so by election, by grace, by the will of God, and not by their own will. Our election, our will, our works, are without efficacy; the election of God alone is most powerful. When we are converted, our conversion does not make us the elect of God. but the grace, the will, the election of God convert us." <sup>2</sup>

But Lefevre did not stop at doctrines. While he rendered glory to God, he demanded obedience from man, and urged the obligations flowing from the high privileges of the Christian. "If thou art of the Church of Christ, thou art of the body of Christ, thou art filled with the divinity; for the fulness of the Godhead dwells in him bodily." Oh! if men could comprehend this privilege, how carefully they would maintain purity, chastity, and holiness, and account all the glory of the world disgrace in comparison of the inward glory which is hidden from the eye of sense. <sup>3</sup>

Lefevre felt that the teacher of the Word holds a high office, and he exercised it with unshaken fidelity. The corruption of the period, and particularly that of the clergy, excited his indignation, and was made the subject of severe lectures. "What a shame," said he, "to see a bishop entreating people to drink with him, making gaming his only study, handling the dice and cornet, taking up his time with birds and dogs, constantly hunting and sheuting after beagles and hares, entering houses of debauchery. <sup>4</sup> . . . O, men, more deserving of punishment than Sardanapalus himself!"

<sup>1</sup> O ineffabile commercium! . . . (Fabri Comm. 145 verso.) O ineffable intercourse.

<sup>2</sup> Inefficax est ad hoc ipsum nostra voluntas, nostra electio; Dei autem electio efficacissima et potentissima, etc. (Fabri Com. p. 89, verso.)

<sup>3</sup> Si de corpore Christi, divinitate repletus es. (Ibid., p. 176, verso.)

<sup>4</sup> Et virgunculas gremio tenentem, cum suaviis sermones miscentem (Ibid., p. 208.)

## CHAP. III.

Farel and the Saints—The University—Conversion of Farel—Farel and Luther—Other Disciples—Date of the Reformation in France—The different Reformation spontaneous—Which is the first?—Place due to Lefevre.

Thus spake Lefevre. Farel listened, thrilled with delight, received all, and threw himself into the new path suddenly opened before him. There was, however, a point of his old creed which, as yet, he was unable to yield; this was the Saints and the Invocation of them. The best intellects often have these remains of darkness, and retain them after their illumination. Farel listened with astonishment, when the illustrious doctor declared that Christ alone was to be invoked. "Religion," said Lefevre, "has only one foundation, one aim, one head, Jesus Christ, who is blessed for ever. He alone trode the wine-press; and therefore we do not take our name from St. Paul, Apollos, or St. Peter. The cross of Christ alone opens heaven, and alone shuts the gate of hell." On hearing these words, there was a great struggle in Farel's soul. On the one hand he saw the multitude of the saints with the Church; on the other, Jesus Christ alone was his Master. Sometimes he leant to the one side, and sometimes to the other. It was his last error and his last combat; he hesitated, he still felt attached to the venerated men, at whose feet Rome falls prostrate. At length the decisive blow was given from on high. The scales fell from his eyes. Jesus alone appeared worthy of adoration. "Then," says he, "the papacy was entirely overthrown: I began to detest it as diabolical, and the holy word of God had the first place in my heart."<sup>1</sup>

Public events hastened the progress of Farel and his friends. Thomas De Vio, who, at a later period, had a wrestle with Luther at Augsburg, having in one of his works advanced that the pope was absolute monarch of the Church, Louis XII laid the work before the university, in the month of February, 1512. James Allman, one of the youngest doctors, a man of profound genius and an indefatigable student, in a full assembly of the faculty of theology, and amid great applause, read a refutation of the assertions of the cardinal.<sup>2</sup>

What impression must not such addresses have produced on Lefevre's young scholars! Could they hesitate, when the university seemed impatient of the papal yoke? If the main body began to move, must not they hasten on in front as pioneers?

<sup>1</sup> Farel. To all lords, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Crevier Hist. of the Un. v, p. 81.



"It was necessary," says Farel, "that the papacy should fall in my heart by little and little; for it did not come down at the first stroke."<sup>1</sup> He contemplated the abyss of superstition into which he had been plunged. Arrested on its banks, he once more, with uneasiness, surveyed all its depths, and recoiled with a feeling of terror. "Oh, how much I am horrified at myself and my faults!" he exclaimed.<sup>2</sup> "O Lord," continued he, "if my soul had served thee with a living faith as thy faithful servants have done; if it had prayed and honoured thee as much as my heart did the mass, and served this magic morsel, giving it all honour!" Thus the youth of Dauphiny deplored his past life, and repeated, with tears, like St. Augustine of old, "Too late have I known, too late have I loved thee."

Farel had found Jesus Christ, and having arrived in port, was happy to rest, after long tempests.<sup>3</sup> "Now," said he, "every thing presents itself in a new light."<sup>4</sup> The Scriptures are made clear, the Prophets are opened, the Apostles shed great light upon my soul.<sup>5</sup> A voice, hitherto unknown, the voice of Christ my Shepherd, my Master, my Teacher, speaks to me with power."<sup>6</sup> He was so changed, that instead of the murderous heart of a ravening wolf, he returned, he said, calmly as a meek and lovely lamb, with a heart entirely withdrawn from the pope, and devoted to Jesus Christ.<sup>7</sup>

Escaped from this great evil, he turned towards the Bible,<sup>8</sup> and began the diligent study of Greek and Hebrew.<sup>9</sup> He constantly read the Holy Scriptures, and always with deeper affection, God enlightening him from day to day. He still continued to attend the old worship in the churches. But what did he find in it? Innumerable cries and chants, and words pronounced without meaning.<sup>10</sup> Accordingly, often in the midst of the multitude, who were thronging towards an image or an altar, he exclaimed, "Thou alone art God: thou alone art wise: thou alone art good."<sup>11</sup> Nothing is to be taken from thy holy law, nothing added to it; for thou art the Lord alone, who willest and oughtest to command."

Thus, in his eyes, all men and all teachers fell from the heights on which his imagination had placed them; he no longer saw any thing in the world but God and his word. The persecutions which the other teachers of Paris employed against Lefevre, lost them

<sup>1</sup> Farel. To all lords, etc. <sup>2</sup> (Ibid.)

<sup>3</sup> Animus per varia jactatus, verum nactus portum, soli hæsit. (Farel Galeoto.)

<sup>4</sup> Jam rerum nova facies. (Ibid.)

<sup>5</sup> Notior scriptura, apertiores prophetæ, lucidiores, apostoli. (Ibid.)

<sup>6</sup> Agnita pastoris, magistri et præceptoris Christi vox. (Ibid.)

<sup>7</sup> Farel. To all lords, etc.

<sup>8</sup> Lego sacra ut causam inveniam. (Farel Galeoto.)

<sup>9</sup> Life of Farel. MS. of

Geneva and Choupard.

<sup>10</sup> Clamores multi, cationes innumerae. (Farel Galeoto.)

<sup>11</sup> Vere tu solus Deus! (Ibid.)

his good opinion. But shortly Lefevre himself, his beloved guide, was nothing to him but a man. He always loved and revered him, but God only became his master.

Of all the Reformers, Farel and Luther, perhaps, are those whose spiritual developments we know best, and who had to endure the greatest conflicts. Keen and ardent, men of attack and battle, they had to maintain violent struggles before they obtained peace. Farel is the pioneer of the Reformation in Switzerland; he throws himself into the thicket; he takes his axe and hews down the secular forests. Calvin comes at a later period, as does Melancthon, from whom, no doubt, he differs in regard to disposition, but with whom he shares the character of theologian and organiser. These two men, the one in the graceful, the other in the stern class of character, somewhat resemble the lawgivers of antiquity. They build up, constitute, and make laws in the countries which the two previous Reformers had gained. Still, if Luther and Farel have some features in common, it must be acknowledged that the latter is only an inferior resemblance. Besides his superior genius, Luther had, in every thing which concerned the Church, a moderation, a wisdom, a knowledge of the past, a comprehensiveness of view, and even an organising power, which exist not to the same degree in the Reformer of Dauphiny.

Farel was not the only young Frenchman in whom new light then arose. The doctrines, which proceeded from the mouth of the illustrious doctor of Etaples, were working in the minds of the multitude who followed his lessons. In his school were formed brave soldiers, who on the day of battle were to fight on to the very foot of the scaffold. They listened, compared, and discussed, arguing keenly on both sides. It is not improbable, that among the small number of scholars who defended the truth, was young Peter Robert Olivetan, born at Noyon, towards the end of the fifteenth century, who, at a later period, translated the Bible into French, after the translation of Lefevre; and appears to have been the first to bring the doctrines of the gospel under the notice of a young kinsman, also a native of Noyon, and afterwards the most distinguished leader of the Reformation.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, before 1512, at a time when Luther had not yet acquired any distinction in the world, and was setting out to Rome on a concern of monks, at a period when Zuinglius had not even begun to devote himself zealously to sacred literature, and was crossing the Alps with the confederates to fight for the pope, Paris and France heard the delivery of those vital truths, out of which the Reformation was to spring, and minds fitted to propagate them

<sup>1</sup> Biog. Uni., Art. Olivetan. Hist. du Calvinisme, par Maimbourg, p. 53.

were receiving them with holy avidity. Hence, Theodore Beza, speaking of Lefevre of Etaples, hails him as the individual, "who courageously began the revival of the pure religion of Jesus Christ;"<sup>1</sup> and he remarks that, "in the same way as the school of Isocrates was anciently seen to furnish the best orators, so, from the audience of the doctor of Etaples, proceeded several of the most distinguished men of their age and of the Church."<sup>2</sup>

The Reformation in France, therefore, was not a foreign importation. It had its birth on the French soil; it germinated in Paris: it had its first roots in the university itself, which formed the second power in Roman Christendom. God placed the principles of the work in the honest hearts of men of Picardy and Dauphiny, before its commencement in any other country. We have seen that the Swiss Reformation was independent of the German Reformation. The French Reformation was, in its turn, independent of both. The work began at once in these different countries without any communication with each other; as in a battle, all the different forces composing the army move at the same instant, though the one does not tell the other to march, because one and the same command, proceeding from the commander-in-chief, is heard by all. The time was accomplished, the people were prepared, and God began the renovation of his Church in all quarters at once. Such facts demonstrate that the great revolution of the sixteenth century was a Divine work.

If regard is had only to dates, it must be acknowledged that the honour of commencing the work belongs neither to Switzerland nor to Germany, although these two countries only have hitherto claimed it. The honour truly belongs to France. This is a fact which we purpose to establish, because it seems to have been hitherto overlooked. Without dwelling on the influence which Lefevre exerted, directly or indirectly, over several individuals, and in particular, perhaps over Calvin himself, let us attend to that which he had over one of his pupils, over Farel, and to the energetic activity which this servant of God thenceforth displayed. After this, how can we resist the conviction, that even though Zuinglius and Luther should never have appeared, there would have been a movement of Reform in France? It is impossible, no doubt, to calculate what would have been its extent; it must even be acknowledged that the rumour of what was going on beyond the Rhine and the Jura, animated, and at a later period quickened, the pace of the French Reformers. Still, they were the first whom the blast of the heavenly trumpet in the sixteenth century awoke, and

<sup>1</sup> Et purioris religionis instaurationem fortiter aggressus. (Bezæ Icones.)

<sup>2</sup> Sic ex Stapulensis auditorio præstantissimi viri plurimi prodierint. (Ibid.)

they were the first who appeared equipped and arrayed on the field of battle.

Nevertheless, Luther is the great workman of the sixteenth century, and, in the most extensive sense, the first Reformer. Lefevre is not a complete Reformer, like Calvin, Farel, and Luther. He is of Wittemberg and Geneva, but has also a tinge of the Sorbonne: he is the first Catholic in the Reform movement, and the last of the reformed in the Catholic movement. He remains to the last a kind of go-between—a somewhat mysterious mediator, designed to remind us, that though there is apparently an impassable abyss between the old and the new things, there is still a connection between them. Repulsed and persecuted by Rome, he is still attached to Rome by a feeble thread, which he is unwilling to break. Lefevre of Etaples has a place of his own in the theology of the sixteenth century. He is the link which connects ancient with modern times—the individual in whom the transition is made from the theology of the middle ages to the theology of the Reformation.

---

#### CHAP. IV.

Character of Francis I—Beginning of Modern Times—Liberty and Obedience—Margaret of Valois—The Court—Brignonet, Count of Montbrun—Lefevre applies to the Bible—Francis I and his "Sons"—The Gospel brought to Margaret—A Conversion—Adoration—Character of Margaret.

Thus the whole university was in motion. But the Reformation in France was not to be merely the work of learned men. It was to be established among the grandees of the world, and even at the court of the king.

Young Francis of Angoulême, cousin-german of Louis XII, and his son-in-law, had succeeded him. His beauty, his address, his bravery, his love of pleasure, made him the first chevalier of his time. He aspired, however, to something higher: he wished to be a great and even a good king, provided every thing could bend to his sovereign will. Valour, love of letters, and gallantry: these three words sufficiently express the character of Francis and the spirit of his age. At a later period, two other illustrious kings, Henry IV, and in particular Louis XIV, presented the same features. These princes wanted what the gospel gives; and although the nation has never been without elements of holiness and Christian elevation, it may be said that these three great monarchs of modern France stamped their own character on their subjects, or



rather, their own character was a faithful representation of the character of their subjects. Had the gospel entered France through the most illustrious of the Valois, it would have given to the nation what it has not—a spiritual tendency, a Christian holiness, an understanding in divine things, and would thus have made it complete in that which contributes most to the power and greatness of kingdoms.

Under the reign of Francis I, France and Europe passed from the middle ages to modern times. The new world, which was in embryo when this prince mounted the throne, then grew up and entered into possession. Two classes of men exercised an influence over the new society. On the one hand arose the men of faith, who were at the same time the men of wisdom and holiness, and close beside them the writers of the court, the friends of worldliness and disorder, who, by the licentiousness of their principles, contributed as much to the corruption of manners, as the former class did to their reformation.

Had not Europe, in the days of Francis I, seen the Reformer arise, and had she, by a severe judgment of Providence, been given up to infidel innovators, it was all over both with her and with Christianity. The danger was great. For some time, these two classes of combatants the adversaries of the pope, and of Jesus Christ, were confounded together. Both calling for liberty, seemed to make use of the same arms against the same enemies. Amid the turmoil of the battle-field, an inexperienced eye might have been unable to distinguish between them. Had the Reformers allowed themselves to be hurried along by the Literati, all was lost. The enemies of the hierarchy passed rapidly to the extreme of impiety, and were pushing Christian society into a frightful abyss. The papacy itself contributed to this dreadful catastrophe, by its ambition and disorders hastening the destruction of those remains of truth and life which had continued in the Church. But God raised up the Reformation, and Christianity was saved. The Reformers who had cried 'Liberty!' shortly after shouted 'Obedience!' The very men who had overturned the throne on which the Roman pontiff delivered his oracles, prostrated themselves before the word of God. The separation was now precise and decisive: even war was declared between the two divisions of the army. The one had wished liberty only for themselves, the other had claimed it for the word of God. The Reformation became the most formidable enemy of this infidelity, for which Rome often manifests some degree of indulgence. The Reformers, after restoring liberty to the Church, restored religion to the world. Of the two gifts, the latter was at this time the more necessary.

For a time, the friends of infidelity hoped to count among their number Margaret of Valois, Duchess of Alençon, whom Francis loved exceedingly, always, as Brantôme says, calling her his little pet.<sup>1</sup> The same tastes and the same talents existed in the brother and the sister. Margaret, handsome like Francis, joined the mild virtues which captivate to the strong qualities which form great characters. In the world, at festivities, at the court of the king, as well as at that of the emperor, she shone as a queen, charmed, astonished, and conquered all hearts. Passionately fond of literature, and endowed with rare talents, she retired to her study, and there gave herself up to the pleasures of thinking, writing, and acquiring knowledge. But her strongest wish was to do good and prevent evil. When ambassadors, after being received by the king, went to pay their respects to Margaret, "they were," says Brantôme, "exceedingly delighted, and carried back glowing descriptions of her to their country."<sup>2</sup>

This celebrated princess was always of the strictest morals, but while many people placed strictness in word, and freedom in act, Margaret did the contrary. Irreproachable in her conduct, she was not perfectly so in respect of her writings. In place of being surprised at this, perhaps the wonder ought rather to be, that one so corrupt as Louisa of Savoy, had a daughter so pure as Margaret. While journeying over the country in the train of the court, she employed herself in depicting the manners of the time, and, in particular, the corruption of priests and monks. Brantôme says, "I have heard it told by my grandmother, who always travelled with her in her sedan, how she and her maid of honour held the writing-desk."<sup>3</sup> Such, according to some, was the origin of the Heptameron; but highly-distinguished modern critics are convinced that Margaret was a stranger to this collection, sometimes more than frivolous, and that Despériers, valet de chambre to the queen, was its author.<sup>4</sup>

This Margaret, so beautiful, so talented, and living in the heart of a polluted atmosphere, was to be one of the first who was to be

<sup>1</sup> Vie des Dames illustres. (P. 333. Ed. Hagen, 1740.)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 337.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 346.

<sup>4</sup> This is proved by one of the most distinguished critics of our day, M. Ch. Nodier, in the Revue des Deux Mondes, tom. xx, where he says, *inter alia* p. 350, "Despérier is the real and almost sole author of the Heptameron. I have no hesitation in declaring that I have no doubt of this, and that I am entirely of the opinion of Bouistuan, who had no other inducement to omit or conceal the name of the Queen of Navarre. If, as I think, Margaret composed some of the tales, (the most decent, doubtless, of those in the Heptameron,) it must have been in early life, immediately after her marriage with the Duke d'Alençon (1509). The circumstance mentioned by Brantôme, that the queen-mother, and Madame of Savoy, "being young," wished to "imitate Margaret," is a proof of this. To this testimony we may add that of De Thou, who says, "Si tempora et juvenilem ætatem in qua scriptum est respicias non pro-sus damnandum, certe gravitate tantæ heroinæ et extrema vita minus dignum. (Thuan vi v. 117.) Brantôme and De Thou are unexceptionable witnesses.

carried along by the religious movement which then began to agitate France. But, in the midst of a court so dissolute, and the licentious tales which amused it, how could the Duchess of Alençon be reached by the Reformation? Her elevated soul felt wants which the gospel alone could satisfy: grace acts every where, and Christianity, which even before an apostle had appeared in Rome, had adherents in the house of Narcissus and in the court of Nero,<sup>1</sup> soon penetrated, at its revival, to the court of Francis I. Some ladies of the court addressed the princess in the language of faith, and the sun which was then rising in France shed some of its earliest rays on an illustrious head, by which they were immediately reflected on the Duchess of Alençon.

Among the most distinguished nobles of the court was William de Montbrun, son of Cardinal Briçonnet of St. Malo, who had entered the Church after he became a widower. Count William, who was passionately attached to literature, also took orders, and became successively bishop of Lodeva and of Meaux. Sent twice to Rome as ambassador, he returned to Paris without having been seduced by the charms and pomp of Leo X.

When he returned to France, the movement was universally spread. Farel, master of arts, was teaching in the celebrated college of Cardinal Lemoine, one of the four principal houses of the theological faculty of Paris, and equal in rank to the Sorbonne. Two countrymen of Lefevre, Arnaud and Gerald Roussel, and others besides, enlarged this circle of free and noble spirits. Briçonnet, who had just quitted the festivities of Rome, was astonished at what had taken place in Paris during his absence. Thirsting for knowledge, he renewed his old relations with Lefevre, and shortly after passed precious hours with the doctor of Sorbonne, Farel, the two Roussels, and their other friends.<sup>2</sup> Full of humility, this illustrious prelate was willing to be instructed by the humblest individuals, but above all by our Lord himself. "I am in darkness," said he, "waiting for the interposition of divine grace, of which I have deprived myself by my demerits." His spirit was, as it were, dazzled by the lustre of the gospel. He dared not to look up on its unparalleled refulgence. "All eyes united," he adds, "are insufficient to receive the light of this sun."<sup>3</sup>

Lefevre had referred the bishop to the Bible; he had shown him, as it were, the guiding thread which always conducts to the origi-

<sup>1</sup> Rom. xvi, 11; Phil. iv, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Hist. de la Revocat., de l'Edit. de Nantes, vol. i, p. 7. Maimbourg, Hist. du Calv. p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> These words of Briçonnet are taken from the MS. of the Bibliotheque Royale, entitled "*Letters of Margaret Queen of Navarre*," and marked S. F. 337. This MS., which I found great difficulty in deciphering, I will repeatedly have occasion to quote. The quotations are given in the language of the time.



nal truths of Christianity, to which it was antecedent to all schools, sects, ordinances, and traditions; he had shown him the powerful means by which the religion of Jesus Christ is renewed. Briçonnet read the Scriptures. "The sweetness of divine food is so great," said he, "that the longing of the mind for it becomes insatiable; the more it is tasted, the more it is desired."<sup>1</sup> The simple and mighty truths of salvation filled him with rapture; he found Christ, he found God himself. "What vessel," he exclaimed, "is capable of receiving the full amount of inexhaustible sweetness? But the lodging is enlarged according to the desire which is felt to receive the good guest. Faith is the chamber which alone can lodge him, or to speak more properly, which makes us lodge in him." At the same time the good bishop was grieved to see this doctrine of life, which the Reformation was restoring to the world, in so little esteem at court, in the city among the people; and he exclaimed, "O singular, most worthy, and by my fellows little relished innovation! . . ."

Thus did evangelical sentiments pave a way for themselves amidst the giddy, dissolute, and literary court of Francis I. Several individuals who belonged to it, and enjoyed the full confidence of the king, as John Du Bellay, Budé, Cop, the court physician, and even Petit, the king's confessor, seemed favourable to the sentiments of Briçonnet and Lefevre. Francis, who was fond of letters, and invited into his domains learned men who were inclined to "Lutheranism," and who "expected," says Erasmus, "thus to adorn and distinguish his reign more magnificently than he could have done by trophies, pyramids, or the most gorgeous buildings," was himself influenced by his sister, Briçonnet, and the Literati of his court and university. He attended the discussions of the learned—took pleasure in hearing their conversation at table, and called them "his sons." He prepared the way for the Word of God, by founding chairs for the study of Hebrew and Greek. Accordingly, Theodore Beza, on placing his portrait at the head of those of the Reformers, says, "O pious beholder, shudder not at the view of his adversary. Must not a share in this honour belong to him who, after banishing barbarism from the world, firmly fixed in its place three languages and sound literature, to form as it were porticos to the new edifice which was soon to be raised?"<sup>2</sup>

But at the Court of Francis I, there was an individual in particular who seemed prepared for the evangelical influence of the

<sup>1</sup> MS. of the Bibliothèque Royale, S. E. 337.

<sup>2</sup> Neque rex potentissime pudeat . . . quasi atrienses hujus ædis futuras. (Beze Icones.)—Disputationibus eorum ipse interfuit. (Flor. Ræmundi, Hist. de ortu hæresium, vii, p. 2.)



doctor of Etaples and the bishop of Meaux. Margaret, undecided and wavering in the midst of the dissolute society around her, sought support, and found it in the Gospel. Turning towards the new truth which was re-animating the world, she enhaled it with delight as an emanation from heaven. Some ladies of her court informed her of what was taught by the new teachers. She obtained their works and small treatises, called, in the language of the times, "Tracts." She heard the expressions "Primitive Church, pure Word of God, worship in spirit and in truth, christian liberty which shakes off superstition and human traditions, and attaches itself to none but God."<sup>1</sup> Shortly after, this princess became personally acquainted with Lefevre, Farel, and Roussel: she was struck with every thing about them,—their zeal, their piety, and their manners, but her principal guide in the way of faith was the bishop of Meaux, with whom she had long been intimate.

Thus was accomplished amid the brilliant court of Francis I, and the dissolute family of Louisa of Savoy, one of those conversions of the heart which, in every age, are produced by the Word of God. Margaret afterwards embodied in verse the different movements of her soul at this important era in her life. By this means we are able to discover some traces of the path which she then traversed. We see that she was deeply penetrated with a conviction of sin, and that she bewailed the levity with which she had treated the scandals of the world. She exclaims—

What depth of punishment can possibly suffice  
E'en for a tenth part of the guilt which on me lies?

This corruption of which she had so long been unconscious, every where met her view, now that her eyes were opened.

Within, well do I feel I have the root;  
Without are branch, and flower, and leaf, and fruit.<sup>2</sup>

Still, amid the alarm which she felt at the state of her soul, she discovered that the God of peace had drawn near to her.

My God, to me thou hast drawn nigh,  
Although a naked worm am I.

Ere long the love of God in Christ was shed abroad in her heart.

<sup>1</sup> Maimbourg. Hist. du Calvinisme. <sup>2</sup> Marguerites de la Marguerite des princesses. (Lyon, 1547.) Tom. i, Miroir de l'Âme Pecheresse, p. 15. The copy I have used apparently belonged to the Queen of Navarre herself: some notes in it are said to be by her own hand. It belongs to one of the author's friends. <sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 18, 19.

' My Father, then, . . . but who? yea the **Eternal**,  
 Always unseen, immutable, immortal,  
 Who will forgive by grace each sin of mine;  
 Therefore, O Lord, I cast me as a criminal  
 Before thy sacred feet, O sweet Emanuel;  
 Have pity then on me, Father divine.  
 Thou art the altar, thou the sacrifice—  
 Thou didst for us what doth indeed suffice,  
 Since God declares, 'tis pleasing in his eyes."

Margaret had found faith, and her soul became enraptured with holy transport,—

" Word divine! Christ Jesus! Lord!  
 Only Son of the Eternal God—  
 The first and last, and all-renewing  
 Bishop and King, in might triumphing,  
 From death, by death delivering.  
 Man is by faith made son of God,  
 And just and pure, kind like his Lord.  
 Man is by faith made free from stain;  
 And man by faith in Christ doth reign,  
 By faith I Christ possess, all riches gain."

From this period a great change had been effected in the Duchess of Alençon—

" Myself poor, ignorant, impotent,  
 In Christ am rich, wise, and puissant."

Still the power of evil was not destroyed. She felt in her soul a disagreement, a struggle which astonished her—

" Noble in mind, yet nature's slave,  
 Offspring of heaven, child of the grave;  
 Throne of God, yet vessel of sin;  
 Immortal, rottenness within,  
 Nourished by God, on earth I feed,  
 Fleeing bad, yet loving evil deed.  
 Reason I love, yet justice shun,  
 And till my course on earth is done,  
 In strife like this my days must run."

Margaret, seeking for some natural emblem which might express the wants and affections of her soul, took, says Brantome, that of the flower of the marigold, " which, by its corolla and leaves, has the greatest affinity with the sun, and follows it wherever it goes." <sup>5</sup> She added the following device:—

<sup>1</sup> Marguerites de la Marguerite des princess. Oraison à J. C., p. 143.

Discord de l'Esprit et de la Chair, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Miroir de l'Âme, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. Discord de l'Esprit et de la Chair, p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> Vie des Femmes Illustres,

p. 33.

'Non inferiora secutus'—

'I follow not the things below.'

"To testify," adds the courtly writer, "that she directed all her actions, thoughts, wishes, and affections to this great Sun, which was God; on this account she was suspected of Luther's religion."<sup>1</sup>

In fact, the princess soon experienced the truth of the words, that "*All who will live godly in Christ Jesus will suffer persecution.*" Margaret's new opinions were spoken of at court, and caused a great explosion. What! even the king's sister belong to those people! It might have been thought for some time that it was all over with Margaret. She was denounced to Francis I. But the king, who was very fond of his sister, affected to think there was nothing in it, while Margaret's own character gradually weakened opposition. Every one loved her; for, says Brantome, "She was very good, mild, gracious, charitable, of easy access, a great almsgiver, despising no one, and gaining all hearts by the good qualities which she had in her."<sup>2</sup>

Amid the corruption and levity of this age, the mind rests with delight on this choice soul which the grace of God could reach under all this vanity and worldly grandeur. But her character as woman did not allow her to go farther. If Francis I had had the convictions of his sister, he would doubtless have carried them fully out. The timid heart of the princess trembled before the wrath of her king. She was continually agitated between her brother and her Saviour, unwilling to sacrifice either the one or the other. She cannot be regarded as a Christian who had fully attained to the liberty of the children of God, but is a perfect type of those superior minds so numerous in all ages, especially among females, who, while powerfully drawn towards heaven, are, however, unable to disengage themselves entirely from earthly ties.

Still, as she is, she is one of the remarkable characters of history. Neither Germany nor England presents us with a Margaret of Valois. The star is, no doubt, somewhat dimmed, but there is a surpassing softness in its light, and even at the time of which I am now speaking, this light is easily discerned. It was not till a late period, when the angry look of Francis I betokened mortal hatred to the gospel, that his sister in alarm put a veil upon her faith. At present she lifts her head in the midst of this corrupt court, and appears in it as a bride of Jesus Christ. The respect which was paid to her, the high opinion entertained of her intellect and her heart, pleaded the cause of the gospel before the Court of France better than any preacher could have done. This mild female influence gave access to the

<sup>1</sup> Vie des Femmes Illustres, p. 33

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

new doctrine. Perhaps to this period may be traced the leaning of the French nobility to Protestantism. Had Francis also followed his sister—had the whole nation been thrown open to Christianity, the conversion of Margaret might have proved the salvation of France. But while the nobility received the Gospel, the throne and the people still adhered to Rome. It was ultimately a great misfortune to the Reformation to have had Condés and Navarres in its bosom.

---

## CHAPTER V.

Enemies of the Reformation—Louisa—Duprat—Concordat at Bologna—Opposition of the Parliament and the University—The Sorbonne—Beda—His character—His Tyranny—Berquin, the most learned of the nobles—The Leaders of the Sorbonne—Heresy of the three Magdalenes—Luther Condemned at Paris—The Sorbonne addresses the King—Lefevre quits Paris for Meaux.

Thus the gospel was already making illustrious conquests in France. In Paris, Lefevre, Briçonnet, Farel, Margaret, joyfully yielded to the movement which was beginning to shake the world. Francis I himself at this time seemed more attracted by the charms of literature, than repulsed by the severity of the gospel. The friends of the word of God were cherishing the fondest hopes: they were thinking that the heavenly doctrine would circulate without opposition throughout their native land, when a formidable opposition was formed at the Sorbonne and the Court. France, which was, during three centuries, to signalise herself in the cause of Roman Catholicism by her persecutions, rose up with pitiless severity against the Reformation. If, in the seventeenth century, it was a bloody victory, in the sixteenth it was a fearful struggle. Nowhere, perhaps, did the Reformed Christians find more merciless foes than on the very spots where they raised the standard of the gospel. In Germany, the enemy manifested his rage in other States; and in Switzerland he manifested it in other Cantons; but in France, the parties met face to face. A dissolute female, and an avaricious minister then stood at the head of a long list of enemies of the Reformation.

Louisa of Savoy, the mother of the king and of Margaret, notorious for her amours, despotic in her wishes, and surrounded by a female Court whose licentiousness was the commencement of a long series of immoralities and scandals in the Court of France, naturally arrayed herself against the word of God. She was the more to be dreaded in consequence of the almost unlimited influence which she always possessed over her son. But the gospel found a still more



formidable adversary in Louisa's favourite, Anthony Duprat, for whom she procured the appointment of chancellor of the kingdom. This man, whom a contemporary historian calls the most vicious of all bipeds,<sup>1</sup> was still more avaricious than Louisa was dissolute. Having at first enriched himself at the expense of justice, he afterwards wished to enrich himself, at the expense of religion, and entered into orders that he might obtain possession of the richest benefices.

Luxury and avarice were thus the characteristics of these two personages, who being both devoted to the pope, sought to hide the scandals of their life in the blood of heretics.<sup>2</sup>

One of their first acts was to deliver the kingdom to the ecclesiastical domination of the pope. The king, after the battle of Marignan, met with Leo X at Bologna, where was concluded the famous Concordat, in virtue of which, these two princes shared between them the spoils of the Church. They deprived Councils of their supremacy in order to give it to the pope, and churches of the appointment to bishopricks and benefices to give it to the king. Then Francis I, holding up the train of the pontiff's mantle, appeared in the cathedral church of Bologna, to ratify the negotiation. He felt the injustice of the Concordat, and turning to Duprat, whispered in his ear, "There is enough in it to damn us both."<sup>3</sup> But what cared he for his salvation? All he wanted was money and an alliance with the pope.

The Parliament offered a vigorous resistance to the Concordat. The king caused its deputies to wait for several weeks at Amboise, till one day, as he rose from table, he ordered their attendance, and then said to them, "There is a king in France, and I don't understand that a senate exists in it as at Venice." Thus saying, he ordered them to depart before sunset. Evangelical liberty had nothing to hope from such a prince. Three days after, Trémouille, the grand chamberlain, appeared in parliament, and ordered that the Concordat should be registered.

The university was now agitated. On the 18th March, 1518, a solemn procession, all the students and bachelors attending in their gowns, walked to the church of St. Catherine des Ecoliers, to supplicate the Diety for the preservation of the liberties of the Church and of the kingdom.<sup>4</sup> "Then were seen colleges closed, and scholars in armour walking over the town in large bands, threatening, and sometimes maltreating personages of note, while engaged, by command of the king, in publishing and executing the said Concordat."<sup>5</sup> At last, however, the university tolerated

<sup>1</sup> Bipedum omnium nequissimus. (Belcarias, xv, p. 435.)  
des Français.

<sup>2</sup> Matthieu, i, p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Crevier, v, p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> Sismondi. Hist.

<sup>5</sup> Fontaine

Hist. Cathol. Paris, 1562, p. 16.

its execution, but without revoking the enactments by which it had declared its opposition, "and thereupon," says Corroero, the ambassador of Venice, "the king began liberally to distribute bishopricks on the solicitation of the ladies of the court, and give offices to his soldiers; so that a traffic in bishopricks and offices was carried on at the court of France, in the same way as at Venice a traffic is carried on in pepper and cinnamon."<sup>1</sup>

While Louisa and Duprat were preparing to destroy the gospel by the destruction of the liberties of the Gallican Church itself, in another direction a fanatical and powerful party was formed against the Bible. Christian truth has always had two great enemies—the dissoluteness of the world, and the fanaticism of priests. Scholastic Sorbonne and a licentious court were to go hand in hand against the confessors of Jesus Christ. In the early days of the Church, infidel Sadducees and hypocritical Pharisees were the bitterest enemies of Christianity, and they are so at all times. The darkness of the School soon sent forth the most pitiless adversaries of the gospel. At their head was Noel Bedier, commonly called Beda, a Picard by birth, and syndic of the Sorbonne, who has been described as the greatest bawler and the most factious spirit of his time. Trained in the dry sentences of scholastics, having grown up among the theses and antitheses of the Sorbonne, venerating every distinction of the School far more than the word of God, he was transported with rage against those whose audacious mouths dared to utter other doctrines. Of a restless spirit, unable to give himself any repose, always longing for new pursuits, he was the plague of all who were near him. Trouble was his element; he seemed made to create storms; when he had no opponents, he attacked his friends. An impetuous quack, he made the town and the university echo with ignorant and violent declamations against literature, against the innovations of the time, and against all who were not at his beck eager enough in suppressing them. Several laughed when they heard him, but others gave credit to the speeches of the blustering orator, while the violence of his character secured him a tyrannical ascendancy in the Sorbonne. He behaved ever to have some opponent to contend with, some victim to drag to the scaffold. Accordingly, he had found heretics before they actually existed, and had demanded that Merlin, Vicar-General of Paris, should be burnt for having attempted to justify Origen. But when he saw the new teachers appear, he bounded like the wild beast which suddenly comes upon a prey which it can easily devour. "In our Beda are three thousand monks," said the prudent Erasmus.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Raumer. *Gesch. Europ.* i, p. 270.  
(Eras. Ep. p. 373.)

<sup>2</sup> In uno Beda sunt tria millia monachorum.

Still his very excesses injured his cause. "What!" said the wisest men of the age, "is it on such an Atlas that the Romish Church is to repose?"<sup>1</sup> What causes the fire but the follies of Beda?"

In fact, the same blustering oratory which struck terror into the feeble-minded, disgusted generous minds. At the court of Francis I, was a gentleman of Artois, named Louis Berquin, who was then about thirty years of age, and unmarried. The purity of his life,<sup>2</sup> his profound knowledge, which procured him the title "of the most learned of the nobility,"<sup>3</sup> the frankness of his disposition, his tender care of the poor, and the unbounded attachment which he showed to his friends, distinguished him among his equals.<sup>4</sup> The rites of the Church, fasts, feasts, and masses, had not a stricter observer;<sup>5</sup> in particular, he manifested a perfect horror at every thing that was called heresy. It was a marvellous thing to see so much devotion at the court.

It seemed impossible that any thing could dispose such a man in favour of the Reformation. There were, however, two features in his character which were destined to bring him to the gospel. He had a thorough disgust at every thing like dissimulation, and as he never wished to wrong a single individual, so he could not bear to see any body wronged. Hence the tyranny of Beda and other fanatics, their trickery and persecution, filled him with indignation; and, as he did nothing by halves, wherever he went, in the city and at the court, "even among the most distinguished of the kingdom,"<sup>6</sup> he inveighed with the utmost vehemence against the tyranny of these doctors, and attacked, "even in their hives," says Theodore Beza, "those odious hornets which were at that time the terror of the world."<sup>7</sup>

Nor was this enough. Opposition to injustice led Berquin to enquire after truth. He felt a desire to know that Holy Scripture, so much loved by the men against whom Beda and his partizans were raging, and no sooner did he begin to read, than it won his heart. Berquin was immediately brought into communication with Margaret, Briçonnet, Lefevre, and all who loved the Word, and from converse with them derived the purest enjoyment. He felt that he had some other thing to do than to oppose the Sorbonne. He could have wished to make all France acquainted with the convictions of his own soul. He accordingly began to write and translate into French

<sup>1</sup> Talibus Atlantibus nititur Ecclesia Romana. (Eras. Ep. p.1113.) Such the Atlas on whose shoulders the Roman Church is borne?  
<sup>2</sup> Ut ne rumusculus quidem impudicitie sit unquam in illum exortus. (Ibid., p. 1278.)

<sup>3</sup> Gaillard Hist. de Francois I<sup>er</sup>.  
<sup>4</sup> Mirere benignus in egenos et amicos. (Er. Ep. p. 1238.)

<sup>5</sup> Constitutionum ac rituum ecclesiasticorum observantissimus . . . (Ibid.)

<sup>6</sup> Actes des Martyrs de Crespin, p. 103.

<sup>7</sup> Ut maxime omnium tunc metuendos erabrones in ipsis eorum cavis . . . (Bezzæ Icones.)



several Christian works. It seemed to him that every one ought to acknowledge and embrace the truth as promptly as he himself had done. The impetuosity which Beda displayed in the cause of human traditions, Berquin displayed in the service of the word of God. Younger than the syndic of Sorbonne, less prudent, less able, his strength lay in a noble eagerness for truth. They were two powerful wrestlers, about to try which could throw down the other. But Berquin had something else in view than to give Beda a fall. Accordingly Theodore Beza says, "that France would perhaps have found in Berquin another Luther, could he have found in Francis I another Elector."<sup>1</sup>

Numerous obstacles were to trammel his efforts. Fanaticism ever meets with followers: it is a fire which increases as it goes. The monks and ignorant priests followed in the train of the syndic of the Sorbonne. An *esprit de corps* reigned in this company under the direction of certain intriguers and fanatics who knew adroitly how to avail themselves of the nonentity or vanity of their colleagues, in order to make them share in their enmities. At each sitting these leaders were the only spokesmen, over-awing the others by their violence, or reducing feeble and moderate men to silence. No sooner did they make a proposal than they exclaimed with threatening accents, "Now we shall see who they are that belong to the faction of Luther."<sup>2</sup> Did any one give utterance to equitable sentiments, Beda, Lecouturier, Duchesne, and their whole band, seemed horrified, and exclaimed all at once, "It is worse than Luther." This manœuvre was successful. The timid, who like better to live in peace than to dispute, those who are ready to abandon their own sentiments for their individual advantage, those who do not understand the simplest questions, those, in fine, who are always driven from their position by clamour, were dragged along by Beda and his tribe. Some remained mute, others shouted, all gave implicit submission to the power which a proud and tyrannical spirit exercises over vulgar souls. Such was the condition of this company, which was regarded as so venerable, and which was then the most impassioned enemy of evangelical Christianity. A glance at the most celebrated bodies would often be sufficient to set a just value on the war which they wage against truth.

Thus the university which, under Louis XII, had applauded the attempts at independence by Allmain, again plunged all at once into fanaticism and servility under Duprat and Louisa of Saxony. If we except the Jansenists, and some other teachers, we nowhere

<sup>1</sup> Gallia fortassis alterum esset Lutherum nacta. (Bezae Icones.)  
apparebit qui sint Lutheranae factionis. (Er. Ep. p. 889.)

<sup>2</sup> Illic inquam



find a true and noble independence in the Gallican clergy. All they have done has been to oscillate between servility towards the court and servility towards the pope. If, under Louis XII or Louis XIV, there was some appearance of liberty, it was because their master of Paris was then contending with their master of Rome. This explains the sudden change to which we have just referred. The university and the bishops ceased to remember their rights and their duties the moment the king ceased to demand it of them.

Beda had long been irritated against Lefevre. The fame of the doctor of Picardy enraged his fellow-countryman and offended his pride. He could have wished to shut Lefevre's mouth. Once already had Beda attacked the doctor of Etaples; and, little skilled as he was in discerning evangelical doctrines, he had attacked his colleague on a point which, strange as it may seem, well nigh brought Lefevre to the scaffold.<sup>1</sup> Lefevre had maintained that Mary, the sister of Lazarus, Mary Magdalene, and the woman that was a sinner, of whom St. Luke speaks (Luke, xvii), were three different individuals. The Greek fathers had distinguished between them, but the Latin fathers had confounded them. This dreadful *heresy* of the three Magdalenes, set Beda, and all his host, in motion. Christendom was aroused. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, one of the most distinguished prelates of that age, wrote against Lefevre, and the whole Church decided against an opinion now received by all Roman Catholics. Lefevre, who had been previously condemned by the Sorbonne, was prosecuted as a heretic by the Parliament, when Francis I, who was delighted at the opportunity of striking a blow at the Sorbonne and humbling monkery, rescued him from the hands of his persecutors.

Beda, indignant at being deprived of his victim, determined to take his measures better next time. Luther's name was beginning to make a noise in France. The Reformer, after the Leipsic discussion with Dr. Eck, had agreed to submit to the decision of the universities of Erfurth and Paris. The zeal which the university had displayed against the Concordat doubtless made him hope that he would find impartial judges in its bosom. But times had changed; and the more decision the faculty had shown against the encroachments of Rome, the more it was bent on displaying Rome's orthodoxy. Beda thus found it quite inclined to enter into his views.

On the 20th January, 1520, the censor of the French nation purchased twenty copies of Luther's conference with Dr. Eck for the purpose of distributing them among the members of the company who were to report on this affair. More than a year was

<sup>1</sup> Gaillard Hist. de François 1er. iv, p. 228.

employed in the investigation. The Reformation of Germany was beginning to make an immense sensation in France. The universities which were then institutions of true catholicity, and which were attended by crowds of students from all the countries of Christendom, brought Germany, France, Switzerland, and England into closer and readier connection in regard to theology and philosophy, than is the case at the present day. The noise which Luther's work had made at Paris, strengthened the hands of the Lefevres, Briçonnets, and Farel. Each of his victories animated them with courage. Several of the doctors of Sorbonne were struck with the admirable truths which they found in the writings of the monk of Wittenberg. Candid confessions were made; but, at the same time, fierce opposition was aroused. "All Europe," says Crevier, "were anxiously awaiting the decision of the university of Paris." The struggle seemed doubtful; but, at last, Beda carried the day. In April, 1521, the university decided that Luther's works should be publicly committed to the flames, and that their author should be compelled to recant.

Nor was this enough. Indeed, the disciples of Luther had crossed the Rhine still more rapidly than his writings. "In a short time," says the jesuit Maimbourg, "the university was filled with strangers, who, because they knew a little of Hebrew, and a good deal of Greek, acquired a reputation, insinuated themselves into the houses of persons of quality, and used an insolent liberty in interpreting the Bible."<sup>1</sup> The faculty named a deputation to present its complaints to the king.

Francis I, caring little for the quarrels of theologians, continued his round of amusements, and conducting the gentlemen and ladies of the court of his mother and sister from chateau to chateau, gave himself up to all sorts of dissipation, far away from the annoying gaze of the citizens of his capital. He thus travelled over Brittany, Anjou, Guienne, Angoumois, and Poitou, claiming the same service in villages and forests as if he had been at Paris in the Chateau des Tournelles. There were tournaments, combats, masquerades, sumptuous entertainments, tables covered with dainties, "by which," says Brantôme, "those of Lucullus were far surpassed."<sup>2</sup>

For a moment, however, he interrupted the round of his pleasures to receive the grave deputies of the Sorbonne. But he saw only learned men in those whom the faculty denounced to him as heretics. Would a prince, who boasted that he had taken the kings of France *out of leading strings*, lower his head before some fanatical doctors? "I am not willing," replied he, "that those people be

<sup>1</sup> Histoire du Calvinisme, p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Vie des Hommes illustres. i, p. 326.

molested. To persecute those who teach, would be to prevent men of talent from coming into the kingdom."<sup>1</sup> —

The deputation retired in a rage. What was to be the result? The evil was increasing from day to day; already men were beginning to call heretical opinions "sentiments of men of genius;" the devouring flame was spreading into the most secret recesses. The conflagration would blaze, and throughout France the edifice of faith would tumble with a crash.

Beda and his faction, unable to obtain scaffolds from the king, had recourse to more hidden persecution. There was no kind of annoyance to which the evangelical doctors were not subjected. There were constantly new reports and new denunciations. Old Lefevre, tormented by these ignorant zealots, sighed for repose. The pious Briçonnet, who ceased not to express his veneration for the doctor of Etaples,<sup>2</sup> offered him an asylum. Lefevre left Paris, and repaired to Meaux. This was a first advantage gained over the gospel, and it was thenceforth seen that if the faction could not succeed in gaining the aid of the civil power, it had a secret fanatical police, by means of which it could surely attain its end.

---

## CHAP. VI.

Brignonet visits his Diocese—Reformation—The Reformers Prosecuted at Paris—Philibert of Savoy—Correspondence of Margaret and Brignonet.

Thus Paris began to take part against the Reformation, and trace the first lines of that enclosure which was destined for nearly three centuries to hedge in the capital from the reformed worship. God had been pleased that the first rays of the Reformation should appear in Paris, but men immediately exerted themselves in extinguishing them; the spirit of the Sixteen was already fermenting in the metropolis, and other towns of the kingdom were about to welcome the light which the capital spurned away.

Briçonnet, on returning to his diocese, had displayed the zeal of a Christian and a bishop. He had visited all his parishes, and assembling the deans, curates, vicars, church-wardens, and the principal parishioners, had made himself acquainted with the doctrine and lives of the preachers. At the collecting season, he was told, the Franciscans of Meaux began their course; a single preacher

<sup>1</sup> Maimbourg, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Pro innumeris beneficiis, pro tantis ad studia commodis. (Epist. Dedicat. Ep. Pauli.) For innumerable favours, for so great help in study.

went over several parishes in one day, repeating the same sermon at each place, not in order to nourish the souls of his hearers, but to fill his belly, his purse, and his convent.<sup>1</sup> The wallet once filled, the end was attained, the preachers concluded, and the monks did not again appear in the churches till another begging season arrived. The only business of these shepherds is to clip the wool off their flocks.<sup>2</sup>

On the other hand, the curates, for the greater part, spent their incomes at Paris. "Oh!" said the pious bishop on finding a presbytery which he came to visit empty, "are not those traitors who thus abandon the warfare of Christ?"<sup>3</sup> Briçonnet resolved to remedy these evils, and convened a meeting of all his clergy on 13th October, 1519. But these worldly priests, who cared little for the remonstrances of their bishop, and for whom Paris had so many charms, took advantage of a custom, in virtue of which they could present one or more vicars to feed their flocks in their absence. Out of one hundred and twenty-seven vicars, Briçonnet found only fifteen whom he approved.

Worldly curates, imbecile vicars, monks who thought only of their belly. Such was the condition of the Church. Briçonnet denied the use of the pulpit to the Franciscans,<sup>4</sup> and persuaded that the only method of filling his bishopric with good ministers, was to form them himself, he determined on founding a school of theology at Meaux, and placing it under pious and learned teachers. It was necessary to find them. They were furnished by Beda.

In fact, this fanatical man and his company gave themselves no rest, and complaining bitterly of the toleration of the government, declared that they would make war on the new doctrines with it, without it, or against it. It was in vain that Lefevre had quitted the capital. Did not Farel and his friends remain? Farel, it was true, did not mount the pulpit, for he was not a priest, but at the university, in the town, with the professors, priests, students, and citizens, he boldly maintained the cause of the Reformation. Others animated by his example, were always becoming more open in spreading the word of God. Martial Mazurier, a celebrated preacher and president of the college of St. Michael, used no disguise in painting the disorders of the times in the darkest yet truest colours, and it seemed impossible to withstand the power of his eloquence.<sup>5</sup> The rage

<sup>1</sup> Ea solum doceri quæ ad cœnobium illorum ac ventrem explendum pertinent. (Acta Mart. p. 334.)

<sup>2</sup> MS. of Meaux. I am indebted to the kindness of M. Ladeveze, pastor of Meaux, for the copy of the MS. which is there preserved. <sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Eis in universa diocesi sua prædicationem interdixit. (Acta. Mart. p. 334.)

<sup>5</sup> Frequentissimas de reformandis hominum moribus conciones habuit. (Lannoi, Navarræ Gymnasii Hist. p. 261.)



of Beda and his theological partisans knew no bounds. "If we tolerate these innovators," said he, "they will gain possession of the whole body, and it will be all over with our lectures, our traditions, our places, and the respect shown to us by France and all Christendom."

The theologians of the Sorbonne proved the strongest. Farel, Mazurier, Gerard Roussel, and his brother Arnaud, soon saw their activity every where paralysed. The bishop of Meaux urged his friends to come and join Lefevre, and these excellent men hounded by the Sorbonne, and hoping that, beside Briçonnet, they might be able to form a holy phalanx for the triumph of the truth, accepted the invitation of the bishop and repaired to Meaux.<sup>1</sup> Thus the gospel light gradually withdrew from the capital where providence had kindled its first rays. *This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men have loved the darkness rather than the light, because their deeds are evil.*<sup>2</sup> It is impossible not to perceive, that Paris at this time drew down upon itself the judgment which these words of our Saviour express.

Margaret of Valois deprived successively of Briçonnet, Lefevre, and their friends, felt uneasy when she saw herself alone in the midst of Paris, and the licentious court of Francis I. She was on intimate terms with Philibert of Savoy, a young princess, her mother's sister. Philibert, whom the king, in order to seal the Concordat, had given in marriage to Julian the Magnificent, brother to Leo X, had after her marriage gone to Rome, where the Pope, overjoyed at the illustrious alliance, had expended a hundred and fifty thousand ducats in giving her sumptuous fetes.<sup>3</sup> In 1516, Julian, when in command of the army of the Pope, died, leaving his widow at the age of eighteen. She became attached to Margaret, who by her talents and her virtues had great influence on all around her. The grief of Philibert opened her heart to the voice of religion. Margaret imparted to her whatever she read, and the widow of the lieutenant general of the Church began to relish the soothing doctrine of salvation. But Philibert was too inexperienced to support her friend Margaret, who often felt humbled in thinking of her great weakness. If the love which she bore to the king, and the fear she had of displeasing him, led her into some act contrary to her conscience, she was immediately troubled in her soul, and turning again in sadness toward the Lord, she found in him, a master, a brother, more merciful and more soothing to her heart than Francis himself. At such a time she thus addressed her Saviour.

<sup>1</sup> They were obliged to quit Paris by the persecution raised against them at Paris. (Vie de Farel, par Choupard.)  
<sup>2</sup> John, iii, 19.  
<sup>3</sup> Guichemon, Hist. gén. de Savoie, ii, p. 180.

O gentle brother ! who when thou mightest chide  
 Thy erring sister, call'st her to thy side ;  
 For murmur, injury, and great offence,  
 Dost give her grace and love, as recompence.  
 Too much, alas ! yea far too much, my brother,  
 In me is no desert of such a treasure.

Margaret, seeing all her friends retiring to Meaux, turned a sad look towards them amid the festivities of the Court. Every one seemed to abandon her. Her husband, the duke D'Alençon, was setting out for the army: her young aunt Philiberte, for Savoy. The duchess turned towards Briçonnet, and thus wrote him:

"Monsieur De Meaux,—Knowing that only one is necessary, I address myself to you, praying you to supplicate heaven to guide, agreeably to its holy will, M. D'Alençon, who, by command of the king, is setting out as a lieutenant-general of the army, which, I fear, will not be disbanded without war. And thinking that, independent of the public good of the kingdom, you have a good title in whatever touches his salvation and mine, I ask your spiritual aid. To-morrow my aunt sets out from Nemours for Savoy. I am obliged to occupy myself with many things which give me many fears. Wherefore, if you know that master Michael could undertake a journey, it would give me a consolation which I ask only for the glory of God."<sup>2</sup>

Michael D'Arande, whose assistance Margaret requested, was one of the members of the evangelical society of Meaux who, at a later period, exposed himself to many dangers in preaching the gospel.

The pious princess was alarmed when she saw the formidable opposition which was rising and increasing against the truth. Duprat and the men in power, Beda and those of the Sorbonne, filled her with dismay. Briçonnet, in order to strengthen her, says in his reply, "War is what our gracious Saviour says in the gospel he had brought upon the earth; it was also fire . . . great fire, by which the terrestrial is transformed into the divine. I desire with all my heart to aid you, Madam; but, from my own nothingness, expect no more than the will. Whoso hath faith, hope, and love, has all that is necessary, and has no need of aid or assistance . . . God is all in all, and out of him is nothing to be found. In contending, have a stout heart . . . and love unspeakable . . . The war is carried on through love. Jesus demands the heart: unhappy the man who is estranged from him. He who fights in person is certain of victory. He often falls who fights by others."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Miroir de l'âme pécheresse. Marguerites de la Marguerite, etc., i, p. 86.

<sup>2</sup> Lettres de Marguerite, reine de Navarre. (Bibl. Royale Manuscript, S.F., 337. 1521.)

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 12th June, 1521.

The Bishop of Meaux began himself to know what it is to fight for the word of God. Theologians and monks, indignant at the asylum which he gave to the friends of the Reformation, violently accused him; so that his brother, the Bishop of St. Malo, came to Paris to examine the affairs.<sup>1</sup> Margaret was so much the more touched by the consolation which Briçonnet offered her, and replied with an offer of her assistance.

Writing him, she says, "If in any thing you think I can be of service to you or yours, rest assured that any trouble I may take will be my comfort. May eternal peace be given you, after those long wars which you carry on for the faith, and in which you desire to die.

"Ever your daughter, MARGARET."<sup>2</sup>

It is to be lamented that Briçonnet did not die in the struggle. Nevertheless he was then full of zeal. Philiberte of Nemours, respected by all for her sincere devotion, her liberality towards the poor, and the great purity of her manners, read with keen and increasing interest, the evangelical writings sent her by the Bishop of Meaux. "I have all the tracts which you sent me," wrote Margaret to Briçonnet, "my aunt of Nemours has had her share. I will send her the last, for she is in Savoy at the marriage of her brother, which is no small loss to me; wherefore, I pray you to have pity on me in my solitude." Unhappily, Philiberte did not live long enough to declare decidedly in favour of the Reformation. She died in 1524, at the castle of Virieu le Grand, in Bugey, at the age of twenty-six.<sup>3</sup> This was a sad blow to Margaret. Her friend, her sister, she who could entirely understand her, was taken from her. Perhaps, there was only one other death, that of her brother, at which she felt greater agony than now.

So many tears bedew my eyes,  
They veil my view of earth and skies,  
And like a spring incessant rise.

Margaret feeling how weak she was in resisting grief and the seductions of the court, begged Briçonnet to exhort her to the love of God. The bishop replied, "Our mild and gracious Lord, who wills, and who alone can do what he powerfully wills, is, in his infinite goodness, visiting your heart, exhorting it to love him with its own self. No other than he, madam, has power to do so: you must not expect light from darkness, nor heat from cold. By attracting he inflames, and by inflaming enlarges the heart, inducing it to follow him. Madam, you ask me to have pity upon you be-

<sup>1</sup> MS. de Meaux.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Bib. Roy., S. F. 227.

Maison de Savoie, ii, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> Guichemon Hist. de la

<sup>4</sup> Hymn after the king's death. (Marguerites, i,

p. 473.



cause you are alone. I do not understand this statement. He who lives in the world and has his heart in it remains alone. Excess and evil are companions. But she whose heart is asleep to the world, and awake to the meek and gracious Jesus, her true and faithful husband, is truly alone, living necessarily in Him alone, and yet is not alone, because not abandoned by Him who fills and keeps all. Pity I cannot and must not have for such solitude, which is more to be esteemed than the whole world, from which I am assured that the love of God has saved you, so that you are no longer its child. Madam, remain alone in Him alone who was pleased to suffer a painful and ignominious death and passion.

"Madam, recommending myself to your good graces, I beg you will be pleased no longer to use expressions similar to those in your last. Of God alone are you the daughter and spouse; no other father must you claim. . . . I exhort and admonish you to be to him as good a daughter as he is a good Father, . . . and though you should not be able to attain to this, I beg he would be pleased to increase your strength that you may wholly love and serve him."<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding of these words, Margaret was not yet comforted. She bitterly regretted the spiritual guides of whom she had been deprived; the new pastors whom it was sought to impose upon her in order to gain her back, had not her confidence, and after all that the bishop said she felt herself alone in the midst of the court. All around her seemed dark and desert. In a letter to Briconnet, she says—"Just as a sheep in a strange land, wandering unacquainted with its pasture, not knowing the new shepherds, naturally raises its head to get a view of the nook where the chief shepherd was wont to give it sweet nurture, am I constrained to beg your charity. Come down from the high mountain, and, among all this people estranged from the light, look in pity on the blindest of all the flock.

MARGARET."<sup>2</sup>

The Bishop of Meaux, in his answer, continuing the figure of a wandering sheep, proceeds to represent the mysteries of salvation under the figure of a forest. "The sheep," says he, "going into the forest, being led by the Holy Spirit, is forthwith enraptured with the richness, beauty, straightness, length, breadth, depth, and height, the invigorating and odoriferous fragrance of this forest; and after looking all around, sees only *Him in all, and all in Him*;<sup>3</sup> and, moving along with rapid step, finds it so pleasant that the journey is like life, joy, and consolation."<sup>4</sup> The bishop next represents the sheep vainly seeking the extremity of the forest (a figure of the soul trying to fathom the mysteries of God) falling in with high

<sup>1</sup> MS., S.F., 337, Bib. Roy., 10th July.  
<sup>2</sup> S.F., Bib. Roy.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid

<sup>3</sup> All in Christ.

<sup>4</sup> MS.



mountains which it attempts to climb, but everywhere finds "infinitude, inaccessible and incomprehensible." Then he shows her the path by which the soul in quest of God surmounts these difficulties; he shows her how the sheep in the midst of mercenaries finds "the nook of the Great Shepherd." "By means of faith," says he, "it begins the flight of contemplation;" everything is made smooth, everything is explained, and it begins to sing, "I have found him whom my soul loveth."

Thus spoke the bishop of Meaux. At this time, burning with zeal, he wished to see France renewed by the gospel.<sup>1</sup> Often, in particular, his mind turned to the three great personages who seemed to preside over the destinies of his countrymen. He thought that if the royal family was enlightened, the whole people would be so; and that the priests, aroused to jealousy, would at length quit their death-like state. "Madam," wrote he to Margaret, "I pray God most humbly, that he would be pleased by his goodness, to kindle a fire in the hearts of the king, madam, and yourself, so that you three may burn with a brilliant flame which will enkindle the rest of the kingdom, and specially that order by the coldness of which all others are frozen."

Margaret did not share these hopes. She speaks neither of her brother nor her mother; it was a subject which she dared not touch; but replying to the bishop, in January, 1522, (her heart dulled by the indifference and worldliness which surrounded her,) she says to him, "The time is so cold, the heart so frozen"—and she signs—"Your frozen, thirsty, and famishing daughter.

"MARGARET."

This letter did not discourage Briçonnet, but it made him enter into himself, and there feeling how much he who wished to quicken others stood in need of being quickened, he commended himself to the prayers of Margaret and Madame de Nemours. "Madam," wrote he with great simplicity, "I beg you by your prayers to awaken a poor slumberer."<sup>2</sup>

Such, in 1521, were the views exchanged at the court of the king of France—strange views, doubtless, which, after a lapse of more than three centuries, a manuscript of the Royal Library of Paris has revealed. Was this influence of the Reformation in so high a quarter advantageous to it, or was it hurtful? The arrow of truth penetrated to the court, but perhaps only served to awaken the slumbering ferocious beast, to stir up its rage, and make it pounce with greater fury on the humblest of the flock.

<sup>1</sup> *Studio veritatis aliis declarandæ inflammatus.* (Act. Mart., p. 324.)  
Bibl. Royale.

<sup>2</sup> MS.

## CHAP. VII.

First beginnings of the Church of Meaux—The Scriptures in French—The Tradesmen and the Bishop—Evangelical Harvest—The Epistles of St. Paul sent to the King—Lefevre and Roma—The Monks before the Bishop—The Monks before the Parliament—Brignonnet yields.

In fact, the time was approaching when the storm was to burst on the Reformation. Previously, however, it was to shed some additional seeds and reap some grain. This town of Meaux, made famous a century and a half afterwards by the sublime defender of the Gallican system against the despotic pretensions of Rome, was destined to become the first town in France in which a renovated Christianity was to establish its empire. It was at this time the field on which the cultivators were bestowing labour and seed, and where they were already laying down some sheaves. Briçonnet, less asleep than he said he was, animated, inspected, and directed everything. His fortune equalled his zeal; never did man make a nobler use of his wealth, and never did such noble devotedness seem destined from the outset to bear such excellent fruit. Transported to Meaux, the pious teachers of Paris thenceforth acted with new freedom. There was an emancipation of the Word, and the Reformation in France moved rapidly forward. Lefevre forcibly expounded that gospel with which he would fain have filled the world. "It is necessary," said he, "that kings, princes, nobles, people, all nations, think only of Jesus Christ,<sup>1</sup> and aspire to him. Each priest must resemble the angel that St. John saw in the Apocalypse, flying through the midst of heaven, holding in his hand the eternal gospel, and carrying it to every people, tongue, and kindred, and nation. Come pontiff, come kings, come generous hearts. . . . Nations awaken to the light of the gospel, and breathe life eternal?<sup>2</sup> The word of God is sufficient."<sup>3</sup>

Such, in fact, was the motto of this school,—"*The Word of God is sufficient.*" The whole Reformation is comprehended in this sentence. "To know Christ and his word," said Lefevre, Rousset, Farel, "is the alone living, the alone universal theology. He who knows this, knows all."<sup>4</sup>

The truth produced a deep impression in Meaux. First separate meetings were held, next conferences, and at last the gospel was

<sup>1</sup> Reges, principes, magnates omnes et subinde omnium nationum populi, ut nihil aliud cogitent. . . . ac Christum. . . . (Fabri. Comment. in Evang. Præfat.)

<sup>2</sup> Ubivis gentium expurgiscimini ad Evangelii lucem. . . . (Fabri. Comment. in Evang. Præfat.)

<sup>3</sup> Verbum Dei Sufficit. (Ibid.)

<sup>4</sup> Hæc est universa et sola vivifica Theologia. . . . Christum et verbum ejus esse omnia. (Ibid. in Ev. Johan., p. 271.)

preached in the churches. But a new exertion which was made gave a still more formidable blow to Rome.

Lefevre wished to enable the Christians of France to read the Holy Scriptures. On the 30th October, 1522, he published the French translation of the four Gospels; and on the 6th November, that of the other books of the New Testament. On the 12th October, Collin, at Meaux, published a volume containing the whole of the books thus translated; and in 1525, a French version of the Psalms.<sup>1</sup> Thus began in France almost at the same time as in Germany, the preaching and dissemination of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue—a procedure which was three centuries afterwards to be carried to so great an extent over the whole world. In France, as on the other side of the Rhine, the Bible had a decisive influence. Experience had taught many Frenchmen that when they sought to know divine things, doubt and obscurity appeared on every side. How many moments, and perhaps years, in their lives, during which they have been tempted to regard the most certain truths as illusions! We must have light from above to illumine our darkness! Such was the sigh of many souls at the period of the Reformation. With such desires, many received the sacred books from the hands of Lefevre. They were read in families and in the closet; and conversations on the Bible became frequent; Christ appeared to their long bewildered spirits as the sun and centre of all revelations. There was no more need of demonstrations to prove to them that the Scriptures were from the Lord. This they knew, for it had transformed them from darkness to light.

Such was the progress by which distinguished individuals in France arrived at the knowledge of God. But there were other methods more simple, and if the thing be possible, more vulgar, by which many of the people attained to the truth. The population of Meaux consisted almost entirely of mechanics and people trading in wool. “In many,” says a chronicler of the sixteenth century, “was engendered so ardent a desire to know the way of salvation, that artisans, carders, spinners, and combers, employed themselves while engaged in manual labour, in conversing on the word of God, and deriving comfort from it. In particular, Sundays and festivals were employed in reading the Scriptures and enquiring after the good-will of the Lord.”<sup>2</sup>

Briçonnet was delighted at seeing piety thus substituted for superstition in his diocese. “Lefevre, aided by the reputation of his great learning,” says a contemporary historian,<sup>3</sup> “was able by his plausible discourse so to cajole and circumvent master William Bri-

<sup>1</sup> Le Long, *Biblioth. sacrée*, 2d Edit., p. 42.    <sup>2</sup> Act. des Mart., p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> Hist.

Cath. de Temps, par Fontaine, de l'Ordre de St. François. Paris, 1562.



çonnet as to have him entirely devoted to him, so much so that it has never since been possible to purge the town and diocese of Meaux of this mischievous doctrine, even to this day, when it has marvellously increased. It is a great pity that this good bishop, who, till then, had been so devoted to God and the Virgin Mary, should have been so perverted."

Still all were not so entirely devoted as the Franciscan whom we have just quoted, represents. The town was divided into two parties. On the one side were the monks of St. Francis and the friends of the Romish doctrine; on the other, Briçonnet, Lefevre, Farel, and all who loved the new doctrine. An individual in ordinary life, named Leclerc, was one of the most servile adherents of the monks; but his wife and two sons, Peter and John, had eagerly received the gospel. John, who was a carder of wool, soon distinguished himself among the new Christians. James Pavanne, a young scholar of Picardy, "a man of great sincerity," whom Briçonnet had attracted to Meaux, showed great zeal for the Reformation. Meaux had become a focus of light. Persons who had occasion to visit it often heard the gospel and brought it back to their homes. The Holy Scriptures were searched, not in the town only, but also, says a chronicler, "several of the villagers did likewise, so that that diocese began to exhibit an image of the renovated Church."

The environs of Meaux being covered with rich crops at the season of harvest, great numbers of labourers flocked to it from the surrounding countries. When reposing at noon from their fatigues, they conversed with the inhabitants of the district, who spoke to them of other crops and other harvests. Several peasants from Thiérache, and especially from Landouzy, after they returned home persevered in the doctrine which they had heard, and shortly after there was formed in that place an evangelical church, which is one of the oldest in the kingdom.<sup>1</sup> "The fame of this great boon circulated over France," says the chronicler.<sup>2</sup> Briçonnet himself preached the gospel from the pulpit, and endeavoured everywhere to disseminate what he calls "that infinite, sweet, cheerful, true, and only light, which dazzles and illumines every creature who receives it, and which, in illuminating, dignifies him with the filial adoption of God."<sup>3</sup> He prayed his flock not to lend an ear to those who wished to turn them aside from the word. "Even," said he, "should an angel from heaven preach any other gospel unto you, do not listen to him." Sometimes he was seized with melan-

<sup>1</sup> These facts are taken from old papers, much defaced, found in the church of Landouzy-la-Ville (Aisne), per M. Colany, when he was pastor there. <sup>2</sup> *Actes des Mart.*, p. 182. <sup>3</sup> *MS., Bibl. Royale, S.F., No. 337.*



choly thoughts. He was not sure of himself. He recoiled in dismay when thinking of the fatal effects which might result from his unfaithfulness, and, forewarning his people, said to them—"Should even I, your bishop, change my discourse and doctrine, do you beware of changing with me."<sup>1</sup> At the time nothing gave intimation of such a disaster. "Not only was the word of God preached," says the chronicler, "it was practised; all works of charity and love were practised, manners were reformed, and superstitions brought into disrepute."<sup>2</sup>

Always full of the idea of gaining the king and his mother, the bishop sent to Margaret "the Epistles of St. Paul, translated and magnificently illuminated," begging her very humbly to present it to the king; "This from your hands," added he, "cannot but be agreeable. It is a royal dish," continued the good bishop, "nourishing without corrupting, and curing all diseases. The more we taste it, the more we hunger for it, with uncloying and insatiable appetite."<sup>3</sup>

What dearer message could Margaret receive? . . . . She thought the moment favourable. Michael d' Arande was at Paris, detained by command of the queen mother, for whom he was translating portions of the Holy Scriptures.<sup>4</sup> But Margaret would have wished Briçonnet himself to present St. Paul to her brother, and wrote to him, "You would do well to come here, for you know the confidence which the king and she place in you."<sup>5</sup>

Thus the word of God was at this time (1522, 1523) placed under the eyes of Francis I, and Louisa of Savoy. They were brought into contact with that gospel which they were at a later period to persecute. It does not appear that the Word made any salutary impression upon them. The Bible was then making much noise, and a feeling of curiosity made them open it; but it was no sooner opened than shut.

Margaret herself had difficulty in struggling with the worldliness which surrounded her on every side. Her affection for her brother, the obedience which she owed to her mother, and the flattery which she received at court, all seemed to conspire against the love which she had vowed to Jesus Christ. Christ was single against a number. The soul of Margaret, assailed by so many foes, and stunned by the noise of the world, sometimes turned aside from its Lord. Then recognising her fault, the princess shut herself up in her chamber, and giving herself up to grief, sent forth sounds

<sup>1</sup> Hist. Cathol. de Fontaine.

<sup>2</sup> Actes des Martyrs, p. 182.

<sup>3</sup> MS. of the

Bibliothèque Royale, S. F., No. 337.

<sup>4</sup> Par le commandement de Madame a quy il a lyvre quelque chose de la sainte Escripiture qu'elle desire parfaire. (Ibid.) By command of Madame, to whom he has delivered some portion of the Holy Scriptures, which she is desirous to peruse.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

very different from those jovial strains with which Francis and the young nobility associated in his debaucheries and festivities, caused the palace to resound.

Left you I have my pleasure to follow ;  
 Left you I have for a choice most hollow ;  
 Left you I have—but ah ! whither to go ?  
 Away where nought is but cursing and woe.  
 Left you I have a friend constant and true,  
 And then, to conceal your love from my view,  
 Have leagued with all that is hostile to you.

Then Margaret, turning towards Meaux, wrote in her anguish, " I return to you, to M. Fabry, (Lefevre) and all your band, begging you to obtain from ineffable mercy by your prayers, an awakening for a poor drooping slumbering creature . . . from her deep and deadly lethargy."<sup>2</sup>

Thus Meaux had become a focus of light. The friends of the Reformation gave themselves up to flattering illusions. Who could oppose the gospel if the power of Francis I paved the way for it? The corrupting influence of the court would then be changed into a holy influence, and France acquire a moral force which would make her the benefactress of the nations.

On the other hand the friends of Rome became alarmed. Among the most distinguished of those at Meaux was a Jacobin monk named De Roma. One day when Lefevre, Farel, and their friends were conversing with him and some other adherents of the papacy, Lefevre could not refrain from expressing his hopes. "The gospel," said he, "is already gaining the hearts of the grandees and people, and soon diffusing itself over all France, it will every where bring down the inventions of men." The old doctor had become animated, his eyes which had become dim sparkled, his trembling voice was again full toned. One would have said it was old Simeon thanking the Lord for having seen his salvation. The friends of Lefevre shared his emotion, and his opponents were dumb with astonishment. . . . All at once De Roma started up, and with the voice of a tribune of the people, exclaimed, "Then I and all the other monks will preach a crusade: we will stir up the people; and if the king permits the preaching of your gospel, we will make his own subjects chase him from his own kingdom."<sup>3</sup>

Thus a monk dared to enter the lists with a royal knight. The Franciscans applauded the words. The future predicted by the old doctor must not be allowed to be realised. Already the friars are day after day returning with diminished alms. The alarmed

<sup>1</sup> Les Marguerites, i, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> MS. in the Biblio. Royale, S. F., No. 337.

<sup>3</sup> Farel. Epiure au Duc de Lorraine. Gen, 1634.

Franciscans spreading themselves among families, exclaimed "These new teachers are heretics; the holiest observances they attack, the most sacred mysteries they deny! . . . ." Then becoming more emboldened, the most irritated of them come forth from their cloisters, repair to the episcopal palace, and being admitted to the presence of the prelate, exclaim, "Crush this heresy, or the plague which already devastates this town of Meaux will soon spread over the kingdom."

Briconnet was concerned, and for a moment at a loss how to deal with this attack; but he yielded not; he had too much contempt for these coarse monks and their selfish clamour. He mounted the pulpit, justified Lefevre, and called the monks Pharisees and hypocrites. Still this opposition produced trouble and an internal struggle in his soul; he tried to reassure himself by reflecting that these spiritual combats were necessary. "By this battle," said he, in his somewhat mystical language, "we reach a death, quickening and, at the same time, mortifying life; in living, we die, in dying, we live."<sup>1</sup> The path would have been safer, if hastening towards the Saviour, like the apostles, when tossed by the winds and waves, he had exclaimed, "Master, save us, we perish."

The monks of Meaux, furious at being repulsed by the bishop, resolved to carry their complaints to a higher quarter. They had a power of appeal. If the bishop will not yield, they can compel him. Their leaders set out for Paris, and came to an understanding with Beda and Duchesne. They hastened to the Parliament, and there denounced the bishop and the heretical teachers. "The town," said they, "and the whole neighbourhood are affected with heresy, and it is the episcopal palace itself that sends forth the polluted streams."

Thus, the cry of persecution against the gospel began to be heard in France. The priestly and the civil power, the Sorbonne and the Parliament, took up arms, arms that were to be dyed in blood. Christianity had taught that there are duties and rights anterior to all civil associations; had emancipated religious thought, founded liberty of conscience, and produced a great revolution in society; for antiquity, which saw the citizen every where, and man nowhere, had made religion simply an affair of state. But no sooner had these ideas been given to the world than the papacy had corrupted them. For the despotism of the prince, it had substituted the despotism of the priest. It had often even stirred up the prince and the priest against the Christian people. A new emancipation was required, and it took place in



the sixteenth century. In all places where the Reformation was established, it broke the yoke of Rome, and religious thought was again set free. But there is in human nature such a love of domineering over the truth, that among many Protestant nations the Church disengaged from the arbitrary power of the priest, is in our days on the point of again falling under the yoke of the civil power, and doomed, like its ruler, to vibrate incessantly between these two despotisms, to pass ever and anon from Caiaphas to Pilate, and Pilate to Caiaphas.

Briçonnet, who was held in high estimation at Paris, easily justified himself. But it was in vain he sought to defend his friends. The monks were not willing to return to Meaux empty handed. If the bishop is to escape, his brethren must be sacrificed. Of a timid character, not much disposed to abandon his riches and his rank for Jesus Christ, already alarmed and filled with sadness, false counsels led him still further astray. It was suggested to him that, if the evangelical doctors quitted Meaux, they could carry the Reformation elsewhere. An agonising struggle took place in his heart. At length worldly prudence prevailed; he yielded, and on the 12th April, 1526, issued an injunction, depriving these pious teachers of liberty to preach. This was Briçonnet's first fall.

Lefevre was the person principally aimed at. His commentary on the four Gospels, and especially his "epistle to Christian readers," which preceded it, had increased the rage of Beda and his band. They denounced the work to the faculty. "Does he not presume," said the blustering syndic, "to recommend the reading of the Holy Scriptures to all the faithful? Do we not read in it that whoso loves not the word of Christ is not a Christian;<sup>1</sup> and that the word of God is sufficient for eternal life?"

In this accusation Francis I saw only a cabal of theologians. He named a commission, and Lefevre, having justified himself before it, came off from the attack with the honours of war.

Farel, who had fewer protectors at Court, was obliged to quit Meaux. It appears that he at first repaired to Paris,<sup>2</sup> and that having attacked the errors of Rome without reserve, he could no longer remain, but was obliged to retire into Dauphiny, whither his heart was bent on carrying the gospel.

<sup>1</sup> Qui verbum ejus hoc modo non diligunt, quo pacto hi Christiani essent. (Præf. Comm. in Evang.) How can those who do not love his word in this way be Christians?

<sup>2</sup> "Farel, after living as long as he could at Paris." (Beza Hist. Eccl., i, 6.)



## CHAP VIII.

Lefevre and Farel Persecuted—Difference between the Lutheran and Reformed Churches—Leclerc puts up his Pancartes—Leclerc Branded—Zeal of Berquin—Berquin before the Parliament—Francis I saves him—Apostacy of Mazurier—Fall and Grief of Pavanne—Metz—Chatelain—Peter Toussaint becomes attentive—Leclerc breaks Images—Condemnation and Torture of Leclerc—Martyrdom of Chatelain—Flight.

Lefevre intimidated, Briçonnet beginning to backslide, Farel constrained to flee!—this was a first victory. The Sorbonne already thought themselves masters of the movement. The doctors and monks were congratulating themselves on their triumph. This however, was not enough: blood had not flowed. They accordingly set to work, and blood—since blood it must have—was soon to gratify the fanaticism of Rome.

The evangelical Christians of Meaux, seeing their leaders dispersed, sought mutually to edify each other. John Leclerc, a carder of wool, whom the discourses of the teachers, the reading of the Bible and of several religious books, had instructed in Christian doctrine,<sup>1</sup> was distinguished by his zeal and his readiness in expounding Scripture. He was one of those men whom the Spirit of God<sup>2</sup> fills with courage, and soon places at the head of a religious movement. The church of Meaux was not long in regarding him as its pastor.

The idea of an universal priesthood, an idea to which the first Christians were so much alive, had been restored in the sixteenth century, by Luther.<sup>3</sup> But this idea seemed then to remain theoretical in the Lutheran church, and became a living reality only in the Reformed churches. The Lutheran churches (and in this they agree with the Anglican church) seemed to hold a middle place between the Church of Rome and the Reformed Church. Among the Lutherans everything proceeded from the pastor or the priest, and nothing was good in the church that did not come organically through its heads. But the Reformed Churches, while holding the divine institution of the ministry, which some sects overlook, approximated nearer to the primitive condition of the apostolic communities. From the period of which we speak, they recognised and proclaimed, that Christian flocks were not simply to receive what the priest gives; that the members of the church, as well as

<sup>1</sup> Aliis pauculis libellis diligenter lectis. (Beza Icones.) Having carefully read some other short treatises.

<sup>2</sup> Animose fidei plenus. (Ibid.) Full of ardent

faith. <sup>3</sup> Volume second.

its leaders, possess the key of the treasury from which these draw their instructions, since the Bible is in the hands of all; that the grace of God, the spirit of faith, wisdom, consolation, and light, are not given to the pastor merely; that each is called to use the gift which he has received, for the common advantage; that often even a certain gift necessary for the edification of the church may be refused to the minister and granted to a member of his flock. Thus the passive state of the churches was exchanged for a state of general activity. It was in France especially that this revolution was accomplished. In other countries the Reformers are almost without exception pastors and doctors. But in France the men of learning are in close union with the men of the people. There God takes for his first workmen a doctor of the Sorbonne and a carder of wool.

Carder Leclerc now began to go from house to house confirming the disciples. But not stopping at these ordinary labours, he wished to see the edifice of the papacy crumbling to pieces, and France, from amid its ruins, turning with a shout of joy towards the gospel. His somewhat immoderate zeal reminds us of that of Hottinger at Zurich, and Carlstadt at Wittemberg. He accordingly drew up a proclamation against the Antichrist of Rome, in which he announced that the Lord was about to destroy it by the breath of his mouth. Then he boldly posted up his "Pancartes" on the very gate of the cathedral.<sup>1</sup> Forthwith all was confusion around the ancient edifice. The faithful were astonished, the priests enraged. What! a man employed in carding wool to attack the pope? . . . . The Franciscans were beside themselves, and demanded that this once, at least, a dreadful example should be made. Leclerc was thrown into prison.

His trial was concluded in a few days, under the very eyes of Briçonnet, who was obliged to see and endure it all. The carder was condemned to be beaten with rods three days in succession through the streets of the town, and then branded on the forehead. Shortly after, this sad spectacle was exhibited. Leclerc, with his hands tied and back bare, was led through the streets, and the executioners let fall upon his body those blows which he had brought upon himself by attacking the bishop of Rome. An immense crowd followed the procession, the course of which might have been traced by the blood of the martyr. Some uttered cries of rage against the heretic; others, by their silence even, gave him unequivocal marks of their tender compassion; a female with eye and tongue encouraged the poor sufferer. It was his mother.

<sup>1</sup> This heretic wrote *Pancartes*, which he posted up on the doors of the great church of Meaux (MS. of Meaux.) See also *Bezæ Icones*, *Crespin*, *Actes des Martyrs*, etc.

At length, on the third day, after the bloody procession was finished, Leclerc was taken to the ordinary place of execution. The executioner prepared the fire, heated the iron, the impress of which was to be burnt into the evangelist, and approaching him, branded him in the forehead as a heretic. A cry was heard, but it proceeded not from the martyr. His mother, who was present at the frightful spectacle, torn with grief, had a violent struggle within herself. The enthusiasm of faith was struggling in her heart with the love of the mother, and she exclaimed in a voice which made all her adversaries tremble, "Live Jesus Christ and his ministers."<sup>1</sup> Thus this Frenchwoman of the sixteenth century fulfilled the command of the Son of God—"He who loves son more than me is not worthy of me." Such boldness at such a moment deserved exemplary punishment; but the Christian mother had filled the priests and soldiers with amazement. All their fury was restrained by an arm more powerful than their own. The crowd giving way with respect, allowed the mother of the martyr, with lingering pace, to regain her humble dwelling. Even the monks and town-officers stood motionless as she passed. "Not one of her enemies," says Beza, "dared to lay a hand upon her." Leclerc having been released, retired to Rosay in Brie, a small town, six leagues from Meaux, and afterwards repaired to Metz, where we shall again meet with him.

The enemy triumphed. "The cordeliers having reconquered the pulpit, scattered about their lies and silly tales as usual."<sup>2</sup> But the poor mechanics of the town, deprived of the hearing of the Word at regular meetings, "began to assemble in secret," says our chronicler, "after the example of the sons of the prophets, in the time of Ahab, and the Christians of the primitive church; and according as opportunity offered, met one day in a house, and another day in some cave, or occasionally, also, in a vineyard or forest. Then he of their number who was best read in the Holy Scriptures, exhorted them. This done, they prayed together with great courage, supporting themselves with the hope that the gospel would be received in France, and that the tyranny of Antichrist would come to an end."<sup>3</sup> No power is capable of arresting the truth.

Still one victim was not sufficient. The first victim of persecution was a worker in wool; the second was a gentleman of the court. It was necessary to strike terror into the nobles as well as the people. The doctors of the Sorbonne at Paris were not the persons to allow themselves to be outstripped by the Franciscans

<sup>1</sup> Beze Hist. Eccl., p. 4. Crespin Hist. des Martyrs, p. 92.  
<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Actes des Martyrs,



of Meaux. Berquin, "the most learned of the nobles," had continued to gain new courage from the Scriptures, and after attacking "the hornets of the Sorbonne" in some epigrams, had openly accused them of impiety.<sup>1</sup>

Beda and Duchesne, who had not ventured to reply in their usual style to the witty sallies of a gentleman of the king, changed their view of the matter as soon as they discovered that these attacks were backed by serious convictions. Berquin had become a Christian, and his destruction was resolved. Beda and Duchesne, having seized some of his translations, found matter in them sufficient to burn more than one heretic. "He maintains," said they, "that it is unbecoming to invoke the Virgin in place of the Holy Spirit, and to call her the source of all grace.<sup>2</sup> He attacks the custom of calling her *our hope, our life*, and says that these titles are applicable only to the Son of God." There was more than this. Berquin's study was like a bookseller's shop, from which corrupting books were circulated all over the kingdom. In particular, the *Common Places* of Melancthon, written with so much elegance, made a deep impression on the literati of France. The pious gentleman living only amid folio volumes and *tracts*, had from Christian charity, become a translator, corrector, printer, and bookseller. . . . It was necessary to arrest this formidable torrent at its very source.

Accordingly one day when Berquin was quietly at his studies in the midst of his beloved books, his house was suddenly surrounded by armed police, who knocked violently at the gate. It was the Sorbonne and its agents, who, fortified with the authority of the Parliament, came to pay him a domiciliary visit. Beda, the formidable syndic, was at their head, and never did inquisitor better fulfil his duty: he made his way with his satellites into the library of Berquin, declared the mission with which he said he was entrusted, and ordering his people to have an eye upon Berquin, commenced his search. Not a book escaped his piercing glance; and by his orders an exact inventory of the whole was taken. Here a treatise of Melancthon, there a writing of Carlstadt! Here heretical books translated from Latin into French by Berquin, there others of his own composition. All the works which Beda seized with the exception of two, were filled with Lutheran errors. He left the house with his booty, more elated than ever general was with the spoils of conquered nations.<sup>3</sup> Berquin saw that a violent storm was about to burst upon his head, but his courage

<sup>1</sup> Impietatis etiam accusatos, tum voce tum scriptis. (Beze Icones.) He had accused them of impiety, both verbally and in writing.  
<sup>2</sup> Incongrue beatam Virginem invocari pro Spiritu Sancto. (Erasm Ep. 1279.)  
<sup>3</sup> Gaillard Hist. de François I, iv, 241. Crevier, Univ. de Paris, v, p. 171.



failed not. He despised his adversaries too much to fear them. Meanwhile Beda lost no time. On the 13th May, 1523, the Parliament issued a decree, bearing that all the books seized at the house of Berquin should be submitted to the Theological Faculty. The opinion of the company was not long delayed. On the 25th June they condemned the works to the fire as heretical, with the exception of the two which we have mentioned, and ordered Berquin to abjure his errors. The Parliament sanctioned the decision.

The gentleman appeared before this formidable body. He knew that a scaffold was probably behind; but like Luther at Worms he stood firm. In vain did the Parliament order him to recant. Berquin was not one of those who "*fall away*" after being "*made partakers of the Holy Ghost.*" "*He who is begotten of God keepeth himself, and that wicked one toucheth him not.*"<sup>1</sup> Every fall proves that the conversion was only apparent or partial. The conversion of Berquin was real. He answered firmly to the court before which he appeared. The Parliament, more severe than the Diet of Worms had been, ordered its officers to apprehend the accused and carry him to the Conciergerie. This was on the 1st August, 1523. On the 5th August the Parliament remitted the heretic into the hands of the bishop of Paris, in order that this prelate might take cognisance of the affair, and assisted by doctors and counsellors, pronounce due sentence on the culprit. He was transferred to the prison of the officiality.<sup>2</sup>

Thus Berquin passed from tribunal to tribunal, from prison to prison. Beda, Duchesne, and their company kept hold of their victim: but the court had always a grudge at the Sorbonne, and Francis was more powerful than Beda. There was a feeling of indignation among the nobility. Did these monks and priests forget what the sword of a gentleman was worth? "Of what is he accused?" said they to Francis. "For blaming the custom of invoking the Holy Spirit. But Erasmus and many others also blame this. And for such trifles must an officer of the king be put in prison?"<sup>3</sup> The blow is aimed at letters, true religion, the nobility, chivalry, the very crown." The king was pleased once more to provoke an outcry from all the company. He gave letters of liberation to the council, and on the 8th August an officer presented himself at the prison of the officiality bearing an order from the king to set Berquin at liberty.

It was a question whether the monks would yield. Francis who had foreseen that some difficulty might be made, had said to

<sup>1</sup> Hebrews, vi, 4; 1 John, v, 18.

periclitatus. (Erasm. Ep. 1279. Crevier, Gaillard, loc. cit.)

uœnias. (Er. Ep. 1279.)

<sup>2</sup> Ductus est in carcerem, reus hæreseos

<sup>3</sup> Ob hujusmodi

the officer entrusted with his orders, "If you meet with resistance, I authorise you to break open the door." These words were clear. The monks and the Sorbonne yielded, swallowing the affront; and Berquin, set at liberty, appeared before the king's council, and was acquitted.<sup>1</sup> Thus Francis had humbled the church. Berquin imagined that under his reign France might be emancipated from the papacy, and had thoughts of renewing the war. With this view he entered into correspondence with Erasmus, who immediately recognised in him a good man.<sup>2</sup> But "remember," said the philosopher, who was always timid and temporising, "that it is unnecessary to provoke the hornets; peacefully enjoy your studies."<sup>3</sup> Above all, do not mix me up with your affair; that would not be useful either to me or to you."<sup>4</sup>

This refusal did not discourage Berquin: if the most powerful genius of the age withdraws, he will trust in God, who never fails. The work of God is to be done with men or without them. "Berquin," says Erasmus himself, "was somewhat like the palm tree: he stood up and showed a bold front to whosoever sought to terrify him."<sup>5</sup>

This was not the case with all who had received the gospel doctrine. Martial Mazurier had been one of the most zealous preachers. He was charged with having preached very erroneous doctrines,<sup>6</sup> and even with having committed certain acts of violence, while he was at Meaux." "This Martial Mazurier, being at Meaux," says a manuscript of this town, which we have already quoted, "going to the church of the reverend fathers, the Cordeliers, and seeing the statue of St. Francis standing at the outside of the door of the convent, where at present a St. Roche is placed, threw it down and broke it." Mazurier was seized, and sent to prison,<sup>7</sup> when he suddenly fell into profound reveries, and deep anguish. It was the morality rather than the doctrine of the gospel, that had drawn him into the ranks of the Reformers, and morality left him without strength. Terrified at the scaffold which awaited him, thinking that in France the victory would be decidedly in favour of the Romish party, he easily convinced himself that he should gain more influence and honour by returning to the papacy. He therefore recanted, and caused doctrines to be preached in his parish the opposite of those which he was accused of having taught:<sup>8</sup> at a later period connecting himself with the most fanati-

<sup>1</sup> At judices, ubi viderunt causam esse nullius momenti, absolverunt hominem. (Er. Ep. 1279.) But the Judges seeing that the case was of no moment, acquitted him.

<sup>2</sup> Ex epistola visus est mihi vir bonus. (Ibid.) <sup>3</sup> Sineret crabrones et suis se studiis oblectaret. (Ibid.)

<sup>4</sup> Deinde ne me involveret suae causae. (Ibid.) <sup>5</sup> Ille, ut habebat quiddam cum palmâ commune, adversus deterrentem tollebat animos. Probably an allusion to Pliny, Nat. Hist., xvi, 42.

<sup>6</sup> Histoire l'Université par Crévier, v, p. 203. <sup>7</sup> Gaillard, His. de François 1st. v, p. 234.

<sup>8</sup> "Being a dexterous man, he escaped condemnation," says Crévier, v, p. 203.

cal doctors, and in particular with the celebrated Ignatius Loyola, he showed himself one of the most ardent supporters of the papal cause.<sup>1</sup> From the days of the Emperor Julian, apostates, after their faithlessness, have always proved the most pitiless enemies of the doctrines which they had for a time professed.

Mazurier soon found an opportunity of exercising his zeal. Young James Pavanne had also been cast into prison. Martial hoped that by causing his fall he might hide his own. The youth, amiable manners, learning, and integrity of Pavanne excited a strong interest in his favour, and Mazurier imagined that he would himself be less guilty if he could drag Master James into similar guilt. He repaired to his dungeon, and began his manœuvres. He pretended to have gone farther than he in the knowledge of the truth. "You err, James," he often repeated to him, "you have not seen the bottom of the sea: you know only the surface of the waves and billows."<sup>2</sup> Sophisms, promises, threats, nothing was spared. The unhappy youth seduced, agitated, shaken, at last yielded to these perfidious attacks, and publicly recanted his pretended errors the day after Christmas 1524. But from that time a spirit of despondency and grief from the Almighty was upon Pavanne. His sighs were incessant. "Ah," repeated he, "nothing remains to me but a life of bitterness." Sad reward of faithlessness!

There were however, among them who received the word of God in France, men of a more intrepid spirit than Pavanne and Mazurier. Towards the end of 1523, Leclerc had quitted Metz and gone into Lorraine, where, says Theodore Beza, he had followed the example of St. Paul at Corinth, who, while making tents, persuaded both Jews and Greeks.<sup>3</sup> Leclerc, while following his trade of wool-carder, taught the people of his own class. Several among them had been truly converted. Thus this humble artisan laid the foundations of a church which afterwards became celebrated.

Leclerc was not alone at Metz. Among the ecclesiastics of the town was an Augustin monk of Tournay, a doctor of theology, named John Châtelain, who had been brought to the knowledge of God,<sup>4</sup> by his intercourse with the Augustins of Antwerp. Châtelain had gained the respect of the people by the austerity of his manners,<sup>5</sup> and the doctrine of Christ preached by him in his chasuble and stole, had appeared to those inhabitants of Metz less strange, than when it came to them from the poor artisan who

<sup>1</sup> Cum Ignatio Loyolâ init amicitiam. (Laurei Navarrae gymnasii historia, p. 621.)

<sup>2</sup> Actes des Martyrs, p. 99.  
plum sectus. (Bezae Icones.)  
p. 180.)

<sup>3</sup> Acts, xviii, 3, 4. Apostoli apud Corinthios exem-

<sup>4</sup> Vocatus ad cognitionem Dei. (Act. Mart.

<sup>5</sup> Gaillard, Hist. de François Ier, v, p. 232.



quitted the comb with which he was carding wool, to explain a translation of the gospel in French.

Evangelical light, thanks to the zeal of these two men, was beginning to be diffused throughout the town. A very devout female of the name of Toussaint, of burgher parentage, had a son called Peter, to whom, when amusing himself beside her, she often addressed grave words. Every where, at this time, even in the houses of the citizens, something extraordinary was expected. One day the child, occupying himself with the diversions of his age, was riding through his mother's room on a long staff. She was conversing with some friends on religious matters, and said to them with emotion, "Antichrist will soon come in great power, and destroy those who shall have been converted by the preaching of Elias."<sup>1</sup> These words, which were often repeated, struck the child, who called them to mind at a later period. Peter Toussaint was full grown at the time when the doctor of theology and the wool-carder were preaching the gospel at Metz. His parents and friends, astonished at his youthful genius, hoped to see him one day occupying a distinguished place in the Church. One of his uncles, his father's brother, was primicier of Metz. This was the first dignity in the chapter.<sup>2</sup> Cardinal John of Lorraine, son of Duke René, who had a large establishment, had a great love for the uncle and nephew. The latter, notwithstanding of his youth, had just obtained a canonicate, when he began to give attention to the gospel. Might it not be that the preaching of Châtelain and Leclerc was that of Elias? Already, indeed, Antichrist was everywhere arming against it. But what then? "Let us," said he, "lift our heads toward the Lord, who will come and will not tarry."<sup>3</sup>

The gospel doctrine made its way into the first families of Metz. A person of considerable rank, the Chevalier d' Esch, an intimate friend of the primicier, had just been converted.<sup>4</sup> The friends of the gospel were delighted. "The knight, our good master, . . ." repeated Peter; "if however," added he, with a noble candour, "it is lawful to have a master on earth."<sup>5</sup>

Thus Metz was on the eve of becoming a focus of light when the imprudent zeal of Leclerc suddenly arrested its slow but sure progress, and raised a storm which well nigh ruined this rising Church. The great body of the lower classes continued to practise their old superstitions, and Leclerc's heart was grieved when he

<sup>1</sup> Cum equitabam in arundine longa, memini sæpe audisse me a matre, venturum Antichristum cum potentia magna, perditurumque eosqui essent ad Eliæ prædicationem conversi. (Tossanus Farrello, 4 Sept., 1525, MS. of the consistory of Neuchâtel.)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 21st July, 1525. <sup>3</sup> Levemus interim capita ad Dominum qui veniet nostra et non tardabit . . . (Ibid., 4th Sept., 1525.) <sup>4</sup> Clarissimum illum equitem . . . cui multum familiaritatis et amicitie, cum primuerio Metensi, patruo meo. (Ibid., 2nd August, 1524.) <sup>5</sup> Ibid., 21st July, 1525.



saw the city given up to idolatry. A great festival was at hand. About a league from the town was a chapel containing images of the virgin, and the most celebrated saints of the country, and to whom on a certain day all the inhabitants of Metz were accustomed to make a pilgrimage in order to worship the images, and obtain the pardon of their sins.

The eve of the festival having arrived, the pious and intrepid soul of Leclerc was violently agitated. Has not God said, "Thou shalt not bow down to their gods, nor serve them, nor do after their works; but thou shalt utterly overthrow them, and quite break down their images"?<sup>1</sup> Leclerc thought that this command of God was addressed to him, and, without consulting either Châtelain or Esch, or any of those who he might have suspected would oppose his scheme, in the evening, at nightfall, he went out of the town, and repaired to the chapel. There, seated in solemn silence beside these statues, he spent some time in meditation. He might indeed flee away; but . . . to-morrow, within a few hours, a whole city, bound to worship God only, would be prostrated before these blocks of wood and stone. A struggle similar to that which so often took place in the breasts of the primitive Christians, now took place in the soul of the wool-carder. What matters it that these images are those of male and female saints, and not those of the gods and goddesses of Paganism? Does not the worship which the people pay to these images belong to God only? Like Polyeuctes beside the idols of the temple, his heart shudders and his courage is inflamed:

Ne perdons plus de tems, le sacrifice est prêt,  
Allons-y du vrai Dieu soutenir l'intérêt,  
Allons fouler aux pieds ce fondre ridicule,  
Dont arme un bois pourri ce peuple trop crédule;  
Allons en éclairer l'avenglement fatal,  
Allons briser ces dieux de pierre et de métal;  
Abandonnons nos jours à cette ardeur céleste,  
Faisons triompher Dieu . . . qu'il dispose du reste.<sup>2</sup>

In fact, Leclerc stands up, approaches the images, lifts them, breaks them, and indignantly scatters the fragments before the altar. He doubted not that it was the Spirit of the Lord which inspired him to do so, and Beza is of the same opinion.<sup>3</sup> After this Leclerc returned to Metz, which he re-entered at day-break, being perceived by some persons at the moment when he was going through the gate of the town.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Exod., xx, 4; xxiii, 24.

admire in verse, they condemn in history.

(Bezae Icones.)

<sup>2</sup> Polyeucte par Pierre Corneille. What many

<sup>3</sup> Divini Spiritus afflatu impulsus.

<sup>4</sup> Mane apud urbis portam deprehensus.

Meanwhile, every thing was in motion in the ancient city. The bells were ringing, the trades assembled, and the whole town, headed by the canons, the priests, and the monks, went out in procession, repeating prayers and singing hymns to the saints whom they were going to worship, with crosses and banners in full display, while instruments of music responded to the chant of the faithful. At length, after walking more than an hour, the procession reached the place of pilgrimage. But what was the astonishment of the priests when presenting themselves, with the censer in their hand, they see the images which they came to worship mutilated, and their remains strewn the ground. They start back in dismay, and publicly announce the act of sacrilege. All at once the hymns cease, the instruments are mute, the colours are lowered, and the whole multitude are indescribably agitated. The canons, curates, and monks, strive to inflame the minds of the people, urging them to make a search for the culprit, and demand his death.<sup>1</sup> The cry is heard from all sides, "Death, death to the perpetrator of the sacrilege!" They return to Metz precipitately and without order.

Leclerc was known to all : he had repeatedly called images idols. Besides, had he not been seen at day-break on his way back from the chapel? Being apprehended, he immediately confessed the crime, and urged the people to worship God only. But this language increased the fury of the multitude, who would on the instant have dragged him to death. When taken before the judges, he boldly declared that Jesus Christ, God manifest in the flesh, ought alone to be worshipped. He was condemned to be burnt alive, and was led off to the place of execution.

Here a dreadful scene awaited him. The cruelty of his persecutors prepared every thing that could add to the horrors of his execution. Near the scaffold they were heating pincers to minister to their rage. Leclerc, calm and firm, stood unmoved amid the savage yells of the monks and people. They began by cutting off his right thumb ; then, seizing the hot pincers, they pulled off his nose ; then, still using the same instrument, they laid hold of both his arms, and, after breaking them in several places, seized him by the breast.<sup>2</sup> While the cruelty of his enemies was thus venting itself upon his body, his mind was at peace. Solemnly and with loud voice, he repeated the words of David,<sup>4</sup> "*Their idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hand. They have mouths, but they speak*

<sup>1</sup> Totam civitatem concitarunt ad auctorem ejus facinoris querendum. (Act. Mart. Lat. p. 189.)

<sup>2</sup> Naso candentibus forcipibus abrepto, eisdemque brachio utroque, ipsis que mammis crudelissime perustis. (Bezeæ Icones.) MS. de Meaux ; Crispin, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Altissima voce recitans. (Bezeæ Icones.)

<sup>4</sup> Psalm cxv, 4-9.

*not ; eyes have they, but they see not. They have ears, but they hear not ; noses have they, but they smell not. They have hands, but they handle not, neither speak they through their throat. They that make them are like unto them ; so is every one that trusteth in them. O Israel, trust thou in the Lord, he is their help and their shield."* His enemies, on seeing such strength of soul, were amazed, while believers felt strengthened.<sup>1</sup> The people who had manifested so much rage, were astonished and moved.<sup>2</sup> After these tortures, Leclerc was burnt at a slow fire, as his sentence bore. Such was the death of the first martyr for the gospel in France.

But the priests of Metz were not satisfied. In vain had they tried to shake Chatelain. "He is deaf like the adder," they said, "and refuses to hear the truth."<sup>3</sup> He was seized by the people of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and carried to the castle of Nommeny.

There he was degraded by the officials of the bishop, who took off his vestments, and scratched his finger with a bit of glass, saying, "By this scratching we deprive you of the power of sacrificing, consecrating, and blessing, which you received by the laying on of hands."<sup>4</sup> Afterwards, putting a layman's dress upon him, they remitted him to the secular power, which condemned him to be burnt alive. The pile was soon prepared, and the minister of Christ was consumed by the flames. "Lutheranism, nevertheless, spreads in all the district of Metz," say the authors of the History of the Gallican church, while approving greatly of these severities.

From the moment the storm had burst upon the Church of Metz, there was great distress in the house of Toussaint. His uncle, the primicier, without taking any active part in the persecutions of Leclerc and Chatelain, shuddered when the thought of his nephew belonging to these people. The alarm of his mother was greater still. There was not a moment to be lost ; all who had lent an ear to the gospel were threatened in their liberty and their life. The blood the inquisitors had shed, only increased their thirst, and new scaffolds were about to be erected. Peter Toussaint, the Chevalier d'Esch, and several others, quitted Metz in all haste, and took refuge in Basle.

<sup>1</sup> *Adversariis territis, piis magnopere confirmatis. (Bezzæ Icones.)*  
qui non commoveretur, attonitus. (Act. Mart. Lat. p. 189.)

serpentis aures omni surditate affectas. (Ibid., p. 183.)

digitos lamina vitrea erasit. (Act des Mart., Lat. p. 66.)

<sup>2</sup> *Nemo*

<sup>3</sup> *Instar aspidis*

<sup>4</sup> *Utriusque manus*

both hands with a bit of glass.



## CHAP. IX.

Farel and his brothers—Farel driven from Gap—He preaches in the fields—Chevalier Anemond of Coët—The Minorite—Anemond quits France—Luther to the Duke of Savoy—Farel quits France.

Thus the storm of persecution raged at Meaux and at Metz. The north of France repudiated the God, and for a time the gospel withdrew. But the Reformation only changed its place. The south eastern provinces became the theatre of it.

Farel, who had taken refuge at the foot of the Alps, there displayed great activity. To him it was a small matter to enjoy domestic happiness in the bosom of his family. The rumour of what had taken place at Meaux and at Paris, had inspired his brothers with a kind of terror; but an unknown power attracted them to the new and unknown truths with which William entertained them. With the impetuosity of his zeal he urged them to be converted to the gospel,<sup>1</sup> and David, Walter, and Claude, were at length gained to the God whom their brother preached. They did not at the first moment abandon the worship of their ancestors; but when persecution arose they boldly sacrificed friends, goods, and country for liberty to worship Jesus Christ.<sup>2</sup>

The brothers of Luther and Zuinglius appear not to have been as decidedly converted to the gospel. The French reformation had from the beginning a more friendly and domestic character.

Farel did not confine himself to his brothers; he announced the truth to his relatives and friends at Gap, and in its neighbourhood. It would even appear, if we can credit a manuscript, that, availing himself of the friendship of certain ecclesiastics, he preached the gospel in several churches;<sup>3</sup> but other authorities assure us that at this time he did not mount the pulpit. Be this as it may, the doctrine which he professed made a great noise. The multitude and the clergy wished to put him to silence. "A new and strange heresy!" said they. "Can it be that all pious observances are vain? He is neither monk nor priest. He has no right to act the preacher."<sup>4</sup>

All the civil and ecclesiastical powers of Gap were soon united against Farel. He was evidently an agent of the sect which was everywhere spoken against. "Let us," it was said, "cast far from

<sup>1</sup> MS. de Choupard.

<sup>2</sup> Farel, a gentleman of rank, possessed of good means, all of which he lost for religion, as did also his three brothers.

<sup>3</sup> He preached

the gospel publicly with great freedom.

<sup>4</sup> MS. de Choupard. Hist. des Evêq. de

Nismes, 1788.



us this firebrand of discord." Farel was summoned to appear, treated harshly, and violently banished from the town.<sup>1</sup>

He did not, however, abandon his native district. Did not the fields, the villages, and the banks of the Durance, the Guisanne, and the Isere contain many souls which had need of the gospel? And if he there ran some risk of danger, did not those forests, and caves, and steep rocks which he had so often visited in his youth, offer him an asylum? He began to go up and down the country, preaching in houses and amid lonely pastures, taking shelter in woods and on the brinks of torrents.<sup>2</sup> It was a school in which God was training him for other labours. "Crosses, persecutions, and the machinations of Satan, of which I had been forewarned, have not been wanting," said he, "they are far too strong for me to withstand them, but God is my father; he has furnished, and will furnish, me with all the strength I require."<sup>3</sup> A great number of the inhabitants of these districts received the truth from his mouth. Thus the persecution which had driven Farel from Paris and from Meaux, spread the Reformation throughout the provinces of the Saône, the Rhone, and the Alps. In all ages this scripture is fulfilled, "*Therefore they that were scattered abroad went everywhere preaching the word.*"<sup>4</sup>

Among the French who were then gained to the gospel, was a gentleman of Dauphiny, Chevalier Anemond of Coct, a younger son of auditor de Coct, lord of Chastelard. Quick, ardent, easily moved, pious hearted, an enemy of relics, processions, and the clergy, Anemond received the evangelical doctrine with great readiness, and soon was entirely devoted to it. He could not endure forms in religion, and would willingly have abolished all the ceremonies of the church. To him the religion of the heart, internal adoration, alone was true. "Never," said he, "has my spirit found any rest in externals. A summary of Christianity is contained in these words, "*John baptized with water, but you will be baptized with the Holy Spirit: there must be a new creature.*"<sup>5</sup>

Coct, who had all the vivacity of a Frenchman, spoke and wrote sometimes in Latin, and sometimes in French. He read and quoted the *Donat*, Thomas Aquinas, Juvenal, and the Bible. He spoke in short sentences, and passed abruptly from one idea to another. Always in motion, wherever a door appeared open to the gospel, or a celebrated doctor was to be heard, there he was to be found. By his warm-heartedness he gained the love of all with whom he was

<sup>1</sup> "He was expelled with great rudeness as well by the bishop as by the people of the town." (Ibid.)      <sup>2</sup> Olim errabundus in sylvis, in nemoribus, in aquis. (Farel ad Capit. de Bucer., Basil 25 Oct. Letter MS. of Neuchâtel.) I formerly wandered up and down in woods, and groves, and among waters.

<sup>3</sup> Non defuere crux, persecutio et Satanae machinamenta. (Farel Galeoto.)      <sup>4</sup> Acts, viii, 4.

<sup>5</sup> Nunquam in externis quievit spiritus meus. (Coctus Farello, MS. of the Consistory of Neuchâtel.)

brought into connection. "He is a man of distinguished truth and learning," said Zuinglius, at a later period, "but he is still more distinguished for his piety and affability."<sup>1</sup> Anemond is a kind of type of many Frenchmen of the Reformation. Vivacity, simplicity, zeal amounting to imprudence, such were some of the characteristics of his countrymen who embraced the gospel. In the other extreme of the French character we find the grave figure of Calvin, who forms a striking contrast to the fickleness of Coct. Calvin and Anemond are the two opposite poles, between which all the religious world in France vibrates.

No sooner had Anemond been instructed by Farel in the knowledge of Jesus Christ,<sup>2</sup> than he himself sought to gain souls to this doctrine of spirit and life. His father was dead: his elder brother, of a harsh and haughty temper, repulsed him with disdain. Laurence the youngest of the family, and who had a great affection for him, seemed only, partially, to comprehend him. Anemond seeing himself repulsed by his own family, turned his activity elsewhere.

Till now the revival of Dauphiny had been confined to laymen. Farel, Anemond, and their friends, longed to see a priest at the head of the movement. At Grenoble there was a curate, a minorite, named Peter de Seville, an eloquent preacher, and an honest good hearted man, who consulted not with flesh and blood, and whom God was gradually drawing to himself.<sup>3</sup> Seville soon perceived that there was no infallible teacher but the word of God, and abandoning doctrines supported only by human testimony resolved in spirit to preach the word "clearly, purely, holily."<sup>4</sup> These three words express the whole Reformation. Coct and Farel were delighted when they heard this new preacher of grace raise his eloquent voice in their province, and they thought that their presence would thenceforth be less necessary.

The more the revival extended, the more violent the opposition became. Anemond, desirous to know Luther and Zuinglius and the countries in which the Reformation had commenced, and indignant at seeing the truth repulsed by his fellow-citizens, resolved to bid adieu to his country and his family. Having made a will disposing of his property, (which was then in possession of his eldest brother, lord of Chatelard,) in favour of his brother Laurence,<sup>5</sup> he quitted Dauphiny and France, and hastening with his usual impetuosity from the south over countries then difficult to pass, he crossed

<sup>1</sup> Virum est genere, doctrinaque clarum, ita pietate humaniteque longe clariorem (Zw. Ep. 319.) <sup>2</sup> In a letter to Farel, (2nd Sept., 1524,) he subscribes himself "your humble son."

<sup>3</sup> Pater cœlestis animum sic tuum ad se traxit. (Zuinglius Seville. Ep., p. 320.) Our heavenly Father so draws your mind to himself.

<sup>4</sup> Nitide, pure, sancteque prædicare in animum inducis. (Ibid.) <sup>5</sup> "My brother, Anemond Coct, the knight, onleaving the country, made me his heir." (MS. Letters of the Library of Neuchâtel.)

Switzerland, and scarcely stopping at Basle, arrived at Wittemberg beside Luther. This was shortly after the second Diet of Nuremberg. The French gentleman accosted the Saxon doctor with his ordinary vivacity. He spoke enthusiastically of the gospel, and with earnestness explained the plans which he had formed for the propagation of the truth. Saxon gravity smiled at the southern imagination of the knight,<sup>1</sup> and Luther, though he had some prejudices against the French character, was won and carried away by Anemond. He was moved to think how this gentleman had come for the gospel from France to Wittemberg.<sup>2</sup> "Of a surety," said the Reformer to his friends, "this French knight is an excellent, learned, and pious man."<sup>3</sup> The young gentleman produced the same impression on Zuinglius and Luther.

Anemond seeing what Luther and Zunglius had done, thought that if they would take possession of France and Saxony, nothing could resist them, and hence when he could not persuade them to go thither, he urged them to consent at least to write. In particular, he begged Luther to address a letter to Duke Charles of Savoy, brother of Louisa and Philibert, uncle of Francis I and Margaret. "This prince," said he to the doctor, "takes a great interest in piety and true religion,<sup>4</sup> and likes to talk of the Reformation with some persons of his court. He is fitted to comprehend you, for his motto is '*Nihil deest timentibus Deum.*'"<sup>5</sup> This motto is also yours. Struck at alternately by the Empire and by France; humbled, grieved, always in danger, his heart is in want of God and his grace. All he requires is a powerful impulse. Were he gained to the gospel, he would have an immense influence over Switzerland, Savoy, and France. Do write him."

Luther was wholly German, and would have found himself ill at ease out of Germany. Still animated by a truly catholic spirit, he gave his hand as soon as he saw brethren—wherever there was a word to be delivered, he took care to have it heard. Occasionally he wrote on the same day to the extremities of Europe, the Low Countries, Savoy, and Livonia.

"Certainly," replied he to Anemond's request, "the love of the gospel in a prince is a rare gift, and an inestimable jewel."<sup>6</sup> He addressed a letter to the duke, which was probably carried by Anemond as far as Switzerland.

"Will your highness pardon me," wrote Luther, "if I, a humble

<sup>1</sup> Mere ardens in Evangelium, says Luther to Spalatin. (Ep. ii, p. 340.) "Sehr brünstig in der Herrlichkeit des Evangelii," are his words to the Duke of Savoy. (Ibid., p. 401.) <sup>2</sup> Evangelii gratia huc profectus e Gallia. (Ibid.) <sup>3</sup> Hic Gallus eques . . . optimus vir est, eruditus ac pius. (Ibid.) <sup>4</sup> Ein grosser Liebhaber

der wahren Religion und Gottseligkeit. (Ibid. p. 401.) <sup>5</sup> Nothing is wanting to those who fear God. (Hist. Gen. de la Maison de Savoie par Guichenon, ii. p. 228.)

<sup>6</sup> Eine seltsame Gabe und hohes Kleinod unter den Fürsten. (L. Ep. ii, p. 401.)



and despised individual, dare to address you, or rather will **your** Highness be pleased to impute this boldness to the glory of the gospel? For I cannot see this splendid luminary rise and shine in any quarter, without exulting with joy. . . . My desire is, that my Lord Jesus may win many souls by the example of your most serene Highness. Wherefore I wish to tell you of our doctrine. . . . We believe that the commencement of salvation, and the sum of Christianity, is faith in Christ, who by his blood alone, and not by our works, has expiated sin, and destroyed the dominion of death. We believe that this faith is a gift of God, and that it is created by the Holy Spirit in our hearts, and not found by our own exertion. For faith is a living thing,<sup>1</sup> which begets man spiritually, and makes him a new creature."

Luther next proceeded to the consequences of faith, and showed how we cannot possess it unless the scaffolding of false doctrines and human works which the church had so laboriously reared, were forthwith thrown down. "If grace," said he, "is gained by the blood of Christ, it is not by our own works. Wherefore all works and cloisters are useless, and these institutions must be abolished as being against the blood of Jesus Christ, and leading men to confide in their own works. Incorporated with Jesus Christ, it now only remains for us to do that which is good, because having become good trees, we ought to testify it by good fruits.

"Gracious Lord and Prince," says Luther in concluding, "may your Highness, who has begun so well, continue to spread this doctrine not by the power of the sword, which would do harm to the gospel, but by calling into your states teachers who preach the Word. It is by the breath of his mouth that Jesus will destroy Antichrist, in order that, as Daniel expresses it, he may "be broken without hand." (Dan., viii, 25.) Therefore, most serene Prince, may your Highness revive the spark which has begun to burn in you. May a fire come forth from the house of Savoy, as of old from the house of Joseph.<sup>2</sup> May all France be as stubble before the fire: may it burn, and crackle, and purify, so that this illustrious kingdom may bear in truth the name of *most Christian kingdom*, which till this hour it owes only to the torrents of blood shed in the service of Antichrist!"

Such was Luther's effort to spread the gospel in France. It is not known what effect the letter produced upon the Prince; but it does not appear that he ever showed any desire so detach himself from Rome. In 1522 he prayed Adrian VI to be godfather to his first son, and at a later period the pope promised the second a

<sup>1</sup> Der Glaube ist ein lebendig Ding . . . (L. Ep. ii, p. 402.) The original Latin is lost.

<sup>2</sup> Das ein Feuer von dem Hause Sophoy ausgehe. (Ibid., p. 405.)



cardinal's hat. Anemond after attempting to see the court and Elector of Saxony,<sup>1</sup> for which purpose he had received a letter from Luther, returned to Basle more determined than ever to sacrifice his life for the gospel. In his ardour he wished he were able to shake all France. "All that I am," said he, "and all that I shall be; all that I have, and all that I shall have, I wish to devote to the glory of God."<sup>2</sup>

At Basle Anemond found his countryman Farel. Anemond's letters had produced in him an eager desire to see the Reformers of Switzerland and Germany. Farel moreover required a sphere of activity, in which he could more freely display his powers. He therefore quitted that France which had nothing but scaffolds to give to the preachers of the pure gospel. Taking by roads and concealing himself in the woods, he succeeded, though with difficulty, in escaping the hands of his enemies. He frequently lost his way. "By my powerlessness in these petty things," saith he, "God means to teach me what my powerlessness is in great things."<sup>3</sup> At length in the beginning of 1524, he arrived in Switzerland. It was here he was to spend his life in the service of the gospel, and it was at this time that France began to send into Helvetia those generous evangelists who were to establish the Reformation in *Romane* Switzerland, and give it a new and powerful impulse throughout the Confederation, and the whole world.

---

## CHAP. X.

Catholicity of the Reformation—Friendship of Farel and Œcolampadius—Farel and Erasmus—Altercation—Farel calls for a Discussion—Theses—Scripture and Faith—Discussion.

A fine feature in the Reformation is its catholicity. Germans come into Switzerland—Frenchmen go into Germany—at a later period Englishmen and Scotchmen repair to the Continent, and teachers from the Continent to Great Britain. The Reformation of the different countries began almost independently of each other; but no sooner do they begin than they shake hands. There is but one faith, one spirit, one Lord. I think it was not well done hitherto to write the history of the Reformation only for one country. The work is one, and Protestant churches, from their origin, form one body, "fitly joined together."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vult videre aulam et faciem Principis nostri. (L. Ep. ii, p. 340.) <sup>2</sup> Quidquid sum, habeo, ero, habebove, ad Dei gloriam insuñnere meus est. (Coct. Ep. MS. of Neuchatel.) <sup>3</sup> Voluit Dominus per infirma hæc, docere quid possit homo in majoribus. (Farel Capitoni, *ibid.*) <sup>4</sup> Eph., iv, 16.

At this time a French church, saved from the scaffold, was formed at Basle by several refugees from France and Lorraine. They had spoken about Lefevre, Farel, and the events at Meaux, and hence when Farel arrived in Switzerland he was already known as one of the most devoted champions of the gospel.

He was immediately introduced to *Æcolampadius*, who had been for some time returned to Basle. Seldom have two more opposite characters met. *Æcolampadius*, charmed by his mildness, Farel carried away by his impetuosity; but from the first moment these two men felt united for ever.<sup>1</sup> It was the second union of a Luther and a Melancthon. *Æcolampadius* received Farel into his house, gave him a modest chamber, a frugal table, and introduced him to his friends. The learning, piety, and courage of the young Frenchman, soon won all hearts. Pellican, Imeli, Wolfhard, and other ministers of Basle, felt strengthened in the faith by his energetic discourses. *Æcolampadius* was at this time in very low spirits. "Alas!" said he to Zuinglius, "I speak in vain, and see not the least ground for hope. Perhaps I should have had more success among the Turks."<sup>2</sup> . . . "Ah!" added he with a deep sigh, "I blame nobody but myself." But the more he saw of Farel, the more his heart revived and the courage which was thus imparted to him became the basis of an imperishable affection. "Oh my dear Farel," said he to him, "I hope the Lord will make our friendship immortal! and if we cannot be united here below, our joy will only be the greater when we meet beside the Saviour in heaven."<sup>3</sup> Pious and touching thoughts! The arrival of Farel was evidently assistance sent to Switzerland from above.

But while this Frenchman was delighted with *Æcolampadius*, he recoiled coldly, and with a noble disdain, from a man at whose feet all the nations of Christendom did homage. The prince of scholars—he from whom a word and a look were objects of ambition—the master of the age, Erasmus, was disregarded by Farel. The young man from Dauphiny had refused to go and do homage to the old sage of Rotterdam, because he despised the men who are never more than half-way on the side of truth, and who, while aware of the dangers of error, are full of deference for those who propagate it. Thus in Farel was seen that decision which became one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Reformation in France and French Switzerland, and which has sometimes been stigmatised as rudeness, exclusiveness, intolerance. A discussion

<sup>1</sup> *Amicum semper habui a primo colloquio.* (Farel ad Bulling. 27th May, 1566.) He was even my friend after our first interview.

<sup>2</sup> *Fortasse in mediis Turcis felicius docuissem.* (Zw. et Ecol. Ep., p. 200.)

<sup>3</sup> *Mi Farelle, spero Dominum conservaturum amicitiam nostram immortalem; et si hic conjungi nequimus, tanto beatius alibi apud Christum erit contubernium.* (Ibid., p. 201.)

had taken place in regard to the commentaries of Lefevre, between the two greatest doctors of the period, and there never was a party where those present did not either take part with Erasmus against Lefevre, or for Lefevre against Erasmus.<sup>1</sup> Farel had not hesitated to take part with his master. But what had especially excited his indignation was the cowardice of the philosopher of Rotterdam in regard to evangelical Christians. Erasmus shut his door against them. Very well. Farel won't knock at it. This cost him but a small sacrifice, convinced, as he was, that Erasmus wanted the basis of all true theology, piety of heart. "The wife of Frobenius," he said, "has more theology than he." Indignant at Erasmus for having written to the pope, stating how he ought to proceed in order "to extinguish the fire raised by Luther," he declared loudly that Erasmus wished to stifle the gospel.<sup>2</sup>

Young Farel's independence irritated the illustrious scholar. Princes, kings, doctors, bishops, popes, reformers, priests, men of the world, all considered themselves happy in coming to pay him their tribute of admiration. Luther himself had showed some deference for his person, and this exiled stranger from Danphiny presumed to brave his power. This insolent freedom gave more chagrin to Erasmus than the homage of the whole world gave him joy. Accordingly he omitted no opportunity of discharging his bad humour at Farel: besides, in attacking so decided a heretic, he washed himself, in the eyes of the Roman Catholics, of the suspicion of hesesy. "Never," said he, "have I seen a more false, virulent, and seditious man."<sup>3</sup> His heart is full of vanity, his tongue full of malice."<sup>4</sup> But the wrath of Erasmus did not stop at Farel: it broke out against all the French refugees at Basle whose frankness and decision had annoyed him. They showed that they had little respect of persons. When the truth was not frankly professed, they cared little for the man, how great soever his genius might be. They perhaps wanted somewhat of the mild temper of the gospel, but their fidelity had in it something of the strength of the old prophets. We love to meet with men who refuse to bend to what the world worships. Erasmus, astonished at this proud disdain, complained to everybody. Writing to Melancthon he says, "What! shall we reject pontiffs, and bishops, only to have more cruel tyrants, scabbed madmen, for such France has sent us?"<sup>5</sup> "Some Frenchmen," wrote he to the pope's secretary in presenting him with his book on *Free Will*, "are still madder than the Germans themselves. They have always in their mouths these

<sup>1</sup> Nullum est pene convivium . . . (Er. Ep., p. 179.)

extinguatur incendium Lutheranum. (Ibid.)

<sup>2</sup> Quo nihil vidi mendacius, virulentius, et seditiosius. (Ibid., p. 798.)

(Ibid., p. 2129.)

<sup>3</sup> Scabiosos . . . rabiosos . . . nam nuper nobis misit Gallia. (Ibid., p. 350.)

<sup>4</sup> Consilium quo sic

<sup>5</sup> Quo nihil vidi mendacius, virulentius, et vanissimus. (Ibid.,

<sup>6</sup> Acidæ linguæ et vanissimus. (Ibid.,



five words—*Gospel, Word of God, Faith, Christ, Holy Spirit*—and yet I doubt not it is the spirit of Satan that impels them.”<sup>1</sup> Instead of *Farellus* he often wrote *Fallicus*, thus designating one of the frankest men of his age by the epithet of cheat or deceiver.

The spirit and wrath of Erasmus were at their height, when he was told that Farel had called him a *Balaam*. Farel thought that Erasmus, like that prophet, allowed himself, perhaps without knowing it, to be seduced by presents to speak against the people of God. The learned Dutchman, unable to contain himself, resolved to call the audacious Frenchman to account: and one day when Farel was talking on Christian doctrine with several friends, Erasmus, bluntly interrupting him, said, “Why do you call me Balaam.”<sup>2</sup> Farel, astonished at first at the bluntness of the question, soon recovered himself, and replied that it was not he who had so called him. Pressed to name the culprit, he mentioned Du Blet of Lyons, like himself a refugee at Basle.<sup>3</sup> “It may be he is the person who said it,” replied Erasmus, “but it was you who taught him to say it.” Then ashamed at having lost his temper, he quickly turned the conversation. “Why,” said he to Farel, “do you maintain that the saints are not to be invoked? Is it because the Holy Scriptures do not command it?” “Yes,” said the Frenchman. “Very well,” replied the scholar, “I challenge you to prove by Scripture that it is necessary to pray to the Holy Spirit.” Farel made this simple and true reply, “If he is God he must be invoked.”<sup>4</sup> “I left off the discussion,” says Erasmus, “for it was drawing to night.”<sup>5</sup> Thenceforth every time that the name of Farel came under his pen, it was to reproach him as a hateful being, to be shunned at all hazards. The letters of the Reformer, on the contrary, are full of moderation in regard to Erasmus. Even in the hottest temperament, the gospel is milder than philosophy.

At Basle, the Reformed doctrine had already many friends in the Council and among the people, but the professors of the University combated it with all their might. Œcolampadius and Stor, pastor of Liestal, had maintained theses against them. Farel thought it his duty in Switzerland also to make a public profession of the great principle of the Evangelical school of Paris and Meaux—the *sufficiency of the Word of God*. He asked permission of the University to maintain theses, “rather,” he added modestly, “that I may be corrected if I am wrong, than to teach others.”<sup>6</sup> The University refused.

<sup>1</sup> Non dubitem quin agantur spiritu Satanæ. (Er. Ep., p. 350.)

putationem . . . (Ibid., p. 804.)

hoc dixisse. (Ibid., p. 2129.)

p. 804.)

<sup>2</sup> Omissa disputatione, nam imminabat nox. (Ibid.) We have only the account of this conversation given by Erasmus, who himself tells us, that Farel also gave an account of it which differed greatly from his.

ob er irre. (Füssli Beytr. iv, p. 244.)

<sup>3</sup> Diremi dis-

<sup>4</sup> Ut diceret negotiatorem quemdam Dupletum

<sup>5</sup> Si Deus est, inquit, invocandus est. (Ibid.,

<sup>6</sup> Damit er gelehrt werde,



Farel then addressed the Council, and the Council announced that a Christian man named William Farel, having by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit prepared certain articles conformable to the gospel,<sup>1</sup> permission was given him to maintain them in Latin. The University prohibited every priest and student from appearing at this discussion, but the Council issued a contrary order.

The following are some of the thirteen propositions which Farel posted up:—

“Christ has given us the most perfect rule of life: no man is entitled to take from it or to add to it.

“To be guided by other precepts than those of Christ, leads directly to impiety.

“The true ministry of priests is to devote themselves to the administration of the Word: they have no higher office.

“To deprive the glad tidings of Christ of their certainty, is to destroy them.

“He who hopes to be justified by his own power and his own merits, erects himself into a God.

“Jesus Christ, whom all things obey, is our polar star, and the sole star which we ought to follow.”<sup>2</sup>

Thus this “Frenchman” presented himself at Basle.<sup>3</sup> A mountaineer of Dauphiny, brought up in Paris at the feet of Lefevre, came to this celebrated University of Switzerland, under the eye of Erasmus, and boldly expounded the great principles of the Reformation. Two ideas were contained in Farel’s theses. The one was the duty of returning to the Holy Scriptures; the other the duty of returning to faith; two things which the papacy, in the famous bull of Unigenitus, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, has decidedly condemned as heretical and impious, and which, closely connected with each other, in fact overturn the system of the papacy. If faith in Christ is the beginning and end of Christianity, it is to the word of Christ we must attach ourselves, and not to that of the Church. More than this: if faith unites souls, where is the necessity for an external bond of union? Do crosses, bulls, and tiaras constitute this sacred unity? Faith unites in a spiritual and true unity all those in whose hearts it fixes its abode. Thus vanished at one blow the triple delusion of meritorious works, human traditions, and a spurious unity. This is the whole of Roman Catholicism.

The discussion commenced in Latin.<sup>4</sup> Farel and Ecolampadius explained and proved their articles, repeatedly challenging their

<sup>1</sup> Aus Eingießung des heiligen Geistes ein christlicher Mensch und Bruder. (Fussli Beytr. iv, p. 244.)

<sup>2</sup> Gulielmus Farelus Christianis lectoribus, die Martis post Reminiscere. (Ibid., p. 247.) Fussli does not give the Latin text.

<sup>3</sup> Schedam conclusionum a Gallo illo. (Zw. Ep., p. 333.)

<sup>4</sup> Schedam conclusionum Latine apud nos disputatam. (Ibid.)

opponents to reply, but none of them appeared. The sophists (so *Æcolampadius* styles them) made a great bluster, but hidden in their obscure retreats.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly the people began to despise the cowardice of the priests, and to detest their tyranny.<sup>2</sup>

Thus Farel obtained a place among the defenders of the Reformation. People were delighted to see a Frenchman combining so much learning and piety. The greatest triumphs were anticipated. "He is strong enough by himself alone," it was said, "to destroy all the Sorbonne."<sup>3</sup> His candour, sincerity, and frankness, gained all hearts.<sup>4</sup> But in the midst of his activity, he forgot not that it was in his own soul his mission behoved to commence. The mild *Æcolampadius*, and the ardent Farel, entered into a paction in virtue of which they bound themselves to exercise humility and meekness in their ordinary conversation. These intrepid men knew how to train themselves for peace even on the very battle field. The impetuosity of a Luther and a Farel were however necessary virtues. Some effort must be made, when the end in view is to displease the world, and renovate the Church. The men of our day too often forget a truth which the meekest men of that day recognised. "Some," said *Æcolampadius* to Luther in introducing Farel to him, "some could wish that this zeal against the enemies of the truth were more moderate; but I cannot help seeing in this very zeal an admirable virtue, which, if seasonably displayed, is no less necessary than gentleness."<sup>5</sup> Posterity has confirmed the judgment of *Æcolampadius*.

In the month of May, 1524, Farel, with some friends from Lyons, visited Schaffhausen, Zurich, and Constance. Zuinglius and Myconius gave a glad welcome to this exile of France. Farel remembered it all his days. On his return to Basle he found Erasmus and his other enemies at work, and received orders to quit the town. In vain did his friends loudly testify their disapprobation of such an abuse of power. He behoved to quit the soil of Switzerland, which was hereafter doomed to great disasters. "Such," said *Æcolampadius*, "is the way in which hospitality is understood by us, true sons of Sodom."<sup>6</sup>

Farel, while at Basle, had continued upon intimate terms with Chevalier d'Esch, who resolved to accompany him. They accordingly set out furnished with letters to Capito and Luther, to whom the doctor of Basle recommended Farel as "the William who had

<sup>1</sup> Agunt tamen magnos interim thrasones, sed in angulis lucifugæ. (Zw. Ep. p. 333.) <sup>2</sup> Incipit tamen plebs paulatim illorum ignaviam et tyrannidem verbo Dei agnoscere. (Ibid.)

<sup>3</sup> Ad totam Sorbonnicam affligendam si non et perendam. (*Æcol. Luthero, Ep.*, p. 200.) <sup>4</sup> Farello nihil candidius est. (Ibid.)

<sup>5</sup> Verum ego virtutem illam admirabilem et non minus placiditate, si tempestive fuerit, necessariam. (Ibid.) <sup>6</sup> Adeo hospitum rationem habemus, veri Sodomitæ. (Zw. Ep., p. 434.)

laboured so much in the work of God.”<sup>1</sup> At Strasburg, Farel formed an intimate friendship with Capito, Bucer, and Hedio, but he appears not to have gone as far as Wittenberg.

## CHAP. XI.

New Campaign—Calling of Farel to the Ministry—An advanced post—Lyons an Evangelical Focus—Seville at Grenoble—Conventicles—Preaching at Lyons—Maigret in Prison—Margaret intimidated.

God usually removes his servants from the field of battle to bring them back stronger and better armed. Farel and his friends in Meaux, Lyons, and Dauphiny, driven from France by persecution, had become imbued, in France and Germany, with the spirit of the oldest Reformers: and now like an army at first scattered by the enemy, but instantly rallied, they were about to turn round and march forward in the name of the Lord. These friends of the gospel did not only reappear on the frontiers; in France itself they resumed courage, and prepared to renew the attack. The trumpets now sounded the reveillé: the soldiers buckled on their armour, and formed themselves in bands to multiply their blows: the leaders were preparing for the onset—the watchword “Jesus, his word and his grace”—more powerful than the flourish of martial music at the moment of battle, filled men’s hearts with equal enthusiasm. All was ready in France for a second campaign, which was to be signalised by new victories, and by new and greater reverses.

Montbeliard at this time demanded a labourer. Duke Ulric of Wittenberg, young, violent, and cruel, dispossessed of his estates in 1519, by the Suabian league, had taken refuge in this county, the only one of his dominions remaining to him. He saw the Reformers in Switzerland: his misfortunes proved salutary, and he felt a relish for the gospel.<sup>2</sup> Ecolampadius informed Farel that a door was opened in Montbeliard, and Farel hastened secretly to Basle.

Farel had not regularly entered the ministry, but at this period we find in him all that was necessary to constitute a minister of the Lord. He did not throw himself into the service of the church thoughtlessly and of his own accord. “Looking at my littleness,” he says, “I should not have dared to preach, waiting until my

<sup>1</sup> Gulielmus ille qui tam probe navavit operam. (Zw. et Ecol. Ep., p. 175.)

<sup>2</sup> A prince who had a knowledge of the gospel. (Farel Sommaire.)



Lord should send a fitter person.<sup>1</sup> But God gave me a triple call. He was no sooner arrived at Basle than Œcolampadius, touched with the wants of France, besought him to devote himself to it. "See," said he to him, "how little Jesus Christ is known by all who speak the French language. Will ye not give them some instruction in their mother tongue, that they may the better understand the Holy Scriptures?"<sup>2</sup> At the same time he received a call from the people of Montbeliard, and the prince consented.<sup>3</sup> Was not this triple call from God? . . . "I did not think," says he, "it could be lawful for me to resist. According to God I obey."<sup>4</sup> Concealed in the house of Œcolampadius, struggling with the responsibility which was offered to him, yet obliged to yield to the clear manifestation of the will of God, Farel accepted the charge, and Œcolampadius commended him to it, calling on the name of the Lord,<sup>5</sup> and giving his friend counsels full of wisdom. "The more you are inclined to violence," said he to him, "the more ought you to exercise yourself in gentleness—temper your lion courage with dove-like gentleness."<sup>6</sup> Farel answered this appeal with all his soul.

Thus Farel, of old an ardent follower of the ancient church, was going to become a servant of God in the new Church. If Rome demands, to the validity of an ordination, the laying on of the hands of a bishop descended by uninterrupted succession from the apostles, it is merely because she places human tradition above the word of God. In every church where the authority of the Word is not absolute, it is necessary to have recourse to another authority. And then, what more natural than to look to the most venerated ministers of God, for what they know not how to find in God himself? If they speak not in the name of Jesus Christ, is it not something at least to speak in the name of St. John and St. Paul? He who speaks in the name of antiquity, is stronger than the rationalist who speaks only in his own name. But the Christian minister has a still higher authority: he preaches not because he descends from St. Chrysostom and St. Peter, but because the word which he announces descends from God himself. The idea of succession, how respectable soever it may appear, is only a human system substituted for the system of God. In the ordination of Farel there was no human succession. Nay more, there was not in it a thing which is necessary in the Lord's flocks, among whom *everything must be done in order, God being not a God of confusion*. He had no ordination by the Church. But extraor-

<sup>1</sup> Summaire, c'est à dire, Briève Déclaration de G. Farel, in the Epilogue.

<sup>2</sup> (Ibid.)

<sup>3</sup> Being required and demanded by the people, with the consent of the prince.

<sup>4</sup> (Ibid.)

<sup>5</sup> With invocation in the name of God. (Ibid.)

<sup>6</sup> Leoninam magnanimitatem columbina modestia frangas. (Œcol. Ep., p. 198.)



dinary times justify extraordinary things. At this memorable period God himself interposed. By marvellous dispensations he consecrated those whom he called to the renovation of the world, and this consecration is well worth that of the Church. There was in Farel's ordination the infallible word of God given to a man of God to carry it to the world—the call of God and the people, and the ordination of the heart. Perhaps there is not a minister of Rome or Geneva who has been more legitimately ordained to the holy ministry. Farel set out for Montbeliard accompanied by D'Esch.

Farel was thus placed as an advanced post. Behind him were Basle and Strasburg, to support him by their counsels and printing presses. Before him stretched the provinces of Franche-Comté, Burgundy, Lorraine, Lyonnais, and the rest of France, where men of God were beginning to struggle against error in the midst of profound darkness. He immediately began to preach Christ, and to entreat the faithful not to allow themselves to be turned from the Holy Scriptures by threats or guile. Farel was at Montbeliard like a general on a height, with a piercing eye taking in the whole field of battle, urging those who are actually engaged, rallying those whom the impetuosity of the attack has thrown into disorder, and by his own courage inflaming those who remained behind.<sup>1</sup> Erasmus immediately wrote to his Roman Catholic friends that a Frenchman escaped from France was making a great disturbance in those regions.<sup>2</sup>

Farel's lessons were not in vain. One of his countrymen writing to him says, "Everywhere we see men springing up and spending their labour and their whole life in doing what they can to extend the gospel of Jesus Christ."<sup>3</sup> The friends of the gospel blessed the Lord that the Sacred Word was daily shining throughout Gaul with a brighter lustre.<sup>4</sup> The enemy was alarmed. "The faction," wrote Erasmus to the bishop of Rochester, "is every day extending more and more, being propagated in Savoy, Lorraine, and France."<sup>5</sup>

For some time Lyons seemed to be the centre of the evangelical movement within the kingdom, as Basle was beginning to be out of it. Francis I, going into the South on a campaign against Charles V, had arrived there with his mother, his sister, and his court Margaret had with her several individuals devoted to the gospel.

<sup>1</sup> This comparison was made by a friend of Farel during his stay at Montbeliard. . . . *Strenuum et oculatum imperatorem, qui iis etiam animum facias qui in acie versantur.* (Tossanus Farello, MS. of the Consist. Neuchatel, 2 Sept., 1524.)

<sup>2</sup> *Tumultuatur et Burgundia nobis proxima, per Phallicum quemdam Gallum qui e Gallia profugus.* (Er. Ep., p. 809.) <sup>3</sup> *Suppullulare qui omnes conatus adferant, quo possit Christi regnum quam latissime patere.* (MS. Neuchatel, 2 Aug., 1524.)

<sup>4</sup> *Quod in Gallis omnibus sacrosanctum Dei verbum in dies magis ac magis elucescat.* (Ibid.) <sup>5</sup> *Factio crescit in dies latius, propagata in Sabaudiam, Lothoriam, Franciam.* (Er. Ep., p. 809.)

"All others she left behind," says a letter of this period.<sup>1</sup> While Francis I sent through Lyons 6000 troops, and 1500 lances of French nobility, to join 14,000 Swiss, in order to repel the invasion of Provence by the imperialists—while this great city resounded with the noise of arms, the trampling of horses, and the sound of trumpets, the friends of the gospel were marching to more peaceful conquests. They wished to attempt at Lyons what they had been unable to accomplish at Paris. It might be that away from the Sorbonne and the Parliament, the word of God would have greater freedom. It might be that the second city of the kingdom was destined to become, with regard to the gospel, the first. Was it not here that, nearly four centuries before, worthy Peter Waldo began to spread the Divine word? He had at that time shaken France. Now that God had fully prepared the emancipation of his church, might not larger and more decisive success be anticipated? Accordingly the men of Lyons, though it is true they were not in general, as in the twelfth century, the "poor," began boldly to wield "the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God."

Among the persons about Margaret was her almoner, Michel d'Arande. The Duchess caused the gospel to be publicly preached in Lyons. Master Michel preached it loudly and purely to a large audience, attracted partly by the interest which the glad tidings excited wherever they are published, and partly also by the respect in which the preaching and the preacher were held by the beloved sister of the king.<sup>2</sup>

Anthony Papillon, a man of very cultivated mind, an elegant scholar, a friend of Erasmus, and "the first in France well-learned in the gospel,"<sup>3</sup> also accompanied the princess. He had at Margaret's request translated Luther's work on monastic vows, "which brought him into much trouble with those Parisian vermin," says Seville.<sup>4</sup> But Margaret had protected this learned man when attacked by the Sorbonne, and had procured him the office of First Master of Requests to the Dauphin, with a place in the Great Council.<sup>5</sup> He aided the gospel not less by his devotedness than by his prudence. A merchant named Vaugris, and especially a gentleman named Anthony Du Blet, a friend of Farel, were at the head of the Reformation in Lyons. The latter, possessed of great activity, served as a link to connect the Christians scattered over those districts and placed them in communication with Basle. While the warriors of Francis I only passed through

<sup>1</sup> De Seville à Coët, 28 Dec., 1524. (MS. de Neuchatel.)

appelé Maître Michel Eleymosinarius, lequel ne prêche devant elle que purement l'Evangile. (Ibid.) She has a doctor called Master Michael, the Almoner, who preaches before her only the pure gospel. (Ibid.)

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

Lyons, the spiritual soldiers of Jesus Christ stopped there with Margaret. Allowing the former to carry war into Provence and the plains of Italy, they began in Lyons itself to fight the battle of the gospel.

But they did not confine themselves to Lyons. They looked all around them. The campaign commenced in several quarters at once. The Christians of Lyons, by their words and their labours, encouraged all who confessed Christ in the surrounding provinces. They did more. They sent and preached it where it was not yet known. The new doctrine ascended the Saône, and an evangelist trod the rough and narrow streets of Maçon. Michel d'Arande himself, almoner to the king's sister, went thither in 1524, and, by the aid of Margaret's name, obtained liberty to preach in this town,<sup>1</sup> which, at a later period, was to be full of blood, and whose *leaps* were to pass into a by-word.

After climbing in the direction of the Rhone, the Christians of Lyons, ever on the out-look, climbed in the direction of the Alps. At Lyons there was a Dominican named Maigret, who had been obliged to quit Dauphiny where he had preached the new doctrine with decision. He urgently asked that some one should go and encourage his brethren of Grenoble and Gap. Papillon and Du Blet went.<sup>2</sup> A violent storm had just burst on Seville and his preaching. The Dominicans had moved heaven and earth. Furious at seeing so many evangelists, Farel, Anemond, Maigret, escape them, they would fain have annihilated those within their reach.<sup>3</sup> They had accordingly called for the apprehension of Seville.<sup>4</sup>

The friends of the gospel in Grenoble were in dismay. Must Seville also be taken from them? Margaret interceded with her brother. Several of the most distinguished persons of Grenoble, among others, the king's advocate, avowed or secret friends of the gospel, exerted themselves in behalf of the evangelical cordelier, and at length their united efforts rescued him from the fury of his enemies.<sup>5</sup>

But if Seville's life was safe, his mouth was shut. "Be silent," he was told, "or the scaffold awaits you." Writing to Anemond de Coct, he says, "Silence is imposed upon me under pain of death."<sup>6</sup> These menaces of the enemy alarmed even those of

<sup>1</sup> Arande preaches at Mascon. (Seville a Coct, MS. of Neuchatel.) <sup>2</sup> There were two great personages at Grenoble. (Ibid.) The title of *Messire*, given to Du Blet, indicates a person of rank. I presume that the term *negociator*, which is elsewhere given to him, refers to his activity. It is possible, however, he may have been one of the great merchants of Lyons.

<sup>3</sup> Conjicere potes ut post Macretum et me in Sevillam exarserint. (Anemond a Farel, 7 Sept., 1524, MS. Neuchatel.) You may guess that after Maigret and me their rage burnt against Seville.

<sup>4</sup> The Thomists wished to proceed against me by inquisition and imprisonment. (Letter of Seville. Ibid.) <sup>5</sup> Had it not been for certain secret friends, I had been placed in the hands of the Pharisees. (Ibid.)

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.



whom the best had been hoped. The king's advocate, and other friends of the gospel, now showed nothing but coldness:<sup>1</sup> several returned to the Romish ritual, pretending to worship God in the secrecy of their heart, and to give the external rites of Catholicism a spiritual meaning—a sad delusion, which leads from infidelity to infidelity. No hypocrisy can thus be justified. The unbeliever by means of his system of myths and allegories, will preach Christ from the Christian pulpit: and the follower of some abominable superstition among the heathen will be able, with a little intellect, to find in it the symbol of a pure and elevated idea. In religion the first thing is truth. Some of the Christians of Grenoble, among them Amedeus Galbert, and a cousin of Anemond, continued firm in the faith.<sup>2</sup> These pious men met in secret with Seville sometimes at the house of one or other of them, and *talked* together of the gospel. They repaired to some distant retreat, or went during the night to the house of a brother. They hid themselves to pray to Jesus Christ, as robbers do to commit crimes. More than once the humble assembly was disturbed by false alarms. The enemy connived at their secret conventicles, but they had sworn that the faggot would do justice to whoever should dare to discourse publicly of the word of God.<sup>3</sup>

It was in these circumstances that Messires Du Blet and Papillon arrived at Grenoble. Seeing that Seville's mouth was shut, they exhorted him to come and preach Christ at Lyons. The Lent of the following year was to present a favourable occasion for preaching it to a numerous crowd. Michael d'Arande, Maigret, and Seville prepared to fight at the head of the gospel phalanxes. Every preparation was thus made for a brilliant manifestation of the truth in the second city of France. The rumour of this evangelical Lent spread as far as Switzerland. "Seville is set free, and will preach this Lent, at St. Paul's at Lyons," wrote Anemond to Farel.<sup>4</sup> But a great disaster, carrying affliction into every part of France, prevented this spiritual combat. It is in peace that the gospel makes its conquests. The defeat of Pavia, which took place in the month of February, frustrated this bold plan of the Reformers.

Meanwhile, without waiting for Seville, Maigret, at Lyons, preached salvation by Christ alone, notwithstanding of the keen opposition of priests and monks.<sup>5</sup> In these discourses there was no longer any question as to the worship of creatures, the saints, the virgin, and the power of the priests. The great mystery of

<sup>1</sup> Non solum tepidi sed frigidi. (MS. Neuchatel.) Not only lukewarm, but cold.

<sup>2</sup> Tuo cognato, Amedeo Galberto exceptis. (Ibid.) <sup>3</sup> But to speak it publicly is to court the flames. (Ibid.) <sup>4</sup> The Saturday of Quatre-Temps, Dec. 1524.

(Ibid.) <sup>5</sup> In truth Maigret has preached at Lyons in spite of priests and monks. (Ibid.)



godliness, "God manifest in the flesh," was alone proclaimed. The ancient heresies of the paupers of Lyons, it was said, have reappeared in a worse form than ever. Notwithstanding of this opposition, Maigret continued his ministry. The faith which animated his soul expressed itself in powerful language. It is of the nature of truth to embolden the heart which has received it. However Rome was to prevail at Lyons as at Grenoble. In presence of Margaret, Maigret was arrested, dragged along the streets, and cast into prison. Vaugris, a merchant, who at this time left the town on a journey into Switzerland, spread the news as he passed along. They produced astonishment and despondency. One idea, however, calmed the fears of the Reformed: "Maigret is seized," it was said; "but *Madam d' Alençon is there, thank God!*"<sup>1</sup>

This hope was soon disappointed. The Sorbonne had condemned several of the propositions of this faithful minister.<sup>2</sup> Margaret, whose situation was always becoming more difficult, saw at once an increase in the hardihood of the friends of the Reformation, and in the hatred of its powerful enemies. Francis I began to feel impatient at the zeal of the evangelists. He saw in these fanatics what he deemed it right to suppress. Margaret, thus suspended between her desire of being useful to her brethren, and her inability to save them, sent an intimation to them not to throw themselves into new dangers, seeing that she would write no more to the king in their favour. The friends of the gospel thought that this resolution was not irrevocable, "God give her grace," said they, "to say and write only what is necessary to poor souls."<sup>3</sup> But if this human resource fails them, Christ remains. It is good for the soul to be left without help in order that it may lean on Christ alone.

## CHAP. XII.

The French at Basle—Encouragement of the Swiss—Fear of disunion—Translations and Printing Presses at Basle—Bibles and Tracts circulated in France.

Meantime the efforts of the friends of the gospel were paralysed. The great were beginning to be hostile to Christianity. Margaret was afraid: dreadful news were about to cross the Alps, and blow after blow to throw the kingdom into mourning, leaving only one thought—to save the king, to save France. But if the Christians

<sup>1</sup> MS. Neuchatel.

<sup>2</sup> Gaillard. Hist. de Francois 1er. iv, p. 233.

<sup>3</sup> Pierre

Toussaint à Farel, Basle, 17th Dec. 1524. (MS. Neuchatel.)

of Lyons were arrested in their labours, were there not at Basle soldiers who had escaped from the battle, and were ready to begin anew. The exiles of France have never forgotten her. Driven from their country for nearly three centuries by the fanaticism of Rome, we see their latest descendants carrying to the towns and fields of their fathers the treasures of which the pope deprives them. At the moment when the soldiers of Christ in France, in despondency, threw down their arms, the refugees of Basle prepared for the combat. Seeing the monarchy of St. Louis and Charlemagne tottering in the hands of Francis I, will they not feel called to aspire to *a kingdom which cannot be moved?*"<sup>1</sup>

Farel, Anemond, d' Esch, Toussaint, and their friends, formed in Switzerland an evangelical society with the view of delivering their country from spiritual darkness. Letters were received from all quarters informing them that the thirst for the word of God was growing in France.<sup>2</sup> It was necessary to take advantage of this—to water and sow seed during seed time. Ecolampadius and Oswald Myconius ceased not to encourage them in it. They gave their hand, and inspired them with their faith. The Swiss school-master, in January 1525, wrote to the French knight: "Banished as you are from your country by the tyranny of antichrist, your very presence in the midst of us proves that you have acted with courage in the cause of the gospel. The tyranny of the Christian bishops will soon make the people regard them only as liars. Remain firm. The time is not distant when we shall enter the haven of rest, whether tyrants strike us or be themselves struck,<sup>3</sup> and then all will be well with us, provided we be faithful to Jesus Christ."

These encouragements were precious to the French refugees; but a blow proceeding from these same Christians of Switzerland and Germany who sought to strengthen them, tore their hearts to pieces. Scarcely escaped from the faggot, they were in dismay when they saw the evangelical Christians beyond the Rhine disturbing the repose which they enjoyed by lamentable dissensions. The discussion on the Supper had begun. Moved and agitated, feeling strongly how much need there was of charity, the French would have given every thing to effect a reconciliation between these divided spirits. This became their ruling thought. At the period of the Reformation, none had so much need of Christian unity as they. Of this, at a later period, Calvin was a proof. "Would to God," said Peter Toussaint, "that I were able, with all my blood, which indeed is not worth much, to purchase peace, concord, and union in Jesus Christ."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Heb. xii, 28.

1524. MS. Neuchatel.)

<sup>2</sup> Gallis verborum Dei sitientibus. (Coetus Farello, 2 Sept. 1524. MS. Neuchatel.)

<sup>3</sup> Non longe abest enim, quo in portum tranquillum perveniamus. (Osw. Myc. to Anemond de Coet., Ibid.)

<sup>4</sup> 21st Dec. 1525. (MS. Neuchatel.)

The French, possessed of a clear and ready judgment, immediately perceived that this new discussion would arrest the work of the Reformation. "Every thing would go on much better than at present if we were agreed. There are many people who would willingly come to the light, but when they see these divisions among the clergy, they know not what to do."<sup>1</sup>

The French were the first who thought of taking steps for reconciliation. "Why," they wrote to Strasburg, "not send a Bucer, or some other learned man, to Luther? The longer we wait, the greater the dissension will become." These fears only increased.<sup>2</sup> At length, seeing their efforts useless, these Christians, in grief, turned their eyes away from Germany, and fixed them earnestly on France.

France, the conversion of France, thenceforth exclusively engrossed the heart of these generous men, whom history, which has inscribed on her pages the names of so many individuals vainly puffed up with their own glory, has not even mentioned. Thrown upon a foreign land, they there flung themselves upon their knees, and daily, in the solitude of their retreat, invoked God in behalf of the land of their fathers.<sup>3</sup> Prayer! Such was the power by which the gospel was spread over the kingdom, and the great instrument to which the Reformation owed her conquests.

But these Frenchmen were not only men of prayer; never did an evangelical army number soldiers more ready to devote their persons in the hour of battle. They saw the importance of diffusing the Holy Scriptures and pious books in their country, still immersed in the darkness of superstition. A spirit of enquiry circulated over the whole kingdom; it was necessary to give it wings. Anemond, always prompt in action, and Michael Bentin, another refugee, resolved to unite their zeal, their talents, their means, and their labours. Bentin wished to establish a printing press at Basle, and the knight, in order to turn to profit the little that he knew of German, proposed to translate the best works of the Reformation into French. In the joy which their project inspired, they exclaimed, "Would to God that France were completely filled with gospel volumes, so that everywhere in the cottages of the poor, and the palaces of the great, in cloisters and presbyteries, and in the inner sanctuary of the heart, a powerful testimony might be borne to Jesus Christ."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 21st Dec., 1525. (MS. Neuchatel.)

<sup>2</sup> Multis jam Christianis Gallis dolet quod a Zwinglii aliorumque de Eucharistia sententia, dissentiat Lutherus. (Tossanus Farello, 14th July, 1525.) Many Christians in France are now grieved that Luther differs from Zuinglius and others on the subject of the Eucharist.

<sup>3</sup> Quam sollicite quotidianis precibus commendem. (Ibid., 2nd Sept., 1525, Neuchatel.) How anxiously I commend them to God in my daily prayers.

<sup>4</sup> Opto enim Galliam Evangelicis voluminibus abundare. (Coctus Farello, MS. Neuchatel.) I would have France to abound in gospel volumes.



Such an enterprise required friends, and the refugees had nothing. At this time Vaugris was at Basle, and Anemond, on his departure, sent by him a letter to the brethren of Lyons, several of whom were rich in worldly goods, and who, though oppressed, were always faithful to the gospel. He asked them to send him some assistance.<sup>1</sup> But this was not enough. The French wished to establish several presses in Basle, which working night and day might inundate France with the word of God.<sup>2</sup> At Meaux and Metz, and other places besides, were men rich enough and powerful enough to aid in this enterprise. No man could address Frenchmen with so much authority as Farel. To him, therefore, Anemond turned.<sup>3</sup>

It does not appear that the knight's scheme was realised; but the work was done by others. The presses of Basle were constantly employed in printing French books. These were sent to Farel, who was unremitting in introducing them into France. One of the first productions sent by this Religious Tract Society was the Exposition of the Lord's Prayer by Luther. The merchant Vaugris, wrote Farel, "We sell the tract of the Pater at four deniers of Basle, by retail; but wholesale we sell 200 for two florins, which is not so much."<sup>4</sup>

From Basle, Anemond sent Farel all the useful books which appeared there, or arrived from Germany; one of these was a Treatise on the Training of Christian Ministers, and another on the Education of Children.<sup>5</sup> Farel examined these writings. He composed, translated, or procured others to translate into French. He appeared to be at once all action, and all study. Anemond urged on and superintended the press; and these epistles, these prayers, these books, all these flying sheets were the means of regenerating the age. While dissipation came forth from the throne, and darkness from the steps of the altar, these unobserved writings sent over the nation rays of light and seeds of holiness.

But it was the word of God, above all, that the evangelical merchant of Lyons demanded in the name of his countrymen. This people of the sixteenth century, hungering for intellectual food, were to receive in their own tongue those ancient monuments of the first ages of the world, and enbale the new breath of primitive humanity, together with those holy oracles of gospel times in

<sup>1</sup> Ut pecuniæ aliquid ad me mittant. (Coctus Farello MS. Neuchatel.)

<sup>2</sup> Ut præla multa erigere possimus. (Ibid.)

<sup>3</sup> An censes inveniri posse Lugduni Meldæ, aut alibi in Galâis qui nos ad hæc juvare velint. (Ibid.)

<sup>4</sup> Vaugris à Farel; Bâle, 29th August, 1524. (MS. Neuchatel.)

<sup>5</sup> Mitto tibi librum de instituendis ministris Ecclesiæ cum libro de instituendis pueris. (Ibid.) I send you

\*book on training ministers of the Church with a book on the training of children.

which the fulness of the Christian revelation is displayed. Vaugris wrote to Farel, "I pray you, if it be possible, to get a translation of the New Testament by some man able to make it. It would be a great boon to France, Burgundy, and Savoy. And if it was necessary to have a French letter (printing types,) I would cause it to be procured from Paris or Lyons. If good ones can be got at Basle, so much the better."

Before this time the books of the New Testament in French, but in detached parts, had been published by Lefevre at Meaux. Vaugris wished that some one would revise the whole, and superintend a complete edition. Lefevre undertook the task, and published it, as we have already said, on the 12th October, 1524. An uncle of Vaugris, named Conrard, a refugee at Basle, immediately procured a copy of it. On the 18th November, Chevalier de Coct, at the house of a friend, saw the book, and was overjoyed. "Haste and get it reprinted," said he, "for I doubt not that a very great number will be disposed of."<sup>1</sup>

Thus the word of God was presented to France in opposition to the traditions of the Church, which Rome still ceases not to offer to her. "How is it possible," asked the Reformers, "to distinguish between what is human in tradition, and what is divine, unless by the Scriptures of God? The sentences of Fathers, the decretals of the heads of the Church cannot be the rules of our faith. They show us what was the opinion of those ancient teachers; but the word alone informs us what is the truth of God. We must make every thing submit to Scripture."

Such was the principal means by which these writings were diffused. Farel and his friends entrusted the books to some dealers or hawkers, simple and pious men, who, bearing their precious burden, went from town to town, village to village, and house to house, in Franche-Comté, Lorraine, Burgundy, and the neighbouring provinces, knocking at every door. These books were given them at a low price, "in order that they might feel desirous to sell them."<sup>2</sup> Thus, as early as 1524, there was in Basle for the benefit of France, a Bible and Religious Tract Hawking Society. It is an error to suppose that these take their date from our age. In their essential idea they go back not only to the period of the Reformation, but to the first ages of the Church.

<sup>1</sup> MS. Neuchatel.

<sup>2</sup> Vaugris à Farel. (Ibid.)

## CHAP. XIII.

Progress at Montbeliard—Opposition and Disturbance—Toussaint quits Ecolampadius—The day of the Bridge—Death of Anemond—Successive Defeats.

The attention which Farel gave to France did not make him overlook the places in which he lived. Having arrived at Montbeliard, towards the end of July, 1524, he had there scarcely sown the seed, than, as Ecolampadius expresses it, the first-fruits of the harvest began to appear. Farel, quite delighted, wrote of it to this friend. "It is easy," replied the teacher of Basle, "to introduce some dogmas into the ears of the hearers, but to change the heart is God's own work."<sup>1</sup>

Chevalier de Coet, delighted with the news, repaired, with his ordinary vivacity, to Peter Toussaint. "I set out, to-morrow, on a visit to Farel," said he hastily. Toussaint, who was more calm, wrote to the evangelist of Montbeliard: "Take care; the cause that you maintain is a great cause; it must not be defiled by human counsels. The powerful promise you their favour, their assistance, mountains of gold. . . . But to trust in these things is, to desert Jesus Christ and walk in darkness."<sup>2</sup> Toussaint was finishing his letter when the Chevalier entered. He took it, and set out for Montbeliard.

He found the whole town in great agitation. Several of the great in alarm, and eyeing Farel disdainfully, said, "What does this poor wretch mean? Would to God he had never come! He cannot remain here, for he would involve us all in his ruin." These nobles, who had taken refuge at Montbeliard with the duke, feared that the noise which the Reformation everywhere made would draw upon them the attention of Charles V, and Ferdinand, who would chase them from their last asylum. But Farel met with the greatest resistance from the clergy. The guardian of the Franciscans of Besançon had hastened to Montbeliard, and had formed a plan of defence with the clergy of the place. On the following Sunday, Farel had scarcely begun his sermon when they interrupted him, calling him a liar, and a heretic. Immediately the whole assembly was in a stir. They rose up, and called for silence. The duke hastened up, caused both the guardian and Farel to be apprehended, and ordered the former either to prove his accusations, or to retract them. The guardian preferred the latter

<sup>1</sup> *Animum autem immutare, divinum opus est.* (Ecol. Ep., p. 200.)  
*quibus si pendemus, jam a Christo defecimus.* (MS. Neuchatel.)

<sup>2</sup> . . . A



alternative, and an official report was published on the whole affair.<sup>1</sup>

This attack aroused Farel still more. He thought himself thenceforth bound to show no delicacy in unmasking these selfish priests; and drawing the sword of the word, he dealt vigorous blows. He was more disposed to imitate Jesus, when he drove the money-changers from the temple, and overthrew their tables, than when the prophetic spirit bore this testimony to him: "*He shall not strive nor cry, neither shall any one hear his voice in the streets.*" Ecolampadius was alarmed. In these two men were perfect types of two diametrically opposite characters, and yet both worthy of admiration. "You have been sent," wrote Ecolampadius to Farel, "to draw men gently to the truth, and not to drag them with violence; to bring glad tidings, and not to curse. Physicians have recourse to amputation, only when other remedies are useless. Conduct yourself as a physician, and not as an executioner. I do not hold it enough for you to be mild towards the friends of the word. You must also gain its enemies. If the wolves are driven away from the sheepfold, let the sheep at least hear the voice of the Shepherd. Pour oil and wine into wounds, and conduct yourself as an evangelist, and not as a tyrant."<sup>2</sup>

The noise of these doings spread over France and Lorraine, and alarm began to be felt in the Sorbonne and by the Cardinal, at this union of the refugees in Basle and Montbeliard. It was wished to break up an alliance that gave uneasiness; for error knows no greater triumph than to win over deserters. Already, Martial Mazurier and others had given the Gallican papacy the joy produced by shameful defection; but if they could succeed in seducing one of these confessors of Christ, who had taken refuge on the banks of the Rhine, after having suffered much for the name of the Lord, how great a victory to the pontifical hierarchy! She accordingly prepared her batteries, and singled out the youngest as the object of attack.

The primicier, the Cardinal of Lorraine, and all who belonged to the numerous circles which met at the house of this prelate, deplored the sad fate of Peter Toussaint, who had given them so many hopes. He is at Basle, it was said, in the very house of Ecolampadius, living with one of the leaders of heresy. They wrote to him with earnestness, as if his eternal salvation had been at stake. These letters tormented the poor young man the more,

<sup>1</sup> Der Christliche Handel zu Mumpelgard, verlossen mit gründlicher Wahrheit. Quod Evangelistam, non tyrannicum, legislatorem præstes. (Ecol. Ep., p. 206.)

that he could not help seeing in them an affection which he valued.<sup>1</sup> One of his relations, probably the primicier himself, called upon him to go to Paris or Metz, or any place he pleased, provided it was away from the Lutherans. This relative, who was aware of all that Toussaint owed him, did not doubt that he would immediately obey his orders; and hence, when he saw his efforts unavailing, his affection was transformed into violent hatred. At the same time, this refusal on the part of the young refugee, exasperated against him all his family and all his friends. His mother, "who was under the power of the Court,"<sup>2</sup> was applied to. The priests surrounded her, frightened her, and persuaded her that her son had done things which could not be spoken of without horror. The mother, in despair, wrote her son a touching letter, as he expresses it, "full of tears," in which, in the most heart-rending manner, she depicted to him all her misfortunes. "Ah! wretched mother," said she, "ah! unnatural son: cursed be the breast that nursed, and the knees that bore you!"<sup>3</sup>

Poor Toussaint was, in consternation. What was he to do? Return to France he could not. To quit Basle for Zurich or Wittemberg, out of the reach of his family, would have encreased their sorrow. Œcolampadius suggested a middle course. "Quit my house," said he.<sup>4</sup> He, in fact, did quit Œcolampadius, with a heart full of sadness, and went to live with an ignorant and obscure priest,<sup>5</sup> well fitted to restore confidence to his relations. What a change for Toussaint! It was only at table he met his host. There they ceased not to debate on matters of faith; but as soon as the meal was finished, Toussaint hastened again to shut himself up in his chamber, and there alone, free from noise and dispute, he carefully studied the word of God. "The Lord is my witness," said he, "that in this valley of tears I have only one wish, and it is to see the kingdom of Christ extended, so that all may with one mouth glorify God."<sup>6</sup>

One circumstance occurred which consoled Toussaint. The enemies of the gospel were always becoming stronger in Metz. At his urgent request, Chevalier d'Esch set out, in the course of January, 1525, to strengthen the evangelical Christians of that town; he crossed the forest of the Vosges, and arrived at the

<sup>1</sup> Me in dies divexari legendis amicorum litteris qui me . . . ab instituto remorari nituntur (Tossanus Farello, 2nd Sept., 1524. (MS. Neuchatel.) I am daily tormented by the letters of my friends who are striving to divert me from my purpose. <sup>2</sup> Jam capulo proxima. (MS. Neuchatel.) <sup>3</sup> Litteras ad me dedit plenas lacrymis quibus maledicit et uberibus quæ me lactarunt, etc. (MS. Neuchatel.) <sup>4</sup> Visum est Œcolampadio consultum . . . ut a se secederem. (Ibid.) <sup>5</sup> Utor domo cujusdam sacrificuli. (Ibid.) <sup>6</sup> Ut Christi regnum quam latissime pateat. (Ibid.)

place where Leclerc had yielded up his life, carrying with him several books, with which he had been furnished by Farel.<sup>1</sup>

Lorraine was not the only quarter to which the French refugees turned their eyes. Chevalier de Coct received a letter from one of Farel's brothers, in which the state of Dauphiny was portrayed in the darkest colours. He took care not to show it, for fear of alarming the weak; and contented himself with praying earnestly to God, that he would give the assistance of his mighty hand.<sup>2</sup> In December, 1524, a messenger from Dauphiny, named Peter Verrier, charged with commissions for Farel and Anemond, arrived on horseback at Montbeliard. The Chevalier, with his usual vivacity, resolved to return to France. "If Peter has brought money," wrote he to Farel, "take it. If he has brought letters to me, open them, take a duplicate, and then send them. Nevertheless, don't sell the horse, but return it, for perhaps I may want it. I am induced to go secretly into France by the way of Jacobus Faber, (Lefevre) and Arandius. Write me your opinion."<sup>3</sup>

Such was the confidence between these two refugees; the one opened the letters of the other, and received his money. It is true that De Coct owed thirty-six crowns to Farel, whose purse was always open to his friends. There was more zeal than prudence in the knight's desire to return to France. He had too little prudence not to expose himself to certain death. Of this Farel doubtless convinced him. He quitted Basle and returned to a small town, where he had "great hopes of having the German language, God assisting."<sup>4</sup>

Farel continued to evangelise Montbeliard. His soul was vexed within him, when he saw the majority of the inhabitants addicted to the worship of images. It was, according to Farel, a renewal of the ancient idolatry of Paganism.

Meanwhile, the exhortations of Ecolampadius, and the fear of compromising the truth, might long have restrained him, but for an unforeseen circumstance. One day, towards the end of February, (it was the feast of St. Anthony) Farel was walking near the banks of a small stream which crosses the town, beneath the high rock on which the citadel stands, when, on arriving at the bridge, he met a procession, which was advancing, repeating prayers to St. Anthony, and having at its head two priests, with an image

<sup>1</sup> Let him return to Metz, where the enemies of God are daily rising against the gospel. (MS. Neuchatel. 17th Dec., 1524.)

<sup>2</sup> Accepi ante horam a fratre tuo epistolam quam hic nulli manifestavi; terrentur enim infirmi. (Coctus Farello, 2nd Sept., 1524.) An hour ago I received a letter from your brother, which I have not shown to any one, for the weak are terrified.

<sup>3</sup> Coct à Farel, Dec., 1524. (MS. Neuchatel.)

<sup>4</sup> Coct à Farel, Jan., 1525. (MS. Neuchatel.)



of the Saint. Farel thus found himself suddenly brought face to face with these superstitions without having sought them. A violent struggle took place in his soul. Will he give way? Will he hide himself? Would not this be cowardly unbelief? These dead images, carried on the shoulders of ignorant priests, made his blood boil. Farel came boldly forward, seized the holy hermit out of the arms of the priests, and threw it from the bridge into the river. Then, turning towards the astonished people, he exclaimed, "Poor idolaters, will you never leave off your idolatry?"<sup>1</sup>

The priests and the people stood still in amazement. A religious dread seemed to chain the multitude. But the stupor soon ceased. "The image is drowning," exclaimed one of the crowd, and then to stupor and silence succeeded transports and cries of fury. The crowd were going to rush on the sacrilegious man, who had thrown the object of their adoration into the water. But Farel, we know not how, escaped their rage.<sup>2</sup>

There is ground, we are aware, to regret, that the Reformer allowed himself to be betrayed into this act, which rather arrested the progress of the truth. No man should think himself entitled violently to attack any proceeding by public authority. Still, in the zeal of the Reformer, there is something more noble than that cold prudence so common in the world, which recoils before the least danger, and fears to make the least sacrifice for the advancement of the kingdom of God. Farel was not ignorant that he ran the risk of losing his life, like Leclerc. But the testimony of his conscience, urging him to seek only the glory of God, took away all his fears.

After the day at the bridge, a characteristic feature in Farel's history, the Reformer was obliged to conceal himself, and soon after to quit the town. He took refuge in Basle, beside Ecolampadius; but he always regarded Montbeliard with the affection which a servant of God invariably feels for the first-fruits of his ministry.<sup>3</sup>

At Basle, sad news awaited Farel. He was a fugitive, and his friend Anemond de Coct was seriously ill. Farel immediately sent him four gold crowns; but a letter from Oswald Myconius, of 25th March, informed him of the knight's death. "Let us live," wrote Oswald, "so as to gain the rest, into which we hope that the spirit of Anemond has already entered."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Revue du Dauphiné, tom. ii, p. 38. (MS. of Choupard.)

his life of Farel, gives this as an uncertain tradition. But it is related by Protestant writers even, and seems to me, in accordance with the character of Farel and the fears of Ecolampadius. We must admit the foibles of the Reformers.

<sup>3</sup> Ingens affectus, qui me cogit Mumpelgardum amare. (Farelli Ep.)

<sup>4</sup> Quo Anemundi spiritum jam pervenisse speramus. (Myconius Farello, MS. Neuchatel.)

<sup>2</sup> Kirchhofer, in

Thus Anemond, still young, full of activity, full of strength, desirous by every means to evangelise France, qualities which made him worth a host, descended to a premature grave. *God's ways are not our ways.* It was not long since, near Zurich, also, another knight, Ulric von Hutten, had breathed his last. There are some features of resemblance between the German and the French knight, but the piety and Christian virtues of the latter place him far above the witty and dauntless enemy of priests and monks.

Shortly after the death of Anemond, Farel, unable to remain at Basle, from which he had once been banished, repaired to Strasburg, to his friends, Capito and Bucer.

Thus, at Montbeliard and at Basle, as at Lyons, blows were given to the Reformation. Among the most devoted combatants some were carried off by death, others by persecution or exile. In vain did the soldiers of the gospel try all means of assault; they were everywhere repulsed. But if the forces which they had concentrated, first at Meaux, then at Lyons, and then at Basle, were successively scattered, there still remained here and there combatants who, in Lorraine, at Meaux, at Paris even, struggled more or less openly to maintain the word of God in France. If the Reformation saw its masses broken, there still remained isolated soldiers. It was against them that the Sorbonne, and the Parliament, were going to turn their rage. They wished that on the soil of France there should not remain one of the noble men who had undertaken to plant the standard of Jesus Christ, and at this time unheard of misfortunes seemed to conspire with the enemies of the Reformation, and lend them a strong hand to finish their work.

---

#### CHAP. XIV.

Francis taken at Pavia—Reaction against the Reformation—Louisa consults the Sorbonne—Commission against the Heretics—Brignonnet denounced—Appeal to the assembled Parliament—Fall—Reconciliation—Lefevre accused—Condemnation and flight—Lefevre at Strasburg—Louis de Berquin incarcerated—Erasmus attacked—Schuch at Nantz—His martyrdom—Contest with Caroli—Sadness of Pavanne—His Faggot Pile—A Christian hermit—Concourse at Nôtre-Dame.

During the latter days of Farel's residence at Montbeliard, great events had taken place on the theatre of the world. Lannoy and Pescaire, the generals of Charles V, had retreated from France on the approach of Francis I, who had passed the Alps, and proceeded to blockade Pavia. On 24th February, 1525, he was attacked by Pescaire. Bonnivet, La Tremouille, La Palisse, and

Lescure, had been slain near the king. The Duke D'Alençon, the husband of Margaret, and first prince of the blood, had fled with the rear guard, and gone to die of grief and shame at Lyons. Francis, thrown from his horse, had surrendered his sword to Charles de Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, who received it with bended knee. The king of France was the emperor's prisoner. The captivity of the king seemed the greatest of misfortunes. "Of every thing am I stript save human life," wrote the king to his mother. But no one felt a deeper grief than Margaret. The glory of her country compromised, France without a monarch, and exposed to the greatest dangers, her beloved brother the captive of his proud enemy, her husband dishonoured and dead . . . . What woes! But she had a Comforter; and while, to console her, her brother repeated, "All is lost but honour," she could say—

"But Jesus, brother, Jesus, Son of God!"<sup>1</sup>

France, the princes, parliament, and the people, were in consternation. Soon, as in the first centuries of the Church, the calamity which had befallen the country was imputed to the Christians, and from all quarters fanatical voices demanded blood as a means of warding off still greater misfortunes. The moment was favourable. It was not enough to have driven the evangelical Christians from the strong position which they had taken up. It was necessary to take advantage of the general terror to strike when the iron was hot; and to make this opposition, which was becoming so formidable to the papacy, a *tabula rasa* throughout the whole kingdom.

At the head of the conspiracy of these clamourers was Beda, Duchesne, and Lecouturier. These irreconcilable enemies of the gospel flattered themselves that they should easily obtain from the public terror the victims who had hitherto been refused them. They immediately set every engine at work—conversation, fanatical sermons, complaints, menaces, defamatory writings, in order to stir up the wrath of the realm, and especially of its leaders. They threw fire and flames at their opponents, and overwhelmed them with the most scurrilous abuse.<sup>2</sup> All means were good. They picked out some words here and there, left out what might have explained the quotation, substituted their own expressions for those of the teacher whom they impugned, and retracted or added according as they wished to blacken their adversaries.<sup>3</sup> This is the testimony of Erasmus himself.

<sup>1</sup> Les Marguerites de la Marguerite, p. i, p. 29.  
viciis debacchantes . . . . (Eras. Francisco Regi, p. 1108.)  
supponit sua, prætermittit, addit . . . . (Ibid., p. 887.)

<sup>2</sup> Plus quam scurrilibus con-

<sup>3</sup> Fro n eis verbis



Nothing excited their rage so much as the fundamental doctrine of Christianity and of the Reformation — Salvation by grace. "While I see," said Beda, "three men, otherwise possessed of such penetrating genius, Lefevre, Erasmus, and Luther, uniting in a conspiracy against works of merit, and laying the whole weight of salvation on faith only,<sup>1</sup> I am no longer astonished that thousands of men, seduced by these doctrines, come and say, 'Why should I fast and make a martyr of my body?' Let us banish from France this odious doctrine of grace. There is in this neglect of merit a fatal delusion of the devil."

Thus the syndic of the Sorbonne attempted to combat faith. He was to find support in a debauched court, and another portion of the nation more respectable, but not less opposed to the gospel, I mean those grave men of strict morals, who, given up to the study of the law and legal forms, see in Christianity only a system of legislation in the church, only a moral police, and who, unable to reconcile the doctrine of the spiritual incapacity of man, the new birth, and justification by faith, with their engrossing ideas of jurisprudence, regard them as fantastic imaginations, dangerous to the public morals, and the prosperity of the state. This hostile tendency to the doctrine of grace was manifested in the sixteenth century by two very different extremes: in Italy and Poland by the dogmas of Socinus, of an illustrious family of lawyers in Sienna, and in France by the persecuting decrees and faggot piles of the Parliament.

Parliament, in fact, despising the great truths of the gospel which the Reformers announced, and thinking themselves obliged to do something in the fearful calamity which had befallen the nation, addressed a strong remonstrance to Louisa of Savoy on the conduct of the government in regard to the new doctrine. "Heresy," it said, "has raised its head in the midst of us; and the king, by not causing scaffolds to be erected for it, has brought down on the kingdom the wrath of heaven."

At the same time the pulpits resounded with complaints, menaces, and maledictions; prompt and exemplary punishment was demanded. Martial Mazurier held a distinguished place among the preachers of Paris, and seeking, by his violence, to make his old connections with the adherents of the Reformation to be forgotten, declaimed against the "hidden disciples of Luther. "Know you," exclaimed he, "the rapidity of this poison? Know you its strength? Ah! let us tremble for France! It acts with inconceivable energy; and in a short time can put thousands of souls to death."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cum itaque cerneram tres istos . . . uno animo in opera meritoria conspirasse. (Natalis Bedæ Apologia adversus clandestinos Lutheranos, f. l. 41.) <sup>2</sup> Mazurier contra occultos Lutheri discipulos declamat, ac recentis veneni celeritatem vinque denunciat. (Lannoi, regii Navarre gymnasii historia, p. 621.)

It was not difficult to excite the regent against the adherents of the Reformation. Her daughter Margaret, the great personages of the court, Louisa of Savoy herself,—Louisa, always so devoted to the Roman pontiff—were denounced by certain fanatics as favouring Lefevre, Berquin, and other innovators? Had she not read their tracts and translations of the Bible? The queen mother wished to clear herself of these insulting suspicions. She had already sent her confessor to the Sorbonne to ask by what means heresy might be extirpated. “The detestable doctrine of Luther,” she had caused be said to the faculty, “is every day gaining new adherents.” The faculty had smiled on receiving this message. Previously their representations had been refused to be listened to, and now they were humbly begged to call a council on the affair. At length they had in their power that heresy which they had long been desirous to stifle. Noel Beda was appointed to reply to the regent. The fanatical syndic did so. “Since the sermons, discussions, and books, in which we have so often opposed this heresy, have not had the effect of arresting it, an ordinance should be passed prohibiting all the writings of the heretics. Force and constraint must be employed against the *person* even of these false teachers. Those who resist the light must be subdued to it by *punishment and terror*.<sup>1</sup>

Louisa had not even waited for their answer. Scarcely had Francis I fallen into the hands of Charles V, than she had written to the pope to ask his pleasure in regard to heretics. It was of importance to the politics of Louisa to secure the favour of a pontiff who was able to raise Italy against the conqueror of Pavia, and she was ready to purchase it at the price of a little French blood. The pope, delighted at being able to exercise severity, in the kingdom of his most Christian majesty, against a heresy which he was unable to arrest either in Switzerland or Germany, immediately ordained that the inquisition should be introduced into France, and addressed a brief to the Parliament. At the same time Duprat, whom the pontiff had made a cardinal, and to whom he had given the archbishopric of Sens, and a rich abbey, sought to return the favour of the court of Rome by displaying indefatigable hatred against the heretics. Thus the pope, the regent, the doctors of the Sorbonne, the parliament, the chancellor, the ignorant and fanatical portion of the nation, all together and at once, conspired the ruin of the gospel and the death of its confessors.

The Parliament took the lead. Nothing less than the first body in the kingdom was required to carry on the campaign against this doctrine. Besides, as the public safety was concerned, was it not

<sup>1</sup> Histoire de L' Université, par Crevier, v, p. 196.

their business? The Parliament, then, carried away by holy zeal and fervour against these innovators,<sup>1</sup> issued a decree, ordaining "that the bishop of Paris, and other bishops, should be held bound to lend their assistance to Messieurs Philip Pot, President of Requests, and Andrew Verjus, Counsellor, and Messieurs William Duchesne and Nicolas Leclerc, Doctors in Theology, in framing and conducting the process against such as should be found infected with the doctrine of Luther."

"And in order that it might appear that these commissaries were more under the authority of the Christian church than the Parliament, his Holiness was pleased to send his Brief, (20th May, 1525,) approving of the said named commissioners."

"Following upon this, all who were declared Lutherans by the bishops or judges of the Church, deputed to this effect, were given over to the secular arm, that is to say, to the said Parliament, which therefor condemned them to be burnt alive."<sup>2</sup> So says a manuscript of the period.

Such was the dreadful inquest appointed during the captivity of Francis I, against the evangelical Christians of France, for the sake of public safety. It was composed of two laymen, and two ecclesiastics. One of the latter was Duchesne, next to Beda, the most fanatical doctor in the company. Shame had not allowed them to put their leader upon it, but his influence was thus only better secured.

Thus the machine was wound up: its springs were in good order, and every blow which it struck would be mortal. The question was, against whom should the first attack be directed? Beda, Duchesne, Leclerc, assisted by Philip Pot, president, and Andrew Verjus, counsellor, deliberated on this important question. Was there not the Count of Montbrun, the old friend of Louis XII, the ex-ambassador to Rome, Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux? The Committee of public safety met at Paris, in 1525, thought that by beginning with a man of his high rank, they would be sure to spread terror over the kingdom. This reason was sufficient, and this venerable bishop was served with a charge.

Far from allowing himself to be intimidated by the persecution of 1523, Briçonnet had persisted, as well as Lefevre, in opposing the popular superstitions. The more eminent his place in the Church and in the State, the more fatal his example, and therefore the more necessary to obtain from him a striking recantation, or inflict a blow more striking still. The committee of inquest

<sup>1</sup> De la Religion Chretienne en France, par de Lezeau. MS. Bibliotheque St. Genevieve à Paris.

<sup>2</sup> The Manuscript of the Library of St. Genevieve at Paris, from which I have taken this fragment, bears the name of Lezeau, but in the catalogue it bears that of Lefevre.



hastened to collect the charges against him. They stated the kind reception which the bishop had given to heretics—that eight days after the guardian of the Cordeliers had preached at Meaux in the church of St. Martin, conformably to the instructions of the Sorbonne, to reestablish sound doctrine, Briçonnet himself had mounted the pulpit, had replied to him, and treated the preacher and the other cordeliers, his colleagues, as false prophets and hypocrites. Not content with this public affront, he had made his official prepare a charge, summoning the guardian to appear in person.<sup>1</sup> . . . . It would even appear from a manuscript of the time, that the bishop had gone still farther, and that in the autumn of 1524, accompanied by Lefevre of Etaples, he had travelled, during three months, over his diocese, and burnt all the images except the crucifix. This bold procedure, which would show that Briçonnet combined great hardihood with much humility, cannot, if it is true, subject him to the blame attached to other destroyers of images. When he reformed these superstitions, he was at the head of the Church, and acted within the sphere of his rights and duties.<sup>2</sup>

Be this as it may, Briçonnet was to have guilt enough in the eyes of the enemies of the gospel. He had not only attacked the Church in general, he had attacked the Sorbonne itself, that company whose supreme law was its own glory and preservative. Accordingly it was delighted on hearing of the inquest directed against its enemy. John Bochart, one of the most celebrated advocates of the time supporting the charge against Briçonnet before the Parliament, exclaimed, raising his voice “Against the Faculty, neither bishop of Meaux, nor any other individual, can raise the head or open the mouth. Neither is the Faculty under any obligation to go and dispute, to carry and state its reasons before the said bishop, who must not resist the wisdom of this holy company, which he must consider to be aided by God.”<sup>3</sup>

In consequence of this requisition, the Parliament, on the 3rd Oct., 1525, issued a decree in which, after ordering the personal apprehension of all those who were specified, it ordained that the bishop should be interrogated by James Menager and Andrew

<sup>1</sup> Hist. de L' Université, par Crevier, v, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> In the library of the pastors of Neuchâtel there is a letter of Seville containing the following passage:—“I notify to you that the bishop of Meaux, in Brie, near Paris, *cum Jacobo Fubro stapulensi*, three months ago in visiting the bishopric, burnt *actu* all the images except the crucifix, and are personally summoned to Paris, the month of March next, to answer *coram suprema curia et universitate*.” I am rather inclined to think this fact authentic, though Seville was not on the spot, and neither Mezeray, Daniel, nor Maimbourg, speaks of it. These Roman Catholics, who are very brief, might, besides, have motives for passing it in silence, considering the issue of the process. Besides, Seville's statement agrees with all the facts known to us. The matter is doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> Crevier Hist. de L' Université, v, p. 204.

Verjus, counsellors of the court, on the facts with which he was charged.<sup>1</sup>

This decree of the Parliament terrified the bishop. Briçonnet, ambassador at Rome to two kings—Briçonnet a bishop and prince, the friend of Louis XII and Francis I, about to be subjected to the interrogatives of two counsellors of the court . . . . He who had hoped that God would kindle in the heart of the king, his mother, and his sister, a flame which would communicate itself to all the kingdom, saw the kingdom turning against himself, in order to extinguish the flame which he had received from heaven. The king is a prisoner, his mother is moving at the head of the enemies of the gospel, and Margaret, dismayed at the disasters which have fallen on France, dares not turn aside the blows which are going to strike her dearest friends, and first of all that spiritual father who has so often consoled her; or if she dares, she has not the power. Recently she had written Briçonnet a letter full of pious ejaculations—"Oh may the poor dead heart feel some spark of the love in which it longs to burn to ashes!"<sup>2</sup> Now there was literally a question of being burnt to ashes. This mystic language was now out of place. He who would confess his faith, must brave the scaffold. The poor bishop, who had hoped so much to see an evangelical Reformation spread gradually, and peacefully, was in fear and trembling when he saw that it must now be purchased at the expence of life. The dreadful thought, perhaps, had never before occurred to him, and he started back in anguish and dismay.

Briçonnet, however, had still a hope that he would be permitted to appear before the assembled Chambers of Parliament, this being due to a personage of his rank, and in that august and numerous court he would find (he was sure of it) generous hearts, who would understand his language, and undertake his defence. He accordingly petitioned the court to grant him this indulgence. But his enemies had likewise foreseen what the issue of such an audience might be. Had not Luther been seen at Worms before the Germanic Diet, shaking the most resolute hearts? Eager to keep away every chance of escape, they did their work so well, that the Parliament, by a decree of the 25th Oct., 1525, confirming the former one, refused Briçonnet's application.<sup>3</sup>

Here, then, was the bishop of Meaux sent away, like the most obscure priest, before Masters James Menager and Andrew Verjus. These two lawyers, docile instruments of the Sorbonne, could not be moved by the elevated views to which the whole chamber might have been sensible. They were matter of fact men. Has

<sup>1</sup> Maimbourg *Hist. du Calvinisme*, p. 14.  
No. 337.

<sup>2</sup> Maimbourg *Hist. du Calv.* p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> MS. Biblioth. Royale, S. F.

the bishop been, or has he not been, at variance with the Company? This was all they asked. Briçonnet's condemnation was therefore certain.

While the sword was thus suspended by the Parliament over the head of the bishop, the monks, priests, and doctors, were not losing their time. They perceived that a recantation by Briçonnet would serve their purpose better even than his execution. His death would inflame all those who shared his faith: but his apostacy would be a very great discouragement. To work, then! He was visited and urged. Martial Mazurier in particular laboured to make him fall, as he had fallen himself, and he was not without arguments which might seem specious to Briçonnet. Was he willing to leave his place? Might he not, by remaining in the Church, use his influence over the king and the Court, to do good of which it was impossible to foresee the extent? What would become of his old friends, when he was no longer in power? How much might his resistance compromise a reform which, in order to be salutary and durable, must operate by the legitimate influence of the clergy! How many would be shocked by his resistance to the Church, how many, on the contrary, should he attract by yielding! . . . There was a wish like his own for reform. Everything was insensibly leading to it. At court, in the city, in the provinces, everywhere, there was an advance. Could he feel glad at heart while annihilating this fair prospect! . . . In reality he was not asked for any sacrifice of doctrine, but only to submit to the order established in the Church. Was it well, when France was overwhelmed with so many disasters, to stir up new troubles? "In the name of religion, in the name of your country, in the name of your friends, in the name of the Reformation itself—yield." By such sophisms, the noblest causes are lost.

Meanwhile every one of these words made some impression on the bishop. The tempter, who would have made our Saviour fall in the desert, presented himself under specious forms, and Briçonnet, instead of exclaiming with his Master, "Get thee behind me, Satan," listened, received, weighed these discourses. After this it was all over with his fidelity.

Briçonnet had never, like a Farel or a Luther, entered fully into the movement which was then regenerating the Church. There was in him a certain mystical tendency, which enfeebles the mind, and deprives it of the firmness and courage which a faith founded on the word of God alone can give. The cross, which he behoved to take up in order to follow Jesus Christ, was too heavy.<sup>1</sup> Shaken, frightened, stupified, distracted,<sup>2</sup> he tottered and stumbled over

<sup>1</sup> *Crucis statim oblatæ terrore percussus.* (Bezzæ Icones.) (Ibid.)

<sup>2</sup> *Dementatus.*



the stone which was craftily thrown in the way . . . He fell. Instead of throwing himself into the arms of Jesus Christ, he threw himself into those of Mazurier,<sup>1</sup> and by a shameful recantation sullied the glory of a noble fidelity.<sup>2</sup>

Thus fell Briçonnet, the friend of Lefevre and of Margaret: thus the first supporter of the gospel in France, denied the glad tidings of grace in the guilty thought, that if he remained faithful to them, he would lose his influence on the Church, the Court, and France. But what was presented to him as the salvation of his country, became, perhaps, its ruin. What would have happened if Briçonnet had had the courage of a Luther? If one of the first bishops of France, dear to the king, dear to the people, had mounted the scaffold, and had there, like the little ones in the estimation of the world, sealed the truth of the gospel by a courageous confession, and a Christian death, might not France have been moved, and the blood of the bishop of Meaux, becoming like that of the Polycarps and Cyprians, the seed of the Church, might not those countries, so illustrious in so many respects, have been seen emerging from the long spiritual darkness in which they are still plunged?

Briçonnet, as a matter of form, underwent the interrogatory before Masters James Menager and Andrew Verjus, who declared that he had sufficiently exculpated himself from the crime with which he was charged. He was then brought to repentance, and assembled a synod in which he condemned the books of Luther, retracted all that he had taught contrary to the doctrine of the Church, reestablished the worship of saints, laboured to bring back those who had abandoned the worship of Rome, and wishing to leave no doubt as to his reconciliation with the pope and the Sorbonne, he, on the eve of Corpus Christi, held a solemn fast, and ordered a pompous procession, in which he appeared in person, giving pledges of his faith, by his magnificence and all sorts of devotion.<sup>3</sup>

Briçonnet is, perhaps, the most celebrated instance of backsliding which the Reformation presents. Nowhere do we see a man so far engaged in the Reformation, and so sincerely pious, turn so suddenly against it. Still it is necessary to form a distinct idea both of his character and his fall. Briçonnet was on the side of Rome, and Lefevre was on the side of the Reformation. They are both of the *juste-milieu*, and properly do not belong to any of the two parties, but the one is of the *centre-droit*, the other of the *centre-gauche*. The doctor of Etaples inclines towards the Word, the bishop of Meaux towards the Hierarchy; and when these two men

<sup>1</sup> Ut episcopus etiam desisteret suis consiliis effecit. (Launoi, Regii Navaræ Gymnasii Hist., p. 621.)

<sup>2</sup> Nisi turpi palinodia gloriam hanc omnem ipse sibi inviddisset. (Bezae Icones.)

<sup>3</sup> Mezeray, ii, p. 981. Daniel, v, p. 614. Moreri, article Briçonnet.

who approximate each other are obliged to decide, the one arrays himself with Rome, and the other with Jesus Christ. At the same time we cannot believe that Briçonnet was altogether faithless to the convictions of his faith. Even after his recantation the Roman doctors never had full confidence in him. He acted as did, at a later period, the bishop of Cambray, to whom he has more than one feature of resemblance. He thought he could submit externally to the pope, while he continued inwardly subject to the Divine Word. This is a weakness incompatible with the principles of the Reformation. Briçonnet was one of the heads of the mystic, or quietest school in France, and we know that one of its first principles always was to accommodate itself to the church in which it happened to be, be that church what it might.

The guilty fall of Briçonnet went to the heart of his old friends, and was the sad forerunner of those deplorable apostacies which, in another age, the spirit of the world so often obtained in France. This personage who, in regard to the Reformation, seemed to hold the reins in his hand, was suddenly thrown out of the chariot, and the Reformation was thenceforth to pursue its course in France without head, without human guide, in humility and obscurity. But the disciples of the gospel raised their head, and thenceforth looked with still firmer faith to the heavenly head whose fidelity they knew could not be shaken.

The Sorbonne triumphed: a great stride had been made towards the annihilation of the Reformation in France. It was necessary to hasten without longer delay to another victory. Lefevre was the first after Briçonnet. Accordingly Beda had immediately directed his attacks against this distinguished teacher, by publishing against him a book containing such gross calumnies, that, as Erasmus expresses it, "Smiths and cobblers might have pointed to them with their finger." What especially excited his wrath was the doctrine of justification by faith, which Lefevre had first proclaimed in Christendom. This was the point to which Beda incessantly returned, the article which, according to him, subverted the Church. "What!" said he, "Lefevre affirms that whosoever ascribes to himself the power of obtaining salvation, will perish, while he who, divesting himself of all strength, throws himself entirely into the arms of Jesus Christ, will be saved. . . . Oh! what heresy thus to preach the impotence of merit. . . . What infernal error! what pernicious doctrine of the devil! Let us oppose it with all our might!"<sup>1</sup>

The doctor of Etaples was immediately subjected to the perse-

<sup>1</sup> Perpendens perniciosissimam demonis fallaciam. . . . Occurri quantum valui. (Nat. Bedæ Apolog. adv. Lutheranos, fol. 42.)

cutting machinery which produced retraction or death. They hoped to see Lefevre sharing the fate either of the poor wool-carder Leclerc, or of the distinguished bishop Briçonnet. His accusation was soon drawn up, and a decree of the Parliament, (28th Aug., 1525,) condemned nine propositions drawn from his Commentaries on the Gospel, and classed his translation of the Holy Scriptures among the prohibited books.<sup>1</sup>

This was only the prelude. Of this the learned doctor was aware. From the first symptom of persecution he had felt that, in the absence of Francis I, he would fall under the attacks of his enemies, and that the moment was come to observe the command of the Lord, "*When they persecute you in this city, flee ye into another.*"<sup>2</sup> Lefevre quitted Meaux, where, since the fall of the bishop, he had drunk bitterness, and seen all his activity paralysed, and withdrawing from his persecutors, he shook off the dust of his feet against them, "not to wish them any ill, but as a sign of the ills which await them, for he says somewhere, in the same way, as this dust is shaken from our feet, are they shaken from the face of the Lord."<sup>3</sup>

The persecutors had missed their victim, but they consoled themselves with thinking that France, at least, was delivered from the parent of heretics.

Lefevre, a fugitive, arrived under a borrowed name at Strasburg. He at once frankly joined the friends of the Reformation. How great his joy at hearing that gospel publicly taught, which he had been the first to bring forward in the Church. "Here is my faith!" This, indeed, was what he had wished to be able to say. Gerard Roussel, one of those evangelical men, who, like the doctor of Etaples, did not attain to a complete emancipation, had, also like him, been obliged to quit France. They, together, attended the lectures of Capito and Bucer;<sup>4</sup> with these faithful teachers they had special interviews;<sup>5</sup> and the rumour even spread that they had been sent for this purpose by Margaret, the king's sister.<sup>6</sup> But reverence for the ways of the Lord, occupied Lefevre more than polemics. Turning his eye upon Christendom, filled with astonishment at the great things which were then taking place, his heart stirred with gratitude and full of expectation, he fell on his knees, and prayed the Lord "to perfect what he then saw commencing."<sup>7</sup>

A joyful meeting awaited him at Strasburg. His son Farel,

<sup>1</sup> I. Lelong Biblioth. Sacrée, 2nd part, p. 44.  
excussi sunt a facie Domini sicut pulvis ille excussus est a pedibus. (Faber in Ev. Matth., p. 40.)

<sup>2</sup> Matth., x, 14, 23.

<sup>3</sup> Quod

<sup>4</sup> Faber stapulensis et Gerardus Rufus, clam e Gallia profecti, Capitonem et Bucrum audierunt. (Melch. Adam. Vita Capitonis, p. 90.)

<sup>5</sup> De omnibus doctrinæ præcipuis locis cum ipsis disseruerint. (Ibid.)

<sup>6</sup> Missi a

Margaretha regis Francisci sorore. (Ibid.)

<sup>7</sup> Farel à Tous Seigneurs, Peuples et Pasteurs.)



whom persecution had separated from him for nearly three years, had arrived there before him. The old doctor of the Sorbonne, found in this young pupil a man in the full vigour of life, a Christian in the full energy of faith. Farel respectfully clasped the wrinkled hand which had guided his first steps, and felt an undescribable joy in again finding his father in an evangelical town, and in seeing him surrounded with believing men. They together attended the pure lessons of illustrious teachers; they communicated at the Lord's Supper, administered agreeably to the institution of Jesus Christ, and received touching evidence of the charity of their brethren. "Do you remember," said Farel to him, "what you once said to me when we were both plunged in darkness?" "William, God will renovate the world, and you shall see it . . . Here is the commencement of what you then spoke to me." "Yes," replied the old man. "Yes, God is renewing the world. O, my son! continue boldly to preach the holy gospel of Jesus Christ."<sup>1</sup>

Lefevre, doubtless from an excess of prudence, wished to remain at Strasburg *incognito*, and had taken the name of Anthony Peregrine, while Roussel took that of Solnin. But the illustrious old man could not be concealed. The whole town, even the very children, soon bowed respectfully to the old French doctor.<sup>2</sup> He did not live by himself, but at the house of Capito, with Farel, Roussel, Vedaste, whom every body praised for his modesty, and one Simon, a recent Jewish convert. The houses of Capito, Ecolampadius, Zuinglius, and Luther, were thus a kind of inns. Such was the strength of brotherly love in those times. There were many other Frenchmen in this town on the banks of the Rhine, and they here formed a church, in which Farel often preached the doctrine of salvation. This Christian society alleviated their exile.

While these brethren thus enjoyed the asylum which brotherly charity had opened to them, those who were at Paris or in other parts of France, were exposed to great dangers. Briçonnet had recanted—Lefevre had left. This, doubtless, was something to the Sorbonne; but they were still waiting for the punishments which they had advised. . . . There was an individual who irritated them still more than Briçonnet and Lefevre. This was Louis de Berquin. The gentleman of Artois, of a more decided character than his two masters, let no opportunity pass of assailing the theologians and monks, and unmasking their fanaticism.

<sup>1</sup> Quod et pius senex fatebatur: meque hortabatur pergerem in annuntiatione sacri Evangelii. (Farellus Pellicano Hotting. H. L. vi, p. 17.)

<sup>2</sup> Nam latere cupiunt tamen pueris noti sunt. (Capito Zwing. Ep., p. 429.) For they would be hid and the children know them.

Residing by turns at Paris and in the country, he collected the works of Erasmus and Luther, and translated them.<sup>1</sup> He also himself composed controversial writings. In short, he defended and propagated the new doctrines with all the zeal of a new convert. He was denounced by the bishop of Amiens. Beda supported the complaint; and the parliament caused him to be thrown into prison. "This one," it is said, "will not escape like Briçonnet or Lefevre." In fact, he was kept under bars and bolts. In vain did the prior of the Carthusians, and others besides, implore him to offer an apology. He declared distinctly that he would not yield in a single point. "Then," says a chronicler, "it seemed that nothing remained but to take him to the fire."<sup>2</sup>

Margaret, in consternation at what had happened, trembled at the thought of seeing Berquin dragged to the scaffold, which the bishop had so disgracefully escaped. She dared not to penetrate into his prison; but she tried to send him some words of consolation; and it may have been for him the princess made the touching complaint of the prisoner, when addressing the Lord, he exclaims—

Oh! surety, safety, access, refuge sure  
Of the afflicted, Judge of the orphan-poor,  
Treasure of consolations that endure!  
These bars of iron, draw-bridge, portal gate,  
By which I here am held in sad estate,  
Exclude all friends who sorrow at my fate;  
But here or there, where'er my prison be,  
No bar, no lock, can keep me far from thee,  
For by my side thou art perpetually.<sup>3</sup>

But Margaret did not confine herself to this. She immediately wrote to her brother, soliciting him to interfere in Berquin's behalf; happy if she could in time deliver him from the hatred of his enemies.

While waiting for their victim, Beda resolved to make the enemies of the Sorbonne and the monks tremble, by humbling the most celebrated of them. Erasmus had attacked Luther; but no matter. If they succeed in destroying Erasmus, *à fortiori*, the ruin of Farel, Luther, and their associates, will be inevitable. The surest way of striking an object is to take aim beyond it. When once a foot was on the neck of the philosopher of Rotterdam, who should escape the vengeance of Rome? Already, Lecouturier, commonly called, from the translation of his name into Latin, *Sutor*, had taken the first step by launching at Erasmus from his solitary Carthusian cell a most violent philippic in which he called

<sup>1</sup> Erasm. Ep., p. 923.  
Marguerite, i, p. 445.

<sup>2</sup> Actes des Martyrs, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> Marguerites de la

his opponents theologasters and little asses, and imputed to them scandals, heresies, and blasphemies. Handling subjects, which he did not at all understand, he reminded one, says Erasmus cuttingly, of the old adage, "*Ne sutor ultra crepidam*. Let the cobbler only mend his shoes."

Beda hastened to the support of his colleague. He told Erasmus not to write any more,<sup>1</sup> and himself taking the pen, which he ordered the first writer of the age to lay down, he made a selection of all the calumnies which the monks had invented against the distinguished philosopher, translated them into French, and made a book of them, which he circulated at Court, and in the city, trying to arouse all France against him.<sup>2</sup> This book was the signal of attack. From all quarters an assault was made on Erasmus. Nicholas d'Ecmond, an old Carmelite of Lorraine, every time he mounted the pulpit, exclaimed, "There is no difference between Erasmus and Luther, unless it be that Erasmus is the greater heretic;"<sup>3</sup> and wherever the Carmelite was, at table, travelling by land or water, he called Erasmus a heresiarch and falsifier.<sup>4</sup> The faculty of Paris, moved by these brawlers, prepared a censure of this illustrious author.

Erasmus was in consternation. Such, then, is the result of all his management, and even of his hostility against Luther. More than any other had he placed himself in the breach; and it was now wished to treat him like a stepping-stone, and trample him under foot, the more readily to reach the common enemy. He revolts at the thought. He suddenly wheels round, and has no sooner attacked Luther in front, than he turns on the fanatical doctors, who had struck him from behind. Never was his correspondence more active. Looking all around him, his quick eye immediately discovers in what hands his lot is placed. He hesitates not. He will carry his complaints and cries to the foot of the Sorbonne, the parliament, the king, the emperor himself. Addressing those of the theologians of the Sorbonne, from whom he still hoped for some impartiality, he says, "Who has caused this immense fire of Luther? who has stirred it up but Beda with his violence?"<sup>5</sup> In war, a soldier who has behaved well, receives reward from his generals; but all the reward I am to receive from you, the generals of the war, is a book of calumnies by the Bedas and the Lecouturiers!"

"What!" he wrote to the parliament of Paris, "I was combating

<sup>1</sup> *Primum jubet ut desinam scribere.* (Erasm. Ep., p. 921.) First he tells me I must give over writing.

<sup>2</sup> *Ut totam Galliam in me concitaret.* (Erasm. Ep., p. 886.)

<sup>3</sup> *Nisi quod Erasmus esset major hæreticus.* (Ibid., p. 915.)

<sup>4</sup> *Quoties in conviciis, in vehiculis, in navibus.* (Ibid.)

<sup>5</sup> *Hoc gravissimum Lutheri incendium, unde natum, unde hac progressum, nisi ex Beddaicis intemperitiis.* (Erasm. Ep., p. 887.)



these Lutherans, and while fighting a fierce battle by orders of the emperor, the pope, and other princes, to the peril even of my life, Lecouturier and Beda attack me from behind with furious libels. Ah! had not fortune carried off from us king Francis, I would have besought that avenger of the muses against this new invasion of the barbarians.<sup>1</sup> But now it is for you to lay an arrest on this injustice! . . ."

No sooner did he descry the possibility of getting a letter to reach the king, than he wrote him also. His penetrating eye could see in those fanatical doctors of the Sorbonne the germs of the league—the predecessors of those three priests who were one day to establish the *sixteen* against the last of the Valois. His genius gave a prediction to the king of the crimes and misfortunes which his descendants were to know but too well. "They put faith in front," said he; "but they aim at tyranny, even over princes. They march with a sure step, though under ground. Should the prince refuse to be at their beck in every thing, they will forthwith declare, that he may be deposed by the Church, that is, by some false monks and some false theologians, conspiring against the public peace."<sup>2</sup> Erasmus, in writing to Francis I, could not have touched a better string.

Lastly, to make still more sure of escaping from his enemies, Erasmus invoked the protection of Charles V himself. "Invincible emperor," said he, "men who, under pretext of religion, wish to procure a triumph for their belly and their despotism,<sup>3</sup> are raising horrible clamour against me. I fight under your banners, and those of Jesus Christ. Let your wisdom, and your power give peace to the Christian world. . . ."

Thus the prince of literature made application to all the great ones of the world. The danger was averted from his head; the princes of the world interposed, and the vultures were obliged to abandon a prey which they already thought within their talons. They then turned their eyes in another direction, seeking other victims, and did not miss them.

It was in Lorraine that blood was first again to flow. From the first days of the Reformation there was a copartnery of zeal between Paris and the country of the Guises. If Paris reposed, Lorraine set to work, and then Paris began anew, waiting till new supplies reached Nancy or Metz. The first blows seemed to fall

<sup>1</sup> Musarum vindicem adversus barbarorum incursiones. (Ibid., p. 2070.) <sup>2</sup> Nisi princeps ipsorum voluntati per omnia paruerit, dicetur fautor hæreticorum et destitui poterit per ecclesiam. (Ibid., p. 1118.) If the prince do not in all things comply with their wishes it will be said he is a favourer of heretics, and may be deposed by the church. <sup>3</sup> Simulato religionis prætextu ventris tyrannidisque suæ, negotium agentes. (Ibid., p. 962.)

upon an excellent man, one of the refugees of Basle, a friend of Farel and Toussaint. At Metz, the Chevalier d'Esch had been unable to escape the suspicions of the priests. It being known that he was connected with the evangelical Christians, he was made prisoner at Pont-à-Mousson, five miles from Metz, on the banks of the Mosselle.<sup>1</sup> This news caused great grief to the French refugees, and also to the Swiss themselves. "O, heart, full of innocence!" exclaimed Ecolampadius. "I have confidence in the Lord, that he will preserve this man for us, whether in life to announce his name as a preacher of righteousness, or in death to confess him as a martyr."<sup>2</sup> But, at the same time, Ecolampadius disapproved of the vivacity, the impetuosity, the zeal, in his opinion zeal without prudence, which distinguished the French refugees. "I wish," said he, that my dear French lords would not hasten to return into their country until they have carefully examined all things, for the devil is everywhere laying his snares. Nevertheless, may they obey the Spirit of Christ, and may this Spirit never abandon them."<sup>3</sup>

In fact, there was ground to tremble for the chevalier's fate. There was double hatred in Lorraine. Friar Bonaventure Renel, provincial of the cordeliers, confessor of Duke Anthony the Good, a forward man of indifferent morals, allowed this feeble prince, who reigned from 1508 to 1544, great liberty in his pleasures, and persuaded him, almost as a kind of penance, to destroy all innovators without mercy. This prince, so well counselled by Renel, used often to say, "It is enough for each to know the Pater and Ave-Maria; the greatest doctors are the cause of the greatest troubles."<sup>4</sup>

Towards the end of 1524 it was learned at the court of the Duke, that a pastor named Schuch was preaching a new doctrine in the town of Saint-Hippolyte, situated at the foot of the Vosges. "Let them return to order," said Anthony *the Good*; "if not, I march against the town and fill every place with fire and blood."<sup>5</sup>

The faithful pastor resolved to sacrifice himself for his sheep; he repaired to Nancy, where the prince resided. Immediately on his arrival, he was cast into a pestilential prison, under the guard of coarse and cruel men. Friar Bonaventure then, at length, saw the heretic in his prison. He presided at the inquest, and addressed him as "Heretic! Judas! Devil!" Schuch, calm and collected, made no answer to those insults; but holding in his hand his Bible, all covered with notes which he had written in it,

<sup>1</sup> Noster captus detinetur in Bundamosa quinque millibus a Metis. (Ecol. Farello Ep., p. 201.)

<sup>2</sup> Vel vivum confessorem, vel mortuum martyrem servabit. (Ibid.)

<sup>3</sup> Nolle carissimos dominos meos Gallos properare in Galliam. (Ibid.)

<sup>4</sup> Actes

des Martyrs, p. 97.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

he meekly and forcibly confessed Jesus Christ crucified. Suddenly becoming animated, he stood up boldly, raised his voice, as if under an impulse from the Spirit above, and looking the judges in the face, denounced to them dreadful judgments from God.

Friar Bonaventure and his companions, amazed and transported with rage, rushed upon him with loud cries, tore the Bible, in which he read his denunciations, out of his hands; and, like mad dogs, says the chronicler, "unable to gnaw at his doctrine, they burnt it in their convent."<sup>1</sup>

The whole court of Lorraine rung with the obstinacy and audacity of the minister of St. Hippolyte, and the prince, curious to hear the heretic, resolved to be present at his last appearance; but, in secret, concealed from every eye. The interrogatories having been put in Latin, he could not comprehend them; but he was struck at seeing the minister with a firm countenance, apparently neither vanquished nor astonished. Anthony the Good, astonished at this obstinacy, rose up, and, on going away, said, "Why debate any more? He denies the sacrament of the mass; let sentence be pronounced upon him."<sup>2</sup> Schuch was immediately condemned to be burnt alive. On learning his sentence, he raised his eyes to heaven, and said calmly, "I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go into the house of the Lord."<sup>3</sup>

On the 19th August, the whole town of Nancy was in movement. The bells were ringing the death of a heretic. The sad procession began to move. The road lay in front of the convent of the Cordeliers, who, joyous, and on the alert, had met at the gate. At the moment when Schuch appeared, father Bonaventure, pointing to the images sculptured on the front of the convent, exclaimed, "Heretic, give honour to God, his mother, and the saints!"—"O, hypocrites!" replied Schuch, looking up at those pieces of wood and stone, "God will destroy you, and bring your impostures to light. . . . ."

The martyr having arrived at the place of execution, the first thing done was to burn his books in his presence; then he was summoned to recant, but he refused, saying, "Thou, O God, hast called me, and will confirm me unto the end."<sup>4</sup> He then began to repeat, aloud, the fifty-first Psalm, "Have mercy upon me, O God! according to thy loving-kindness." After mounting the scaffold, he continued to repeat the psalm, until the smoke and flames choked his voice.

<sup>1</sup> Actes des Martyrs, p. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Gaillard Hist. de François I, iv, p. 233.

<sup>3</sup> Psalm

cxvii, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Eum auctorem vocationis sue atque conservatorem ad extremum usque spiritum recognovit. (Acta Mart., p. 202.) Him he acknowledged even to the last breath as the author and preserver of his country.



Thus, the persecutors of France and Lorraine saw their triumphs again begun. At length attention was paid to their advice. The heretical ashes thrown to the winds at Nancy, were a challenge to the capital of France. What! Were Beda and Lecouturier to be the last to show their zeal for the pope? Let flames answer flames, and soon let heresy, swept from the soil of the kingdom, be driven entirely beyond the Rhine!

Before succeeding, Beda had to fight a battle half in earnest, half in mockery, with one of those men with whom the struggle with the papacy is only a game of intellect, not a matter of the heart.

Among the learned men whom Briçonnet had drawn into his diocese, was a doctor of Sorbonne, named Peter Caroli, a vain, giddy man, as full of bluster and chicanery as Beda himself. Caroli saw in the new doctrine the means of producing an effect, and of thwarting Beda, whose ascendancy he could not endure. Accordingly, on his return from Meaux to Paris, he made a great sensation by carrying into all the pulpits what was called "The new mode of preaching." An incessant struggle now commenced between the two doctors. It was blow for blow, and wile for wile. Beda summons Caroli before the Sorbonne, and Caroli, to repay the honour hands him over to the Officiality. The faculty proceeds with its inquest, and Caroli intimates an appeal to the Parliament. He is interdicted from taking his turn in the chair, and he preaches in all the churches of Paris. He is expressly excluded from all the pulpits, and he publicly expounds the Psalms in the college of Cambray. The faculty prohibits him to continue this exercise, and he asks permission to finish the exposition of the twenty-second Psalm, which he had commenced. At length his request is refused, and he placards the college gates with the following notice: "*Peter Caroli, desirous to obey the orders of the sacred faculty, ceases to teach. He will resume his lectures, (when it shall please God,) at the verse where he stopped: THEY PIERCED MY HANDS AND MY FEET.*" Thus Beda had at last found his match. Had Caroli defended the truth in earnest, the fire would soon have done him justice; but he had too profane a spirit to be put to death. How was it possible to execute a man who put his judges out of countenance? Neither the Officiality, nor the Parliament, nor the Council, could ever judge his cause definitively. Two men like Caroli, would have worn out the activity of a Beda; but the Reformation did not see two.<sup>1</sup>

This annoying contest ended, Beda set himself to more serious affairs. Happily for the syndic of Sorbonne there were men who

<sup>1</sup> Gerdesius, *Historia seculi xvi, renovati*, p. 52. D'Argentrè, *Collectio Judiciorum de novis erroribus*, ii, p. 21. Gaillard *Hist. de Francois Ier.* iv, p. 233.

furnished better subjects for persecution than Caroli. It is true, Briçonnet, Erasmus, Lefevre, and Berquin, had escaped him ; but since he cannot reach great personages, he will content himself with humble ones. The poor youth, James Pavanne, since his abjuration at Christmas, 1524, had always been sighing and weeping. He was seen with a melancholy air, his eye fixed on the ground, inwardly groaning, and keenly reproaching himself for having denied his Saviour and his God.<sup>1</sup>

Pavanne was no doubt one of the most modest and inoffensive of men. But no matter. He had been at Meaux at this time ; no more was required. The cry was raised, "Pavanne has relapsed : *The dog has returned to his vomit, and the sow that was washed, to her wallowing in the mire.*" He was forthwith seized, cast into prison, and taken before the judges. This was the very thing that young Master James longed for. He felt comforted so soon as he was in irons, and recovered strength to make a full confession of Jesus Christ.<sup>2</sup> The cruel smiled to see that this time nothing could deprive them of their victim : no recantation, no flight, no powerful protector. Neither the mildness of the young man, nor his candour and courage, nothing could soften his adversaries. He looked at them with love : for, in throwing him into chains, they had restored him his tranquillity and joy. But this tender look only hardened their heart the more. His accusation was quickly drawn up, and the Place de Grève soon saw a scaffold erected, on which Pavanne died joyfully, by his example strengthening all who in this great city openly or secretly believed in the gospel of Jesus Christ.

This was not enough for the Sorbonne. If those in humble life are sacrificed, quality must be redeemed by number. The flames of the Place de Grève have spread terror over Paris and France ; but a new pile, kindled in some other place, will double the terror. It will be spoken of at court, in colleges, and the workshops of the people. Such examples will show better than all edicts, that Louisa of Savoy, the Sorbonne, and the Parliament, are determined to sacrifice every remaining heretic to the anathemas of Rome.

In the forest of Livry, three leagues from Paris, not far from the place where stood the ancient abbey of the Augustins, lived a hermit, who, having met in his wanderings with some individuals from Meaux, had received the gospel into his heart.<sup>3</sup> The poor

<sup>1</sup> *Animi factum suum detestantis dolorem, sæpe declaraverit.* (Acta Mart., p. 203.)

<sup>2</sup> *Puram religionis Christianæ confessionem addit.* (Ibid.) <sup>3</sup> The seed of Faber and his disciples, taken from the granary of Luther, budded in the foolish mind of a hermit who lived near the town of Paris. (Hist. Catholique de notre temps par S. Fontaine, Paris, 1562.)

hermit had found himself very rich in his retirement, when one day, along with his coarse loaf, which public charity gave him, he had brought-back with him Jesus Christ and his grace. Thereupon he understood how it was better to give than receive. He went from house to house in the surrounding villages, and had no sooner opened the doors of the poor peasants, whom he visited in their humble huts, than he spoke to them of the gospel, of the complete pardon which it gave to agonised souls, and which was better than absolutions.<sup>1</sup> The good hermit of Livry was soon known in the environs of Paris. He was sought after in his poor hermitage, and became a gentle and fervent missionary to the poor of the district.

A report of the doings of the new evangelist were not long of reaching the ears of the Sorbonne and the tribunals of Paris. The hermit was apprehended, dragged from his hermitage, from his forest, and from the places which he daily traversed, thrown into a dungeon in the great city which he had always shunned, there tried, convicted, and condemned to be "exemplarily punished with the punishment of slow fire."<sup>2</sup>

It was resolved, in order to make the example more striking that he should be burnt alive in the square of Notre Dame, in front of this celebrated basilisk and majestic symbol of Roman Catholicism. The whole clergy assembled, and great pomp was displayed as on the most solemn festivals.<sup>3</sup> The wish would have been to assemble all Paris around this pile, "the great bell of the temple of Notre Dame, ringing," says a historian, "with full peal, to warn the whole people of the town."<sup>4</sup> In fact, the people thronged into the square through all the streets that opened into it. The deep tones of the bell arrested the workman in his shop, the scholar in his studies, the merchant in his traffic, and the soldier in his idleness. The whole square was already filled by an immense crowd, while the people still kept flocking. The hermit arrayed in the clothing assigned to obstinate heretics, his head and feet bare, had been brought before the gates of the cathedral. Calm, firm, and collected, his only answer to the exhortations of the confessors, who presented the crucifix to him, was to declare, that his hope was solely in the pardon of God. The doctors of the Sorbonne, who were in the front seat of the spectators, seeing his constancy, and the effect which it produced upon the people, cried aloud, "He is damned: they are taking him to hell fire."<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile the large bell continued to peal, and its sounds, stun-

<sup>1</sup> Who, in the village which he frequented, under colour of asking alms, held heretical discourses. (Hist. Catholique de notre temps par S. Fontaine, Paris, 1562.)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> With great ceremony. (Histoire des Egl. Refpar Theod. de Beze,

i, p. 4.)

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.



ning the ears of the people, increased the solemnity of this sad festival. At last the bell was silent, and the martyr having replied to the last questions of his enemies, that he wished to die in the faith of the Lord Jesus Christ, was, as his sentence bore, "burnt with a slow fire." Thus died peacefully on the pavement of Notre Dame, amid the shouts and agitation of a whole people, under the towers reared by the piety of Louis the Young, one whose name even history has not preserved—"the hermit of Livry."

---

## CHAP. XV.

A Scholar of Noyon—Character of young Calvin—Early Education—He is devoted to Theology—The bishop gives him the tonsure—He quits Noyon because of the Plague—The Reformation creates new languages—Persecution and terror—Toussaint put into prison—Persecution gives new strength—Death of Du Blet, Merlin, and Papillon—God saves the Church—Project of Margaret—Departure for Spain.

While in France men were thus putting the confessors of Jesus Christ to death, God was preparing more powerful confessors. Beda, in dragging to execution a modest scholar, a humble hermit, almost thought he was dragging with him the whole Reformation. But Providence has resources which the world knows not. The gospel, like the fabulous bird, carries in it a principle of life which the flames cannot consume. It rises from its ashes. It is often at the very moment when the storm is at its height, when the thunder seems to have struck down the truth, and when the darkness of night covers it, that a sudden gleam shines forth, and announces a great deliverance. At this time, when all human powers in France were arming for the total destruction of the Reformation, God was preparing an instrument, feeble in appearance, which should one day maintain his rights, and defend his cause with an intrepidity more than human. Amid the persecution and faggot piles, which succeed and press close on each other, ever since Francis was the prisoner of Charles, let us cast an eye on a child who should afterwards be called to place himself at the head of a great army, in the holy wars of Israel.

Among the inhabitants of the town and the colleges of Paris, who heard the sounds of the great bell, was a young student of sixteen, of middle stature, of a pale complexion, with piercing eyes, and an animated expression betokening an intellect of uncommon sagacity.<sup>1</sup> His dress remarkable at once for its cleanness and per-

<sup>1</sup> *Statura fuit mediocri, colore subpallido et nigricante, oculis ad mortem usque limpidis, quique ingenii sagacitatem testarentur.* (Bezae Vita Calvinii.)

fect simplicity, indicated order and modesty.<sup>1</sup> This young man, named John Cauvin or Calvin, was then studying at the college of La Marche, under Mathurin Cordier, a regent celebrated for his probity, his erudition, and the talents he had received for instructing youth. Brought up in all the superstitions of the papacy, the scholar of Noyon was blindly submissive to the Church, devoted with docility to its observances,<sup>2</sup> and persuaded that the heretics richly deserved the flames which had consumed them. The blood which then flowed in Paris only served in his eyes to magnify the crime of heresy. But though naturally of a timid temper, which he himself has called soft and pusillanimous,<sup>3</sup> he had that integrity and generosity of heart which dispose the possessor to sacrifice every thing for the convictions once acquired. Accordingly, in vain was his youth struck with these frightful spectacles, in vain on the Place de Grave and the square of Notre Dame did murderous flames consume the faithful disciples of the gospel; the remembrance of their horrors could not hinder him from one day entering this new path, where apparently he could only expect imprisonment and the scaffold. In the character of young Calvin already appeared traits which announced what he was to become. The strictness of his morals was a prelude to the strictness of his doctrine, and in the student of sixteen might have been recognised a man who would take in earnest whatever he should receive, and who would require from others what he himself felt it quite simple to do. Quiet and grave during the lectures, in the hours for recreation, taking no part in the amusements and follies of his fellow-students, but keeping himself apart;<sup>4</sup> impressed with horror at sin, he occasionally censured their irregularities sharply and even with some degree of bitterness.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly a canon of Noyon assures us that his fellows had surnamed him the *accusative*.<sup>6</sup> He was among them the representative of conscience and duty, so far was he from being what some slanderers have wished to make him. The pale hue, the piercing eye of the student of sixteen already inspired his comrades with more respect, than the black gown of their teachers, and this child of Picardy, of little stature and timid air, who came daily to take his seat on the benches of the college of La Marche, was even now, without

<sup>1</sup> Cultu corporis neque culto neque sordido sed qui singularem modestiam deceret. (Bezæ Vita Calvin.)

<sup>2</sup> Primo quidem quum superstitionibus Papatus magis pertinaciter addictus essem. (Calv. Præf. ad Psalm.)

<sup>3</sup> Ego qui natura timido, molli et pusillo animo me esse fateor. (Ibid.)

<sup>4</sup> Summam in moribus affectabat gravitatem et paucorum hominum consuetudine utebatur. (Ræmundi Hist. Hæres. vii, 10.)

He affected the greatest gravity in his manners, and cultivated the society only of a few individuals.

<sup>5</sup> Severus omnium in suis sodalibus censor. (Bezæ Vita Calv.)

<sup>6</sup> Annales de l'Eglise de Noyon, par Levasseur, Chanoine, p. 1158.

thinking it, by the gravity of his speech and deportment, a master and a Reformer.

It was not in these respects only that the boy of Noyon was above his fellow-students. His great timidity sometimes prevented him from manifesting the hatred which he felt for vanity and vice, but he was already devoting to study the whole strength of his intellect and his will. On seeing him, one might have had presentiment of a man who would wear out his life in exertion. He comprehended every thing with inconceivable facility; he ran in his studies, when his fellows only crept on slowly; and engraved deeply on his young genius what others took much time to learn superficially. Hence his masters were obliged to take him out of the class, and make him pass by himself to new studies.<sup>1</sup>

Among his fellow-students were the young De Mommors, belonging to the first nobility of Picardy. John Calvin was intimately connected with them, especially with Claude, who was at a later period abbot of St. Eloi, and to whom he dedicated his Commentary on Seneca. Calvin had gone to Paris in the company of these young nobles. His father, Gerard Cauvin, a notary apostolic, procurator-fiscal of the county of Noyon, secretary to the bishopric, and procurator of the Chapter,<sup>2</sup> was a judicious and able man. By his talents he had obtained those offices which were sought by the first families, and gained the esteem of all the gentlemen of the district, in particular of the illustrious family of Mommor.<sup>3</sup> Gerard lived at Noyon.<sup>4</sup> He had married a young lady of Cambray, of remarkable beauty, and retiring piety, named Jean Lefranq. She had already given him a son named Charles, when on the 10th July, 1509, she had a second son who was named John, and baptised in the church of St. Godebert.<sup>5</sup> A third son named Anthony, who died in early life, and two daughters, completed the family of the procurator-fiscal of Noyon.

Gerard Cauvin, living in intimate relation with the heads of the clergy and nobles of the province, wished his son to receive the same education as those of the best families. John, who had shown

<sup>1</sup> *Exculto ipsius ingenio quod ei jam tum erat acerrimum, ita profecit ut cæteris sodalibus in grammatices curriculo relictis ad dialecticos et aliarum quas vocant artium studium promoveretur.* (Beza.)

<sup>2</sup> *Levasseur, Annales de l'Egl. Cath. de Noyon, p. 1151. Drelincourt, Defense de Calvin, p. 193.)*

<sup>3</sup> *Erat is Gerardus non parvi judicii et consilii homo, ideoque nobilibus ejus regionis plerisque carus.* (Beza.)

<sup>4</sup> *In the place where the stag inn now stands. (Desmay, Doctor of the Sorbonne.) Vit. de Jean Calvin, heresiarch, p. 30. Levasseur, Ann. de Noyon, p. 1157.*

<sup>5</sup> *The calumnies and absurd stories as to Calvin's person, began early. Levasseur, who was at a later period Dean of the Canons of Noyons, relates that at his birth "before the child was born, a great number of flies came forth: an undoubted omen that he was one day to be an evil speaker and calumniator." (Annales.) These absurdities, and all others of the same kind invented against the Reformer, refute themselves without our taking the trouble to do it. In our day those of the Romish doctors who are not ashamed to employ the weapons of calumny, make a selection among those low and ridiculous tales, not venturing to repeat them all. All, however, are of equal value.*



precocious talents, was brought up with the sons of the house of Mommor. He was like one of themselves, and received the same lessons as young Claude. In this family he learnt the first elements of literature and life, and had thus a higher culture than that which he seemed destined to receive.<sup>1</sup> At a later period he was sent to the college of Capettes, founded in the town of Noyon.<sup>2</sup> The boy had few recreations. Sternness, which was one of the features in the character of the son, was in the father also. Gerard brought him up strictly. John, from his most tender years, behoved to bend under the inflexible rule of duty. He was early trained to this, and in this way the influence of the father counteracted that of the family of Mommor. Calvin, of a timid disposition and somewhat rustic nature, as he himself describes it,<sup>3</sup> rendered still more timid by the severity of his father, shunned the splendid apartments of his patrons, and loved to dwell alone in the shade.<sup>4</sup> His young soul was thus formed in retirement for great thoughts. It appears that he sometimes went to Pont l'Evêque, near Noyon, where his grandfather dwelt in a cottage,<sup>5</sup> and where other relations besides, who afterwards changed their name from hatred to the heresiarch, then gave a kind welcome to the son of the procurator-fiscal. But young Calvin's time was especially devoted to study. While Luther, who was to act upon the people, was brought up as a child of the people, Calvin, who was to act chiefly as a theologian, as a thinker, and to become the legislator of the renovated church, received from infancy a more liberal education.<sup>6</sup>

At an early period a spirit of piety was disclosed in the heart of the child. An author relates that they had accustomed him, when a child, to pray in the open air, under the vault of heaven, and this contributed to keep a feeling of the Divine presence alive in his heart.<sup>7</sup> But though Calvin may from infancy have heard the voice of God in his heart, there was not a person in Noyon more strict than he in the observance of ecclesiastical rules. Hence Gerard, struck with this disposition, conceived the design of devoting his son to theology.<sup>8</sup> This prospect, doubtless, contributed to give his soul that grave form, that theological character which distinguished him at a later period. His mind was of a description to receive strong impressions, and to familiarise itself

<sup>1</sup> *Domi vestræ puer educatus, iisdem tecum studiis educatus primam vitæ et litterarum disciplinam familiæ vestræ nobilissimæ acceptam refero.* (Calv. Præf. in Senecam ad Claudium.) <sup>2</sup> Desmay Remarques, p. 31. Dreincourt, Defense, p. 158.

<sup>3</sup> *Ego qui natura subrusticus.* (Præf. ad Psalm.) <sup>4</sup> *Umbram et otium semper amavi . . . latebras captare.* (Ibid.) <sup>5</sup> "The report is, that his grandfather was a cooper." (Dreincourt, p. 36. Levasseur Ann. de Noyon, p. 1151.)

<sup>6</sup> Henry, *das Leben Calvins*, p. 29. <sup>7</sup> Calvin's *Leben von Fischer*, Leipzig, 1794. The author does not give his authority for the fact. <sup>8</sup> *Destinârat autem eum pater ab initio theologiæ studiis, quod in illa etiam tenera ætate mirum in modum religiosus esset.* (Beza.)

from youth with the most elevated thoughts. The report that he was at this time one of the boys of the choir has no foundation, according to the testimony of his enemies themselves. But they confidently assert, that when he was a boy he was seen in processions bearing a sword with a cross guard, to represent a cross,<sup>1</sup> a presage, they add, of what he was one day to be. The servant of the Lord says in Isaiah, "The Lord has made my mouth like a sharp sword." The same may be said of Calvin.

Gerard was poor. The education of his son cost him much, and he desired to attach him to the church irrevocably. The Cardinal of Lorraine had, at the age of fourteen, been appointed coadjutor to the bishop of Metz. It was then common to give offices and ecclesiastical revenues to children. Alphonso of Portugal was made a cardinal at eight, by Leo X; and Odet of Châtillon, by Clement VII, at eleven. At a later period the celebrated mother Angelica, of Port Royal, was appointed coadjutress of the monastery at seven. Gerard, who died a good catholic, was in the good graces of the bishop of Noyon, Messire Charles de Hangest, and his vicars-general. Accordingly the chaplain of Gesine having resigned his office, the bishop, on the 21st May, 1521, gave the living to John Calvin, who was then about twelve. This was communicated to the Chapter twelve days after. On the eve of Corpus Christi, the bishop, in due form, cut the hair of the boy,<sup>2</sup> and by this ceremony of the tonsure, John entered the clerical order, and became capable of being admitted to holy orders, and of possessing benefice, without residence.

Thus Calvin was called, as a child, to make upon himself an experiment of the abuses of the Church of Rome. There was not a tonsured individual in the kingdom more in earnest in his piety than the chaplain of Gesine, and the grave child was perhaps himself astonished at the work performed by the bishop and his vicars-general. But in his simplicity he had too much veneration for these high personages, to allow himself to entertain the least suspicion as to the legitimacy of his tonsure. He had held the office for two years when Noyon was visited by a dreadful plague. Several canons applied to the Chapter for permission to quit the town. Many of the inhabitants had been struck by the "great death," and Gerard began to be afraid that the plague might in a moment bereave him of his son John, the hope of his life. The young Mommors were going to prosecute their studies at Paris. This was the very thing which the procurator-fiscal had ever desired for his son. Why should he separate John from his

<sup>1</sup> Levasseur, Ann. de Noyon, p. 1159, 1173.  
Levasseur, p. 1153.

<sup>2</sup> Desmay, Vie de Calvin, p. 31.

fellow-students? Accordingly on the 5th August, 1523, he presented a petition to the Chapter, requesting leave for the young chaplain "to go wherever should seem to him good during the plague, without forfeiture of his living." This was granted till the feast of St. Remy.<sup>1</sup> John Calvin thus quitted the paternal roof at the age of fourteen. It requires great effrontery in slander to attribute his departure to other causes, and thus boldly encounter the disgrace which justly recoils on the promoters of charges whose falsehood has been so completely demonstrated. Calvin, it would seem, alighted in Paris at the house of one of his uncles, Richard Cauvin, who lived near the church of St. Germain-l'Auxerrois. "Thus fleeing the plague," says the canon of Noyon, "he was to catch it elsewhere."

In the metropolis of literature, a new world opened on the young student. He availed himself of it, set himself to study, and made great progress in Latin. He familiarised himself with Cicero, and learned of this great master to use the language of the Romans with a facility, purity, and grace which excited the admiration even of his enemies. But at the same time he found in this language riches which he was at a later period to transfer to his own.

Till now Latin had been the only literary language. It was, and to our day has remained, the language of the Church. It was the Reformation which created, or at least everywhere emancipated modern languages. The exclusive character of the priests had ceased: the people were called to learn and know. In this fact alone there was an end to the language of the priest, and the introduction of the language of the people. It was no longer to the Sorbonne merely, it was no longer to some monks, some ecclesiastics, that new ideas were to be addressed. It was to the noble, the citizen, the mechanic. All were to be preached to, and what is more, all were going to preach—carders of wool and knights, as well as curates and doctors. A new tongue, then, was required, or, at least, the vulgar tongue must undergo an immense transformation—a great emancipation. Drawn from the common uses of life, it must receive from renovated Christianity its patent of nobility. The gospel which had so long slept, was awake: it spoke, it addressed the whole nation, and everywhere enkindled the most generous affections. It opened the treasures of heaven, to a generation which was thinking only of the petty interests here below. It moved the masses. It spoke to them of God, of man, of good and evil, of the pope, of the Bible, of a crown in heaven, and, it might be, a scaffold upon

<sup>1</sup> The priest, and vicar-general Desmay, (Jean Calvin, heresiarche, p. 32,) and canon Levasseur, (Ann. de Noyon, p. 1160,) declare they had found this in the records of the Chapter of Noyon. These Romish authors thus refute the inventions or mistakes of Richelieu and other authors.—See the preface.



earth. The popular idiom, which till now had been only the language of chroniclers and troubadours, was called by the Reformation to act a new part, and consequently to undergo new developments. Society saw a new world begin, and this new world must have new languages. The Reformation freed the French language from the swaddling bands in which it had till then been wrapt up, and enabled it to reach the age of majority. Thenceforth this language was in full possession of those exalted rights which relate to the things of mind and the blessings of heaven, and of which it had been deprived under the tutelage of Rome. No doubt the people form their own language. It is they who form those happy words—those figurative and energetic expressions, which give language so much vivacity and life. But there are resources which lie beyond their reach, and can only come from men of intellect. Calvin being called to discuss and prove, gave the language connections, relations, shades, transitions, and dialectic forms which it did not previously possess.

All these elements were already at work in the head of the young student of the college La Marche. This youth, who was to be so mighty in wielding the human heart, was also to conquer the language which he was called to employ. Protestant France was formed, at a later period, on the French of Calvin, and Protestant France was the best informed part of the nation. From it came forth those families of literati and high magistracy which had so powerful an influence on the culture of the people: from it came forth Port Royal,<sup>1</sup> one of the greatest instruments which contributed to form French prose and even French poetry, and which having attempted to carry into the Gallican catholicism the doctrine and language of the Reformation, failed in the one project, but succeeded in the other. For Roman Catholic France had to come and learn of its Jansenist and Reformed opponents, how to wield those weapons of language without which she could not combat them.<sup>2</sup>

Meantime, while thus in the college of La Marche was being formed the future reformer of religion and even of language, all was in agitation around the youthful and the grave student, who, as yet, took no part in the great movement which was stirring society. The flames which had consumed the hermit and Pavanne, had spread terror over Paris. But the persecutors were not satisfied; a system of terror was put in operation throughout France. The friends of the Reformation durst no longer correspond with

<sup>1</sup> A. Arnauld, grandfather of Mother Angelica and of all the Arnaulds of Port Royal, was a Protestant.—See Port Royal, by Sainte-Beuve. <sup>2</sup> *Etude Littéraire sur Calvin*, par M. A. Sayous, Geneva, 1839. It has just been followed by other studies on Farel, Viret, and Beza.

each other, lest their letters being intercepted, should mark out for the vengeance of the tribunals both themselves and those to whom they were addressed.<sup>1</sup> One man, however, ventured to carry news from Paris and France to the refugees of Basle by sewing unsigned letters into his doublet. He escaped the platoons of arquebusiers, all the marshalmen of the different communes, the scrutiny of the provosts and lieutenants, and arrived at Basle without the mysterious doublet having been torn up. His statements struck Toussaint and his friends with terror. "It is dreadful to hear of the great cruelties which are there done,"<sup>2</sup> exclaimed Toussaint. A short time before had arrived at Basle, with the officers of justice at their heels, two monks of St. Francis, one of whom, named John Prevost, had preached at Meaux, and been afterwards cast into prison at Paris.<sup>3</sup> What they told of Paris and Lyons, called forth the deepest sympathy in the refugees. "May our Lord send thither his grace!" wrote Toussaint to Farel. "I assure you I sometimes feel myself in great anguish and tribulation."

Still these excellent men did not lose courage. In vain were all the parliaments on the watch, in vain did the spies of the Sorbonne and of the monks come into churches, colleges, and even private families, to pry into every evangelical word that might be pronounced, in vain did the king's gens d'armes arrest on the roads every thing that seemed to bear the stamp of the Reformation. These Frenchmen, whom Rome and her partizans tracked and crushed, had faith in a better future, and already hailed the end of this Babylonish captivity, as they termed it. "At length," said they, "the seventieth year will come, the year of deliverance, and liberty of mind and conscience will be given us."<sup>4</sup> But the seventy years were to last for three centuries, and it was only after unheard of disasters that their hopes were to be realised. It was not, however, from men that the refugees hoped any thing. "Those who have begun the dance," said Toussaint, "will not stop by the way." But they believed that the Lord "knew those that were his, and would himself work out a mighty deliverance."<sup>5</sup>

Chevalier d' Esch had in fact been delivered. Having escaped from the prisons of Pont-a-Mousson, he had hastened to Strasburg. There, however, he did not remain long. Toussaint had immediately written to Farel, "For the glory of God try and get the Knight, our good master,<sup>6</sup> to return as quickly as may be: for the other brethren have great need of such a captain." In fact the

<sup>1</sup> Nobody dares write me. (Toussaint a Farel, 4th Sept. 1525. MS. Neuchatel.)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 21st July, 1525.

<sup>4</sup> Sane venit annus septuagesimus. et tempus appetit ut tandem vindicemur in libertatem spiritus et conscientie. (Ibid.)

<sup>5</sup> Sed novit Dominus quos elegerit. (Ibid.)

<sup>6</sup> "Si nos magistrum in terris habere debeat," he adds. (Ibid.)

French refugees had new fears. They trembled lest this dispute on the Lord's Supper, which had distressed them so much in Germany, should cross the Rhine, and bring new sorrows into France. Francis Lambert, the monk of Avignon, after being at Zurich and Wittemberg, had come to Metz, but there was not complete confidence in him. It was feared that he might bring Luther's sentiments, and by useless controversies, "monstrous," Toussaint calls them, arrest the progress of the Reformation.<sup>1</sup> Esch then returned to Lorraine, but it was to be exposed anew to great dangers, "with all those who then sought the glory of Jesus Christ."<sup>2</sup>

Toussaint was not of a character to send others to the battle, without going himself. Deprived of daily intercourse with Ecolampadius, confined to the society of a coarse priest, he had sought the presence of Christ, and his courage had increased. If he could not retire to Metz, might he not at least go to Paris? The piles of the hermit and Pavanne were still smoking, it is true, and served to warn off from the capital all who had a similar faith. But if the colleges and streets of Paris were terror-struck, so that no person now dared to pronounce the word Gospel or Reformation, was not this a reason for repairing thither? Toussaint quitted Basle, and came within that enclosure where fanaticism had taken the place of festivities and dissipation. He sought, while advancing in Christian studies, to connect himself with the brethren in the colleges, and especially in that of Cardinal Lemoine, where Lefevre and Farel had taught.<sup>3</sup> But he was not long at liberty to do so. The tyranny of the commissioners of the parliament, and the theologians, reigned supreme in the capital, and every one who displeased them was by them accused of heresy.<sup>4</sup> A duke and an abbot, whose names are not given, denounced Toussaint as a heretic, and one of the king's serjeants arrested the youth from Lorraine, and threw him into prison. Separated from all his friends, and treated as a criminal, Toussaint felt his wretchedness the more keenly. "O Lord," exclaimed he, "take not thy Spirit from me; for, without him, I am only flesh and blood, and a sink of iniquity." While his body was in fetters, he thought of all those who were still combating freely for the gospel. There was Ecolampadius, his father, he "whose work we are in the Lord;"<sup>5</sup> there was Lefevre, whom he thought, doubtless on account of his age, "incapable of bearing the burden of the gospel;"<sup>6</sup> Roussel, "by whom

<sup>1</sup> Vereor ne aliquid monstri alat. (Tossanus Farello, 27th Sept., 1525.)

<sup>2</sup> Audio etiam equitem periclitari, simul et omnes qui illic Christi gloriæ favent. (Ibid., 27th Dec., 1525.)

<sup>3</sup> Fratres qui in collegio Cardinalis Monachi sunt te salutant. (Ibid.)

<sup>4</sup> Regnante hic tyrannide commissariorum et theologorum. (Ibid.)

<sup>5</sup> Patrem nostrum cujus nos opus sumus in Domino. (Ibid.) This letter is without date, but appears to have been written shortly after Toussaint's deliverance, and shows what his thoughts were at this period.

<sup>6</sup> Faber impar est oneri evangelico ferendo. (Ibid.)



he hoped that the Lord would perform great things;"<sup>1</sup> Vaugris, who displayed all the charity "of the most affectionate brother" in order to deliver him from his enemies;<sup>2</sup> in fine, there was Farel, to whom he wrote, "I commend myself to your prayers, that I may not fall in this combat."<sup>3</sup> Oh! how all the names of these beloved men alleviated the bitterness of his imprisonment! Indeed he was not ready to fall. Death, it is true, threatened to overtake him in this city, in which the blood of a multitude of his brethren was to be poured out like water,<sup>4</sup> while the friends of his mother, and his uncle, the primicier of Metz, and the Cardinal Lorraine, made him the most splendid offers.<sup>5</sup> . . . "I despise them," he replied. "I know that it is a temptation from God: I would rather be hungry, I would rather be a door-keeper in the house of the Lord, than dwell with great riches in the palaces of the ungodly."<sup>6</sup> At the same time he made an open profession of his faith: "I glory," said he, "in being called a heretic by those whose life and doctrine are opposed to Jesus Christ."<sup>7</sup> This interesting and intrepid young man signed his letters, "Peter Toussaint, unworthy of being called a Christian."

Thus, in the absence of the king, new blows were struck at the Reformation. Berquin, Toussaint, and many others, were in prison: Schuch, Pavanne, and the hermit of Livry, had been put to death: Farel, Lefevre, Roussel, and a great many more, defenders of sound doctrine, were in exile. The lips of the eloquent were mute. The light of the gospel day was becoming more and more overcast, and the storm incessantly growling, bent, shook, and threatened as it were to root up the still tender tree which the hand of God had planted in the soil of France.

Nor was this all. To the humbler victims who had been sacrificed, more illustrious were to succeed. The enemies of the Reformation in France, not having been able to succeed when they began at the top, had become resigned to begin at the bottom, but with the hope of rising step by step in condemnation and death, until they should reach the highest pinnacles. This inverted course succeeded. Scarcely were the ashes with which persecution had covered the Place-de-Grave and the pavement of Notre Dame, been dispersed, when new blows were struck. Messire Anthony Du Blet, that excellent man, that merchant of Lyons, fell under the attacks of the enemies of the truth, with another disciple, François Moulin, though we do not know the details of his death.<sup>8</sup> They

<sup>1</sup> Per Rufum magna operabitur Dominus. (Tossanus Farello, 27th Dec., 1525.)

<sup>2</sup> Fidelissimi fratris officio functum. (Ibid.) <sup>3</sup> Commendo me vestris precibus, ne succumbam in hac militia. (Ibid.) <sup>4</sup> Me periclitari de vita. (Ibid.)

<sup>5</sup> Offerebantur hic mihi conditiones amplissimæ. (Ibid.) <sup>6</sup> Malo esurire et obiectus esse in domo Domini . . . (Ibid.) <sup>7</sup> Hæc, hæc gloria mea quod habeor hæreticus ab his quorum vitam et doctrinam video pugnare cum Christo. (Ibid.)

<sup>8</sup> Periit Franciscus Molinus ac Dubletus. (Erasm. Ep., p. 1109.)

went farther still, and took a higher aim. There was an illustrious personage, one they could not reach in person, but they could strike her in those who were dear to her. This was the Duchess D'Alençon. Michael d' Arande, chaplain to the king's sister, for whom Margaret had dismissed all her other preachers, and who preached the pure gospel before her, became the object of attack by the persecutors, and was threatened with imprisonment and death.<sup>1</sup> Almost at the same time Anthony Papillon, for whom the princess had procured the office of first Master of Requests to the Dauphin, died suddenly, and the universal rumour, even among the enemy, was, that he had been poisoned.<sup>2</sup>

Thus persecution extended in the kingdom, and always drew nearer to Margaret. After the forces of the Reformation, concentrated at Meaux, Lyons, and Basle, had been dispersed, the isolated combatants, who had here and there maintained her cause, were cut off in detail. A few efforts more, and the French soil will be purged of heresy! Silent manœuvres, secret wiles, succeed to clamour and the scaffold. The war will be carried on in open day, but at the same time also in darkness. If fanaticism employs the tribunal and the scaffold for the ignoble, it will reserve poison and the poniard for the great. The teachers of a celebrated society have only too much patronised the use of it, and even kings have fallen under the daggers of the assassin. But if Rome has always had Seides, it has also seen Vincent Pauls and Fenelons. These blows, struck in darkness and silence, were well fitted to spread universal terror. To this perfidious course, to these fanatical persecutions within, were joined fatal defeats without. The whole kingdom was veiled in mourning. There was not a family, especially among the nobility, in which tears did not flow for a father, a husband, or a son left on the plains of Italy,<sup>3</sup> or one where the heart did not tremble for the liberty or life of one of its members. The great reverses which had overtaken the kingdom, diffused a leaven of hatred against the heretics. The people, the parliament, the Church, the throne, even lent a hand.

Was it not enough that the defeat of Pavia had deprived the Duchess D'Alençon of her husband, and cast her brother into prison? Must she see the gospel torch, in whose soft light she had always rejoiced, extinguished, perhaps, for ever? The news from Spain increased the general grief. Chagrin and sickness were endangering the life of the haughty Francis I. If the king continues

Erasmus, in his letter addressed to Francis I, (July, 1526,) mentions those who, during the captivity of the prince, had become victims of the fanatics of Rome.

<sup>1</sup> Periclitatus est Michael Arantius. (Erasm. Ep., p. 1109.

non sine gravi suspitione veneni," says Erasmus. (Ibid.)

Francis I, tom. ii, p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> "Periit Papilie

<sup>3</sup> Gaillard Hist. de

prisoner, if he dies, if the regency of his mother continues for many long years, is it not all over with the Reformation? "But, though all seems lost," said the young scholar of Noyon at a later period, "God saves and guards his church in a miraculous manner."<sup>1</sup> The Church of France, which was travailing as in birth, was to have a time of refreshing before new sorrows, and, in order to give it to her, God employed a feeble woman who never declared decidedly in favour of the Reformation. She was then thinking more of saving the king, and the kingdom, than of delivering obscure Christians, who, however, put great hope in her.<sup>2</sup> But under the glare of worldly affairs, God often conceals the mysterious means by which he governs his people. A noble project was formed in the breast of the Duchess D'Alençon:—to cross the sea or the Pyrenees to rescue Francis I from the hands of Charles V. Such is henceforth the aim of her life.

Margaret de Valois intimated her design, and France hailed her with a shout of gratitude. Her great talents, the reputation which she had acquired, the love which she had for her brother, and that which Francis had for her, were, in the eyes of Louisa and Duprat, a counterbalance for her attachment to the new doctrine. All turned their eyes towards her as the only person capable of delivering the kingdom from the peril in which it was placed. Let Margaret herself, then, go to Spain; let her speak to the mighty Emperor and his ministers; and let her employ the admirable talents, which Providence has bestowed upon her, in the deliverance of her brother and her king.

Meanwhile very various feelings filled the hearts of the nobles and the people when they saw the Duchess D'Alençon, placing herself amid the hostile councils and fierce soldiery of the Catholic king.

Every one admired the courage and devotedness of this young female, but without participating in them. The friends of the princess had fears for her, which were well nigh realised. But the evangelical Christians were full of hope. The captivity of Francis I had brought unparalleled severities on the friends of the Reformation, and it was thought that his liberation might put an end to them. To open the gates of Spain to the king, was to shut those of the officialities and castles into which the servants of the word of God were thrown. Margaret strengthened herself in a design on which her whole soul was bent, by all these different motives:

<sup>1</sup> *Nam habet Deus modum, quo electus suos mirabiliter custodiat, ubi omnia perita videntur.* (Calvin., Ep. Rom. xi. 2.) For God has a way in which he wonderfully preserves his elect when all seems lost. <sup>2</sup> . . . Beneficio Illustrissimæ Ducis Alençonæ. (Toussaint to Farel.)



No height of heaven can bar my way,  
 Nor depth beneath my soul dismay;  
 E'en Hell must own my Saviour's sway!<sup>1</sup>

Her weak female heart was strengthened by the faith which gives the victory over the world, and her resolution was unmoved. Every thing was prepared in haste for this important and dangerous voyage.

The archbishop of Embrun, since Cardinal of Tournon, and the president De Selves, were already at Madrid to negotiate the deliverance of the king. They were made subordinate to Margaret, as was also the Bishop of Tarbes, since Cardinal De Grammont. Full powers were given to the princess alone. At the same time Montmorency, who at a later period was so hostile to the Reformation, was sent in all haste into Spain in order to obtain a safe-conduct for the king's sister.<sup>2</sup> The emperor made difficulties. He said it was for his ministers alone to arrange the affair. "One hour of conference," exclaimed Selves, "between your majesty, the king, my master, and the Duchess D'Alençon, will advance the treaty more than a month of discussion between lawyers."<sup>3</sup>

Margaret, impatient to arrive because of the sickness of the king, set out without a safe-conduct, with an imposing retinue.<sup>4</sup> She quitted the court, and passed through Lyons, proceeding towards the Mediterranean. As she was on the way, Montmorency returned with letters from Charles, who guaranteed her liberty for three months only. She arrived at Aigues-Mortes,<sup>5</sup> and here the sister of Francis I embarked in the vessel prepared for her. Led by God into Spain rather to deliver humble Christians from oppression than to bring the mighty monarch of France out of captivity, Margaret committed herself to the billows of the same sea which had borne her captive brother after the disastrous battle of Pavia.

<sup>1</sup> Marguerites de la Marguerite, i, p. 125.

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs de du Bellay. p. 124.

<sup>3</sup> Garnier, Histoire de France, tom. xxiv.

<sup>4</sup> To test to the quick the will of the said Emperor. . . . Madam Margaret, Duchess of Alençon, very notably accompanied by several ambassadors. (Les Gestes de Frangoise de Valois, par E. Dolet, 1540.

<sup>5</sup> Jam in itinere erat Margarita, Francisci soror . . . e fossis Marianis solvens, Barcinonem primum, deinde Cæsar Augustam appulerat, (Belcarius, Rerum Gallic. Comment.

2000-1

10

2000-1

2000-1

2000-1

2000-1

HISTORY  
OF  
THE REFORMATION  
IN THE  
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BY  
J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ, D.D.

J'appelle accessoire, l'état des affaires de ceste vie cadaque et transitoire. J'appelle principal, le gouvernement spirituel auquel reluit souverainement la providence de Dieu.—*Theodore de Beze.*

By accessory, I mean the state of affairs in this frail and transitory life; by principal, the spiritual government in which God's providence rules supreme.—*Theodore Beza*

PRINTED, BY ARRANGEMENT WITH MESSRS. OLIVER AND BOYD, FROM THE  
AUTHOR'S OWN ENGLISH EDITION.

VOLUME FOURTH.

PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM COLLINS,  
SOUTH FREDERICK STREET, GLASGOW,  
PATERNOSTER-ROW, LONDON.



GLASGOW;

WILLIAM COLLINS AND CO. PRINTERS.

## PREFACE TO VOLUME FOURTH.

WHEN a foreigner visits certain countries, as England, Scotland, or America, he is sometimes presented with the rights of citizenship. Such has been the privilege of the "History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century." From 150,000 to 200,000 copies are in circulation, in the English language, in the countries I have just mentioned: while in France the number hardly exceeds 4000. This is a real adoption,—naturalizing my Work in the countries that have received it with so much favour.

I accept this honour. Accordingly, while the former Volumes of my History were originally published in France; now that, after a lapse of five years, I think of issuing a continuation of it, I do so in Great Britain.

This is not the only change in the mode of publication. I did not think it right to leave to translators, as in the cases of the former Volumes, the task of expressing my ideas in English. The best translations are always faulty; and the Author alone can have the certainty of conveying his idea, his whole idea, and nothing but his idea. Without overlooking the merit that the several existing translations may possess, even the best of them is not free from inaccuracies, more or less important, of which I have given a specimen in my Preface to the First Volume of the Edition revised by me, and published by Messrs. Oliver & Boyd. These inaccuracies, no doubt most involuntary, gave rise to a very severe contest in America, on the subject of this Work, between the Episcopalians and the Baptists on the one hand, and the Presbyterians on the other, —a contest that I hope is now terminated, but in which (as a New York correspondent informed me) one of the most benefi-

cial and powerful Christian Societies of the United States had been on the brink of dissolution.

With such facts before me, I could no longer hesitate. It became necessary for me to publish, myself, in English; and this I accordingly do. But although that language is familiar to me, I was desirous of securing, to a certain extent, the co-operation of an English literary gentleman. Dr. HENRY WHITE, of Croydon, has had the great kindness to visit Switzerland for this purpose, although such a step exposed him to much inconvenience, and to pass with me at Geneva the time necessary for this labour. I could not have had a more enlightened coadjutor; and I here express my obligations to him for his very able assistance.

I therefore publish in English this Continuation of the History of the Reformation. I do not think that, as I publish, myself, in this language, any one will have the power, or will entertain the idea, of attempting another publication. It would be a very bad speculation on the part of any bookseller; for where is the reader that would not prefer the original text, as published by the Author himself, to a translation made by a stranger?

But there is a higher question—a question of morality. Of all property that a man can possess, there is none so essentially his own as the labours of his mind. He acquires the fruits of his fields by the sweat of his servants and of his beasts of burden; and the produce of his manufactures by the labour of his workmen and the movement of his machines; but it is by his own toils, by the exercise of his most exalted faculties, that he creates the productions of his mind. Accordingly, in putting this History under the protection of the laws, I place it at the same time under a no less secure safeguard,—that of justice. I know that it is written in the consciences on the other side of the Channel and of the Atlantic: *Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger as for one of your own country: for I am the Lord your God.*<sup>1</sup> To English honour I confide this work.

The first two Books of this Volume contain the most important epochs of the Reformation—the Protest of Spire, and the Confession of Augsburg. The last two describe the establish-

<sup>1</sup> Levit., xxiv, 22.



ment of the Reform in most of the Swiss cantons, and the instructive and deplorable events that are connected with the catastrophe of Cappel.

It was my desire to narrate also the beginnings of the English Reformation; but my Volume is filled, and I am compelled to defer this subject to the next. It is true I might have omitted some matters here treated of, but I had strong reasons for doing the contrary. The Reformation in Great Britain is not very important before the period described in this volume; the order of time compelled me, therefore, to remain on the Continent; for whatever may be the historian's desire, he cannot change dates and the sequence that God has assigned to the events of the world. Besides, before turning more especially towards England, Scotland, France, and other countries, I determined on bringing the Reformation of Germany and German Switzerland to the decisive epochs of 1530 and 1531. The History of the Reformation, properly so called, is then, in my opinion, almost complete in those countries. The work of Faith has there attained its apogee: that of conferences, of interims, of diplomacy begins. I do not, however, entirely abandon Germany and German Switzerland, but henceforward they will occupy me less: the movement of the sixteenth century has there made its effort. I said from the very first: It is the History of the Reformation and not of Protestantism that I am relating.

I cannot, however, approach the History of the Reformation in England without some portion of fear; it is perhaps more difficult there than elsewhere. I have received communications from some of the most respectable men of the different ecclesiastical parties, who, each feeling convinced that their own point of view is the true one, desire me to present the history in this light. I hope to execute my task with impartiality and truth; and thought it would be advantageous to study for some time longer the principles and the facts. In this task I am at present occupied, and shall consecrate to it, with God's assistance, the first part of my next volume.

Should it be thought that I might have described the Reformation in Switzerland with greater brevity, I beg my readers will call to mind that, independently of the intrinsic importance of this history, Switzerland is the Author's birth-place.

I had at first thought of making arrangements for the present publication with the English and Scotch booksellers who had translated the former portions. Relations that I had maintained with some of these publishers, and which had gained my esteem for them, induced me to adopt this course. They were consequently informed by letter of my purpose, and several months later I had an interview with some of them at Glasgow. From circumstances which it is unnecessary to explain, no arrangement was entered into with these gentlemen. But at the same time, one of the first houses in Great Britain, Messrs. OLIVER & BOYD of Edinburgh, who were introduced to me by my highly respected friend Dr. CHALMERS, made me a suitable and precise offer. I could wait no longer; and on the very eve of my departure from London for the Continent, after a sojourn of three months in Scotland and in England, I made arrangements with them, which have since been definitely settled, and the Work is now their property.

The French laws are positive to protect literary property in France, even if it belongs to a foreigner. I am less familiar with the English laws; but I will not do England the injustice of believing that its legislation is surpassed by that of France in justice and in morality.

EUX-VIVES GENEVA, *January, 1846.*

*J. H. Merle Aubigné*

## CONTENTS.

### BOOK XIII.

#### THE PROTEST AND THE CONFERENCE. 1526-1529.

##### CHAPTER I.

Twofold Movement of Reform—Reform the Work of God—First Diet of Spires—Palladium of Reform—Firmness of the Reformers—Proceedings of the Diet—Report of the Commissioners—The Papacy painted and described by Luther—The Destruction of Jerusalem—Instructions of Seville—Change of Policy—Holy league—Religious Liberty proposed—Crisis of the Reformation. . . . . 13

##### CHAPTER II.

Italian War—The Emperor's Manifesto—March on Rome—Revolt of the Troops—The Sack of Rome—German Humours—Violence of the Spaniards—Clement VII. capitulates. . . . . 22

##### CHAPTER III.

Profitable Calm—Constitution of the Church—Philip of Hesse—The Monk of Marburg—Lambert's Paradoxes—Friar Boniface—Triumph of the Gospel in Hesse—Constitution of the Church—Bishops—Synods—Two Elements of the Church—Luther on the Ministry—Organization of the Church—Luther's contradictions on State Interference—Luther to the Elector—Melancthon's Instructions—Disaffection—The Reformation advances—Elizabeth of Brandenburg. . . . . 29

##### CHAPTER IV.

Edict of Ofen—Persecutions—Winchler, Carpenter, and Keyser—Pack's Forgery—League of the Reformed Princes—Advice of the Reformers—Luther's Pacific Counsel—Surprise of the Papist Princes—Pack's Scheme not improbable—Vigour of the Reformation. . . . . 45

##### CHAPTER V.

Alliance between Charles and Clement VII.—Omens—Hostility of the Papists—Arbitrary Proposition of Charles—Resolutions of the Diet—The Reformation in Danger—Decision of the Princes—Violence of Ferdinand—The Schism completed. . . . . 53

##### CHAPTER VI.

The Protest—Principles of the Protest—Supremacy of the Gospel—Christian Union—Ferdinand rejects the Protest—Attempt at Conciliation—Exultation of the Papists—Evangelical Appeal—Christian Unity a Reality—Dangers of the Protestants—The Protestants leave Spires—The Princes the true Reformers—Germany and Reform. . . . . 59



## CHAPTER VII.

Union necessary to Reform—Luther's Doctrine on the Lord's Supper—Proposed Conference at Marburg—Melancthon and Zwingle—Zwingle leaves Zurich—The Reformers at Marburg—Carlstadt's Petition—Preliminary Discussions—Holy Ghost—Original Sin—Baptism—Luther, Melancthon, and Zwingle—Opening of the Conference—Syllogism of Oecolampadius—The Flesh profiteth nothing—Lambert convinced—Arrival of new deputies—Christ's Humanity finite—Testimony of the Fathers—Argument of the Velvet Cover—End of the Conference—The Landgrave mediates—Necessity of Union—Luther rejects Zwingle's Hand—Bucer's Dilemma—Christian Charity prevails—Luther's Report—Unity of Doctrine—Unity in Diversity—Three Views—Germ of Popery—Luther's Dejection—Luther's Battle-sermon and Agony—Luther's Firmness—Victory—Exasperation of the Papists—Threatening Prospects. . . . . 68

## BOOK XIV.

THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION. 1530.

## CHAPTER I.

Two striking Lessons—Charles V. in Italy—The German Envoys—Their Boldness—The Landgrave's Present—The Envoys under arrest—Their release and Departure—Meeting of Charles and Clement—War imminent—Luther's Objections—The Saviour is coming—Charles's conciliatory Language—The Emperor's Motives. . . . . 95

## CHAPTER II.

The Coronation—The Emperor made a Deacon—The Romish Church and the State—Alarm of the Protestants—Bruck's noble Advice—Articles of Faith prepared—Luther's Strong tower—Luther at Coburg—Charles at Innspruck—Two Parties at Court—Piety of the Elector—Wiles of the Romanists. . . . . 105

## CHAPTER III.

Augsburg—The Emperor's Message—The Sermons prohibited—Firmness of the Elector—The Elector's Reply—Preparation of the Confession—Luther's Sinai—Luther's Diet at Coburg—Saxony, a Paradise below—To the Bishops—Travail of the Church—Charles—The Pope's Letter—Melancthon on Fasting—The Church, the Judge—The Landgrave's catholic spirit. . . . . 114

## CHAPTER IV.

Agitation in Augsburg—Violence of the Imperialists—Charles's arrival—The Nuncio's Blessing—The Imperial Procession—Charles's Appearance—Enters Augsburg—Te Deum—The Benediction—Brandenburg offers his Head—The Emperor's Request for Corpus Christi—Refusal of the Princes—Agitation of Charles—The Princes oppose Tradition—Exasperation of Charles. . . . . 124

## CHAPTER V.

The Sermons prohibited—Compromise proposed and accepted—The He-

**rald**—The Medley of Popery—Luther encourages the Princes—Veni Spiritus—Mass of the Holy Ghost—The Sermon—Opening of the Diet—The Elector's Prayer—Valdez and Melancthon—No public Discussion. Evangelical Firmness prevails. . . . . 134

## CHAPTER VI.

The Elector's Zeal—The Signing of the Confession—Courage of the Princes—Melancthon's Weakness—The Legate's Speech—Delays. The Confession in Danger. The Protestants are firm. Luther's Prayer and Anxiety. His Letter to Melancthon. Faith. . . . 144

## CHAPTER VII.

The 25th June 1530—The Palatine Chapel—The confession—Prologue—Justification—The Church—Free Will and Works—Faith—The Confession—Abuses—Church and State—The two Governments—Argumentation—Prudence—Church and State—The Sword—Moderate Tone of the Confession—Its Defects—A New Baptism. . . . 153

## CHAPTER VIII.

Effect on the Romanists—Luther demands religious Liberty—His Ingenuous Confessions—Hopes of the Protestants—The Emperor's Council—Violent discussions—A Refutation proposed—Its Authors—Rome and the civil Power—Perils of the Confessors—Melancthon's Minimum—Melancthon's Fall—Luther opposes Concession—The Legate repels Melancthon—The Pope's Decision—Question—Melancthon's School-matters—Answer. . . . . 164

## CHAPTER IX.

The Refutation—Charles's dissatisfaction—Interview with the Princes—The Swiss at Augsburg—Tetrapolitan Confession—Zwingle's Confession—Afflicting Divisions—The Elector's Faith—His Peace—The Refutation—One Concession—Scripture and the Hierarchy—Imperial Commands—Policy of Charles—Resolutions of the Consistory—The Prayers of the Church—Two Miracles—The Emperor's Menace—The Spectres at Spires—Tumult in Augsburg. . . . . 177

## CHAPTER X.

Philip of Hesse—Temptation—Union resisted—The Landgrave's Dissimulation—The Emperor's Order to the Protestants—Brandenburg's threatening Speeches—Resolution of Philip of Hesse—Flight from Augsburg—Discovery—Charles's Emotion—Revolution in the Diet—Metamorphosis—Unusual Moderation—Peace! Peace!. . . . 191

## CHAPTER XI.

The Mixed Commission—The Three Points—Romish Dissimulation—Abuses—Concessions—The Main Question—Bishops and Pope conceded—Danger of concession—Luther's opposing Letters—The Word above the Church—Melancthon's Blindness—A new Commission—Concessions—The Three Points—The great Antithesis—Failure of Conciliation—The Gordian Knot—A Council granted—Charles's Summons—Menaces—Peace or War—Romanism concedes—Protestantism resists—Luther recalls his Friends. . . . . 199

## CHAPTER XI.

The Elector's Preparatives and Indignation—Recess of Augsburg—Ir-  
ritating Language—Apology of the Confession—Messages of peace—  
Exasperation of the Papists—Restoration of Popery—Tumult in the  
Church—Union of the Churches—The Pope and the Emperor—Close  
of the Diet—Armaments—Attack on Geneva—Establishment of Pro-  
testantism. . . . . 215

## BOOK XV.

## SWITZERLAND—CONQUESTS. 1526-1530.

## CHAPTER I.

Originality of the Swiss Reform—Change—Three Periods of Reform—  
Switzerland Romande—The two Movements in the Church—Aggres-  
sive Spirit—Farel's new Baptism—Mysticism and Scholasticism—A  
Door is opened—Opposition—Lausanne—Manners of the Clergy—  
Farel to Galeotto—Farel and the Monk—The Tribunal—Opposition  
of the Ormonds—A false Convert—Christian Unity. . . . . 225

## CHAPTER II.

State-Religion in Berne—Irresolution of Berne—Evangelical Major-  
ity—Haller—Zwingle's Signal—Victory of the Gospel—Papist Provo-  
cations—Proposed Disputations—Objections of the Forest Cantons—  
The Church, the Judge of Controversies—Unequal Contest—Zwingle  
—A Christian Band—Opening of the Conference—The sole Head—  
Unity of Error—St. Vincent's Day—Papist Bitterness—Necessity of  
Reform—Zwingle's Sermon—Visit of the King of kings—Edict of  
Reform—Was the Reformation political? . . . . . 237

## CHAPTER III.

The Reform accepted by the People—Faith, Purity, and Charity—First  
Evangelical Communion—Bernese Proposition to the Diet—Threaten-  
ing storm from the Mountains—Revolt—Confusion in Berne—Energy  
of Berne—Victory—Political advantages . . . . . 252

## CHAPTER IV.

Reformation of St. Gall—Nuns of St. Catherine—Reformation of Glaris,  
Berne, Appenzell, the Grisons, Schaffhausen, and the Rhine District—  
A Popish Miracle—Obstacles in Basle—Zeal of the Citizens—Eco-  
lampidiusmarries—Petition of the Reformed. . . . . 260

## CHAPTER V.

Crisis in Basle—Half-measures rejected—Reformed Propositions—A  
Night of Terror—Idols broken in the Cathedral—The Hour of Mad-  
ness—Idols broken in all the Churches—Reform legalized—Erasmus in  
Basle—A great Transformation—Revolution and Reformation . 266

## CHAPTER VI.

Farel's Commission—Farel at Lausanne and Morat—Neufchatel—Farel  
preaches at Serrière—The Monks—Farel's Preaching—Popery in



Neufchatel—Canons and Monks unite—Reformation of the Bishopric of Basle—Farel again in Neufchatel—Placards—Civil Power invoked By the Romanists . . . . . 273

## CHAPTER VII.

Valangin—Guillemette de Vergy—Farel goes to the Val de Ruz—The Mass interrupted—Farel in Prison—Apostles and Reformers compared—Farel preaching at Neufchatel—Installed in the Cathedral—A Whirlwind sweeps over the People—Interposition of the Governor—Triumph of the Reformed . . . . . 282

## CHAPTER VIII.

The Romanists demand a Ballot—The Bernese in Favour of the Reform—Both Parties come to the Poll—The Romanists grasp the sword—The Voting—Majority for Reform—Protestantism perpetual—Retreat of the Canons—Popery and the Gospel . . . . . 289

## CHAPTER IX.

Reaction preparing—Failure of the Plot—Farel in Valangin and near the Lake—De Bely at Fontaine—Farel's Sufferings—Marcourt at Valangin—Disgraceful Expedient—Vengeance—The Reform established—French Switzerland characterized—Gathering Tempest . . . . . 297

# BOOK XVI.

## SWITZERLAND—CATASTROPHE. 1528-1531.

### CHAPTER I.

Two great Lessons—Christian Warfare—Zwingle, Pastor, Statesman, and General—His noble Character—Persecution—Swiss Catholics seek an Alliance with Austria—Great Dissatisfaction—Deputation to the Forest Cantons—Zwingle's Proposal—Moderation of Berne—Keyser's Martyrdom—Zwingle and War—Zwingle's Error . . . . . 303

### CHAPTER II.

Free Preaching of the Gospel in Switzerland—Zwingle supports the common Bailiwicks—War—Zwingle joins the Army—The Zurich Army threatens Zug—Bernese Interposition—Zwingle's Opposition—Swiss Cordiality—A Conference—Peace restored—Austrian Treaty torn—Nuns of St. Catherine . . . . . 310

### CHAPTER III.

Conquests of Reform in Schaffhausen and Zurzack—Reform in Glaris—To-day the Cowl, To-morrow the Reverse—Italian Bailiwicks—The Monk of Como—Call of the Monk of Locarno—The Monks of Wettingen—Abbey of Saint Gall—Kilian Kouffi—Saint Gall recovers its liberty—The Reform in Soleure—Popery triumphs—Address of the Ministers to the Romish Cantons—God's Word the Means of Unity—Ecolampadius for spiritual Influence—Autonomy of the Church . . . . . 318

## CHAPTER IV.

Zwingle and the Christian State—Zwingle's double Part—Zwingle and Luther in Relation to Politics—Projected Union between Zwingle and Luther—Zwingle's political Action—Zwingle advocates active Resistance—He destines the Imperial Crown for Philip—Embassy to Venice—Projected Alliance with France—Zwingle's Plan of Alliance—Approaching Ruin—Violence—Mysterious Paper—Berne and Basle vote for Peace—General Diet at Baden—Evangelical Diet at Zurich—Political Reformation of Switzerland—Activity of Zurich . . . 331

## CHAPTER V.

Diet of Arau—Helvetic Unity—Opposition of Zurich—Zwingle's War Sermon—Blockade of the Waldstettes—No Bread, no Wine, no Salt—Indignation of the Forest Cantons—The Roads blockaded—France tries to conciliate—Diet at Bremgarten—Hope—The Cantons inflexible—The Strength of Zurich broken—Discontent—Zwingle's false Position—Zwingle demands his Dismission—The Council remonstrate—He remains—Zwingle at Bremgarten—Zwingle's Farewell to Bullinger—Zwingle's Agony—The Forest Cantons reject all Conciliation—Zwingle's Tranquillity . . . 346

## CHAPTER VI.

The Five Cantons decide for War—Deceitful Calm—Fatal Inactivity—Banner of Lucerne planted—Manifesto—The Bailiwicks pillaged—Infatuation of Zurich—New Warnings—The War begins—The Tocsin—A fearful Night—Banner and Army of Zurich—Zwingle's Departure—Zwingle's Horse—Anna Zwingle . . . 360

## CHAPTER VII.

The Scene of War—The Enemy at Zug—Declaration of War—Army of the Forest Cantons appears—Zwingle's Gravity and Sorrow—Zurich Army ascending the Albis—Halt and Council at the Beech Tree—Jauch's Reconnaissance—His Appeal—Ambuscade . . . 370

## CHAPTER VIII.

Unforeseen Change—The whole Army advances—Universal Disorder—The Banneret's Death—Terrible Slaughter—Slaughter of the Pastors—Zwingle's last Words—Barbarity of the Victors—Zwingle's dying Moments—Day after the Battle—Homage and Outrage . . . 378

## CHAPTER IX.

Consternation in Zurich—Violence of the Populace—Grief and Distress—Zwingle is dead!—Funeral Oration—Another Reverse on the Goubel—Inactivity of the Bernese—Hopes and Plan of Charles V.—End of the War—Treaty of Peace . . . 387

## CHAPTER X.

Restoration of Popery at Bremgarten and Rapperschwyl—Priests and Monks everywhere—Sorrow of Ocolampadius—Peaceful Death of Ocolampadius—Henry Bullinger at Zurich—Contrition and Exultation—The great Lesson—Conclusion . . . 394

# HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

OF THE

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

---

## BOOK XIII.

THE PROTEST AND THE CONFERENCE.

1526-1529.

### CHAPTER I.

Twofold Movement of Reform—Reform the Work of God—First Diet of Spires—Palladium of Reform—Firmness of the Reformers—Proceedings of the Diet—Report of the Commissioners—The Papacy painted and described by Luther—The Destruction of Jerusalem—Instructions of Seville—Change of Policy—Holy League—Religious Liberty proposed—Crisis of the Reformation.

WE have witnessed the commencement, the struggles, the reverses, and the progress of the Reformation; but the conflicts hitherto described have been only partial; we are entering upon a new period,—that of general battles. Spires (1529) and Augsburg (1530) are names that shine forth with more immortal glory than Marathon, Pavia, or Marengo. Forces that up to the present time were separate, are now uniting into one energetic band; and the power of God is at work in those brilliant actions, which open a new era in the history of nations, and communicate an irresistible impulse to mankind. The passage from the middle ages to modern times has arrived.

A great protest is about to be accomplished; and although there have been protestants in the Church from the very beginning of Christianity, since liberty and truth could not be maintained here below, save by protesting continually against despotism and error, Protestantism is about to take a new step. It is about to become a body, and thus attack with greater energy that “mystery of iniquity” which for ages has taken a bodily shape at Rome, in the very temple of God.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 2 Thess., ii.



But although we have to treat of protests, it must not however be imagined that the Reformation is a negative work. In every sphere in which anything great is evolved, whether in nature or society, there is a principle of life at work,—a seed that God fertilizes. The Reformation, when it appeared in the sixteenth century, did not, indeed, perform a new work, for a reformation is not a formation; but it turned its face toward the beginnings of Christianity; it seized upon them with affection, and embraced them with adoration. Yet it was not satisfied with this return to primitive times. Laden with its precious burden, it again crossed the interval of ages, and brought back to fallen and lifeless Christendom the sacred fire that was destined to restore it to light and life. In this twofold movement consisted its action and its strength. Afterwards, no doubt, it rejected superannuated forms, and combated error; but this was, so to speak, only the least of its works, and its third movement. Even the protest of which we have to speak, had for its end and aim the re-establishment of truth and of life, and was essentially a positive act.

This powerful and rapid twofold action of reform, by which the apostolic times were re-established at the opening of modern history, proceeded not from man. A reformation is not arbitrarily made, as charters and revolutions are in some countries. A real reformation, prepared during many ages, is the work of the Spirit of God. Before the appointed hour, the greatest geniuses, and even the most faithful of God's servants, cannot produce it; but when the reforming time is come, when it is God's pleasure to renovate the affairs of the world, the divine life must clear a passage, and it is able to create of itself the humble instruments by which this life is communicated to the human race. Then, if men are silent, the very stones will cry out.<sup>1</sup>

It is to the protest of Spire (1529) that we are now about to turn our eyes; but the way to this protest was prepared by years of peace, and followed by attempts at concord that we shall have also to describe. Nevertheless the formal establishment of Protestantism remains the great fact that prevails in the history of the Reformation from 1526 to 1529.

The Duke of Brunswick had brought into Germany the threatening message of Charles the Fifth. That emperor was about to repair from Spain to Rome to come to an understanding with the pope, and from thence to pass into Germany to con-

<sup>1</sup> Luke, xix, 40.

strain the heretics. The last summons was to be addressed to them by the Diet of Spires, 1526.<sup>1</sup> The decisive hour for the Reformation was on the point of striking.

On the 25th June, 1526, the diet opened. In the instructions, dated at Seville, 23rd March, the emperor ordered that the Church customs should be maintained entire, and called upon the diet to punish those who refused to carry out the edict of Worms.<sup>2</sup> Ferdinand himself was at Spires, and his presence rendered these orders more formidable. Never had the hostility which the Romish partisans entertained against the evangelical princes, appeared in so striking a manner. "The Pharisees," said Spalatin, "are inveterate in their hatred against Jesus Christ."<sup>3</sup>

Never also had the evangelical princes showed so much hope. Instead of coming forward frightened and trembling, like guilty men, they were seen advancing, surrounded by the ministers of the Word, with uplifted heads and cheerful looks. Their first step was to ask for a place of worship. The Bishop of Spires, count-palatine of the Rhine, having indignantly refused this strange request,<sup>4</sup> the princes complained of it as an act of injustice, and ordered their ministers to preach daily in the halls of their palaces, which were immediately filled by an immense crowd from the city and the country, amounting to many thousands.<sup>5</sup> In vain on the feast days did Ferdinand, the ultramontane princes, and the bishops assist in the pomps of the Roman worship in the beautiful cathedral of Spires; the unadorned Word of God, preached in the protestant vestibules, engrossed all hearers, and the mass was celebrated in an empty church.<sup>6</sup>

It was not only the ministers, but the knights and the grooms, "mere idiots," who, unable to control their zeal, everywhere eagerly extolled the Word of the Lord.<sup>7</sup> All the followers of the evangelical princes wore these letters embroidered on their right sleeves: V. D. M. I. Æ., that is to say, "The Word of the Lord endureth for ever."<sup>8</sup> The same inscription might be read on the escutcheons of the princes, suspended over their hotels. The Word of God—such from this moment was the palladium of the Reformation.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. III, book x, chap. xiv. The Diet of Spires, held in 1526, must not be confounded with that of 1529, at which the protest took place. <sup>2</sup> Sleidan, Hist. Ref., book vi. <sup>3</sup> Christum Phariseis vehementer fuisse in visum. Seckend., ii, 46.

<sup>4</sup> Fortiter interdixit. (Cochleus, p. 138.) He resolutely prohibited. <sup>5</sup> Ingens concursus plebis et rusticorum. Cochleus. Multis millibus hominum accurrentibus. (Seckend., ii, 48.) A huge concourse from town and country. Many thousands flocking to them.

<sup>6</sup> Populum a sacris avertabant. Cochleus, p. 138. <sup>7</sup> Ministri eorum, equites et stabularii, idiotæ, petulanter jactabant verbum Domini. Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Verbum Domini manet in æternum. Ibid.

This was not all. The Protestants knew that the mere worship would not suffice: the landgrave had therefore called upon the Elector to abolish certain "court customs" which dishonoured the Gospel. These princes had consequently drawn up an order of living which forbade drunkenness, debauchery, and other vicious customs prevalent during a diet.<sup>1</sup>

Perhaps the protestant princes sometimes put forward their dissent beyond what prudence would have required. Not only, they did not go to mass, and did not observe the prescribed fasts, but still further, on the fast days, their attendants were seen publicly bearing dishes of meat and game, destined for their masters' tables, and crossing, says Cochleus, in the presence of the whole auditory, the halls in which the worship was celebrating. "It was," says this writer, "with the intent of attracting the catholics by the savour of the meats and of the wines."<sup>2</sup>

The Elector in effect had a numerous court: seven hundred persons formed his retinue. One day he gave a banquet at which twenty-six princes with their gentlemen and councillors were present. They continued playing until a very late hour—ten at night. Everything in Duke John announced the most powerful prince of the empire. The youthful landgrave of Hesse, full of zeal and knowledge, and in the strength of a first christian love, made a still deeper impression on those who approached him. He would frequently dispute with the bishops, and owing to his acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures, easily stopped their mouths.<sup>3</sup>

This firmness in the friends of the Reformation produced results that surpassed their expectation. It was no longer possible to be deceived: the spirit that was manifested in these men was the spirit of the Bible. Everywhere the sceptre was falling from the hands of Rome. "The leaven of Luther," said a zealous papist, "sets all the people of Germany in a ferment, and foreign nations themselves are agitated by formidable movements."<sup>4</sup>

It was immediately seen how great is the strength of deep convictions. The states that were well-disposed towards the reform, but which had not ventured to give their adhesion pub-

<sup>1</sup> *Adversus inveteratos illos et impios usus nitendum, esse.* (Seck., ii, 46.) That they were to strive against those inveterate and impious practices.

<sup>2</sup> *Ut complures allicerentur ad eorum sectam, in ferculis portabantur carnes coctæ in diebus jejuniæ, aperte in conspectu totius auditorii.* (Cochleus, p. 188.) To allure numbers to their sect, dishes of baked meats were brought on fast days, openly, in sight of the whole audience.

<sup>3</sup> *Annales Spalatini.*

<sup>4</sup> *Germaniæ populi Lutherico fermento inescati, et in externis quoque nationibus, gravissimi erant motus.* (Cochleus, p. 188.) The States of Germany were caught by the Lutheran leaven, and in foreign nations also there were very great commotions.



liely, became emboldened. The neutral states, demanding the repose of the empire, formed the resolution of opposing the edict of Worms, the execution of which would have spread trouble through all Germany; and the papist states lost their boldness. The bow of the mighty was broken.<sup>1</sup>

Ferdinand did not think proper, at so critical a moment, to communicate to the diet the severe instructions he had received from Seville.<sup>2</sup> He substituted a proposition calculated to satisfy both parties.

The laymen immediately recovered the influence of which the clergy had dispossessed them. The ecclesiastics resisted a proposal in the college of princes that the diet should occupy itself with church abuses, but their exertions were unavailing. Undoubtedly a non-political assembly would have been preferable to the diet, but it was already a point gained, that religious matters were no longer to be regulated solely by the priests.

As soon as this resolution was communicated to the deputies from the cities, they called for the abolition of every usage contrary to the faith in Jesus Christ. In vain did the bishops exclaim that, instead of doing away with pretended abuses, they would do much better to burn all the books with which Germany had been inundated during the last eight years. "You desire," was the reply, "to bury all wisdom and knowledge."<sup>3</sup> The request of the cities was agreed to,<sup>4</sup> and the diet was divided into committees for the abolition of abuses.

Then was manifested the profound disgust inspired by the priests of Rome. "The clergy," said the deputy for Frankfort, "make a jest of the public good, and look after their own interests only." "The laymen," said the deputy from Duke George, "have the salvation of Christendom much more at heart than the clergy."

The commissioners made their report; people were astonished at it. Never had men spoken out so freely against the pope and the bishops. The commission of the princes, in which the ecclesiastics and laymen were in equal numbers, proposed a fusion of popery and reform. "The priests would do better to

<sup>1</sup> 1 Samuel, ii, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Some historians appear to think that these instructions were communicated in reality at the very opening of the diet. Ranke shows that this was not the case; but adds, that he sees no reason why the commissaries should have thought themselves authorized to make any other proposition. The motives that I have assigned appear to me the true ones. I shall state below why the commissaries returned afterwards to the imperial instructions.

<sup>3</sup> Omnes libros esse comburendos. Sed rejectum est quia sic omnis doctrina et eruditio theologica interitura esset. (Seckend., ii, 45.) That all books were to be burned. But it was rejected, because in this way all learning and theological erudition would perish.

<sup>4</sup> Civitatum suffragia multum valuerunt. (Ibid.) The suffrages of the cities had great effect.

marry," said they, "than to keep women of ill fame in their houses; every man should be at liberty to communicate under one or both forms; German and Latin may be equally employed in the Lord's Supper and in baptism; as for the other sacraments, let them be preserved, but let them be administered gratuitously. Finally, let the Word of God be preached according to the interpretation of the Church (this was the demand of Rome), but always explaining Scripture by Scripture" (this was the great principle of the Reformation). Thus the first step was taken towards a national union. Still a few more efforts, and the whole German race would be walking in the direction of the Gospel.

The evangelical Christians, at the sight of this glorious prospect, redoubled their exertions. "Stand fast in the doctrine," said the Elector of Saxony to his councillors.<sup>1</sup> At the same time hawkers in every part of the city were selling Christian pamphlets, short and easy to read, written in Latin and in German, and ornamented with engravings, in which the errors of Rome were vigorously attacked.<sup>2</sup> One of these books was entitled, *The Papacy, with its Members painted and described, by Doctor Luther*. In it figured the pope, the cardinals, and all the religious orders, exceeding sixty, each with their costumes and description in verse. Under the picture of one of these orders were the following lines:

Greedy priests, see, roll in gold,  
Forgetful of the humble Jesu:

under another:

We forbid you to behold  
The Bible, lest it should mislead you!<sup>3</sup>

and under a third:

We can fast and pray the harder  
With an overflowing larder.<sup>4</sup>

"Not one of these orders," said Luther to the reader, "thinks either of faith or charity. This one wears the tonsure, the other a hood; this a cloak, that a robe. One is white, another black, a third gray, and a fourth blue. Here is one holding a looking-glass, there one with a pair of scissors. Each has his playthings . . . Ah! these are the palmer-worms, the locusts, the canker-worms, and the caterpillars, which, as Joel saith, have eaten up all the earth."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Elector Saxonie conciliariorum suos exhortatus est, in doctrina evangelica firmi. Seckend., ii, 48.

<sup>2</sup> Circumferebantur item libri Lutherani venales per totam civitatem. Coehleus. p. 138. Lutheran books likewise were carried about for sale through the whole city.

<sup>3</sup> Dass die Schrift sie nicht verführe, Darf ihr keinen nicht studir. L. Opp., xix, p. 536.

<sup>4</sup> Doch war ihr küch nimmer leer. L. Opp., xix, 536.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 535. Joel, i, 4.

But if Luther employed the scourges of sarcasm, he also blew the trumpet of the prophets; and this he did in a work entitled *The Destruction of Jerusalem*. Shedding tears like Jeremiah, he denounced to the German people a ruin similar to that of the holy city, if like it they rejected the Gospel.<sup>1</sup> "God has imparted to us all his treasures," exclaimed he; "he became man, he has served us,<sup>2</sup> he died for us, he has risen again, and he has so opened the gates of heaven, that all may enter . . . The hour of grace is come . . . The glad tidings are proclaimed . . . But where is the city, where is the prince that has received them? They insult the Gospel: they draw the sword, and daring seize God by the beard."<sup>3</sup> . . . But wait . . . He will turn round; with one blow will he break their jaws, and all Germany will be one vast ruin."

These works had a very great sale.<sup>4</sup> They were read not only by the peasants and townspeople, but also by the nobles and princes. Leaving the priests alone at the foot of the altar, they threw themselves into the arms of the new Gospel.<sup>5</sup> The necessity of a reform of abuses was proclaimed on the 1st of August by a general committee.

Then Rome, which had appeared to slumber, awoke. Fanatical priests, monks, ecclesiastical princes, all gathered round Ferdinand. Cunning, bribery, nothing was spared. Did not Ferdinand possess the instructions of Seville? To refuse their publication was to effect the ruin of the Church and of the empire. Let the voice of Charles, said they, oppose its powerful *veto* to the dizziness that is hurrying Germany along, and the empire will be saved! Ferdinand made up his mind, and at length, on the 3d August, published the decree drawn up more than four months previously in favour of the edict of Worms.<sup>6</sup>

The persecution was about to begin; the reformers would be thrown into dungeons, and the sword drawn on the banks of the Guadalquivir would at last pierce the bosom of the Reformation.

The effect of the imperial ordinance was immense. The breaking of an axletree does not more violently check the

<sup>1</sup> Libelli, parvuli quidem mole, sed virulentia perquam grandes, sermo Lutheri Teuthonicus de destructione Jerusalem. (Cochleus, p. 138.) Books in size indeed small but in virulence very large. Luther's sermon in German on the Destruction of Jerusalem. <sup>2</sup> Wird Mensch, dienet uns, stirbt fur uns. Luth. Opp., xiv, (L.) 226.

<sup>3</sup> Greiffen Gott zu frech in den Bart. Ibid. Deo nimis ferociter barbam vellicant. Cochleus. <sup>4</sup> Perquam plurima vendebantur exemplaria. Ibid., p. 139. <sup>5</sup> Non solum plebs et rustica turba, verum etiam plerique optimatum et nobilium traherantur in favorem novi Evangelii, atque in odium antiquæ religionis. (Cochleus, p. 160.)

Not only the populace and peasantry, but also most of the princes and nobles, were drawn into favour of the new gospel, and hatred of the old religion. <sup>6</sup> Sleidan, Hist. de la Ref., vi, 229.



velocity of a railway train. The Elector and the landgrave announced that they were about to quit the diet, and ordered their attendants to prepare for their departure. At the same time the deputies from the cities drew towards these two princes, and the Reformation appeared as if it would enter immediately upon a contest with the pope and Charles the Fifth.

But it was not yet prepared for a general struggle. The tree was destined to strike its root deeper, before the Almighty unchained the stormy winds against it. A spirit of blindness, similar to that which in former times was sent out upon Saul and Herod,<sup>1</sup> then seized upon the great enemy of the Gospel; and thus was it that Divine Providence saved the Reformation in its cradle.

The first movement of trouble being over, the friends of the Gospel began to consider the date of the imperial instructions, and to weigh the new political combinations which seemed to announce to the world the most unlooked-for events. "When the emperor wrote these letters," said the cities of Upper Germany, "he was on good terms with the pope, but now everything is changed. It is even asserted that he told Margaret, his representative in the Low Countries, to proceed *gently* with respect to the Gospel. Let us send him a deputation." That was not necessary. Charles had not waited until now to form a different resolution. The course of public affairs, taking a sudden turn, had rushed into an entirely new path. Years of peace were about to be granted to the Reformation.

Clement VII., whom Charles was about to visit, according to the instructions of Seville, in order to receive the imperial crown in Rome itself and from his sacred hands, and in return to give up to the pontiff the Gospel and the Reformation,—Clement VII., seized with a strange infatuation, had suddenly turned against this powerful monarch. The emperor, unwilling to favour his ambition in every point, had opposed his claims on the states of the Duke of Ferrara. Clement immediately became exasperated, and cried out that Charles wished to enslave the peninsula, but that the time was come for re-establishing the independence of Italy. This great idea of Italian independence, entertained at that period by a few literary men, had not, as in our days, penetrated the mass of the nation. Clement therefore hastened to have recourse to political combinations. The Pope, the Venetians, and the King of France, who had scarcely recovered his liberty, formed a *holy league*, of which the King of England was by a bull nominated the

<sup>1</sup> 1 Sam., xvi, 14-23; Matth., ii.

preserver and protector.<sup>1</sup> In June 1526, the emperor caused the most favourable propositions to be presented to the pope; but his advances were ineffectual, and the Duke of Sessa, Charles's ambassador at Rome, returning on horseback from his last audience, placed a court-fool behind him, who, by a thousand monkey tricks, gave the Roman people to understand how little they cared for the pope and his projects. Clement responded to these bravadoes by a brief, in which he threatened the emperor with excommunication, and without loss of time pushed his troops into Lombardy, whilst Milan, Florence, and Piedmont declared for the holy league. Thus was Europe preparing to be avenged for the triumph of Pavia.

Charles did not hesitate. He wheeled to the right as quickly as the pope had done to the left, and turned abruptly towards the evangelical princes. "Let us suspend the edict of Worms," wrote he to his brother; "let us bring back Luther's patisans by mildness, and by a good council cause the triumph of evangelical truth." At the same time he demanded that the elector, the landgrave, and their allies should march with him against the Turks—or against Italy, for the common good of Christendom.

Ferdinand hesitated. To gain the friendship of the Lutherans was to forfeit that of the other princes, who were already beginning to utter violent threats.<sup>2</sup> The Protestants themselves were not very eager to take the emperor's hand. "It is God, God himself," they said, "who will save his churches."<sup>3</sup>

What was to be done? The edict of Worms could neither be repealed nor carried into execution.

So strange a situation led of necessity to the desired solution: religious liberty. The first idea of this occurred to the deputies of the cities. "In one place," said they, "the ancient ceremonies have been preserved; in another they have been abolished; and both think they are right. Let us allow every man to do as he thinks fit, until a council shall re-establish the desired unity by the Word of God." This idea gained favour, and the *recess* of the diet, dated the 17th August, decreed that a universal or at least a national free council should be convoked within a year, that they should request the emperor to return speedily to Germany, and that, until then, each

<sup>1</sup> Sleidan, *Hist de la Ref.* vi; Bullar, *Mag. roman.* x. <sup>2</sup> Ferdinandus, ut audio, graviter minatur. Corp. Ref., i, 801. <sup>3</sup> Imperator pollicetur . . . sed nemo his promissis movetur. Spero Deum defensurum esse suas Ecclesias. (*Ibid.*) The emperor promises . . . but no one is moved by these promises. I hope that God will defend his own churches.

state should behave in its own territory in such a manner as to be able to render an account to God and to the emperor.<sup>1</sup>

Thus they escaped from their difficulty by a middle course; and this time it was really the true path. Each one maintained his rights, while recognising another's. The diet of 1526 forms an important epoch in history: an ancient power, that of the middle ages, is shaken; a new power, that of modern times, is advancing; religious liberty boldly takes its stand in front of Romish despotism; a lay spirit prevails over the sacerdotal spirit. In this single step there is a complete victory: the cause of the reform is won.

Yet it was little suspected. Luther, on the morrow of the day on which the *recess* was published, wrote to a friend: "The diet is sitting at Spires in the German fashion. They drink and gamble, and there is nothing done except that."<sup>2</sup> "Le congrès danse et ne marche pas,"<sup>3</sup> has been said in our days. Great things are often transacted under an appearance of frivolity, and God accomplishes his designs unknown even to those whom he employs as his instruments. In this diet a gravity and love of liberty of conscience were manifested, which are the fruits of Christianity, and which in the sixteenth century had its earliest if not its most energetic development among the German nations.

Yet Ferdinand still hesitated. Mahomet himself came to the aid of the Gospel. Louis, king of Hungary and Bohemia, drowned at Mohacz on the 29th August, 1526, as he was fleeing from before Soliman II., had bequeathed the crown of these two kingdoms to Ferdinand. But the Duke of Bavaria, the Waywode of Transylvania, and, above all, the terrible Soliman, contested it against him. This was sufficient to occupy Charles's brother: he left Luther, and hastened to dispute two thrones.

---

## CHAPTER II.

Italian War—the Emperor's Manifesto—March on Rome—Revolt of the Troops—The Sack of Rome—German Humours—Violence of the Spaniards—Clement VII. capitulates.

THE emperor immediately reaped the fruits of his new policy. No longer having his hands tied by Germany, he turned them against Rome. The Reformation was to be exalted and the

<sup>1</sup> Unusquisque in sua ditione ita se gereret ut rationem Deo et imperatori reddere posset. Seckend., ii, 41.    <sup>2</sup> Potatur et luditur, præterea nihil. L. Epp., iii, 126.

<sup>3</sup> The congress dances but does not move forward.



Papacy abased. The blows aimed at its pitiless enemy were about to open a new career to the evangelical work.

Ferdinand, who was detained by his Hungarian affairs, gave the charge of the Italian expedition to Freundsberg, that old general who had in so friendly a manner patted Luther on the shoulder, as the Reformer was about to appear before the Diet of Worms.<sup>1</sup> This veteran who, as a contemporary observes,<sup>2</sup> "bore in his chivalrous heart God's holy Gospel, well fortified and flanked by a strong wall," pledged his wife's jewels, sent recruiting parties into all the towns of Upper Germany, and, owing to the magic idea of a war against the pope, soon witnessed crowds of soldiers flocking to his standard. "Announce," Charles had said to his brother,—"announce that the army is to march against the Turks; every one will know what Turks are meant."

Thus the puissant Charles, instead of marching with the pope against the Reformation, as he had threatened at Seville, marches with the Reformation against the pope. A few days had sufficed to produce this change of direction: there are few periods of history in which the hand of God is more plainly manifested: Charles immediately assumed all the airs of a reformer. On the 17th September, he addressed a manifesto to the pope,<sup>3</sup> in which he reproaches him for behaving not like the father of the faithful, but like an insolent and haughty man;<sup>4</sup> and declares his astonishment that he, Christ's vicar, should dare shed blood to acquire earthly possessions, "which," added he, "is quite contrary to the evangelical doctrine."<sup>5</sup> Luther could not have spoken better. "Let your holiness," continued Charles the Fifth, "return the sword of St. Peter into the scabbard, and convoke a holy and universal council." But the sword was much more to the pontiff's taste than the council. Is not the papacy, according to the Romish doctors, the source of the two powers? Can it not depose kings, and consequently fight against them?<sup>6</sup> Charles prepared to requite "eye for eye and tooth for tooth."<sup>7</sup>

Now began that terrible campaign during which the storm burst on Rome and on the Papacy that had been destined to fall on Germany and the Gospel. By the violence of the blows

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. II, b, vii, ch. viii.

<sup>2</sup> Haug marschalk, surnamed Zeller.

<sup>3</sup> Careli

Imperat. Rescriptum ad Clementis Septimi criminationes. Goldasti, Constitut. Imperiales, i, 479.

<sup>4</sup> Non jam pastoris seu communis patris laudem, sed superbi et insolentis nomen. (Ibid., 487.) No longer the praise of a pastor or common father but the name of a haughty and insolent man.

<sup>5</sup> Cum id ab evangelica doctrina, prorsus alienum videtur. Ibid., 489.

<sup>6</sup> Utriusque potestatis apicem Papa tenet. (Turrecremata de Potestate Papali.) The pope is at the pinnacle of both powers.

<sup>7</sup> Exod., xxi, 24.

inflicted on the pontifical city, we may judge of the severity of those that would have dashed in pieces the reformed churches. While retracing such scenes of horror, we have constant need of calling to mind that the chastisement of the seven-hilled city had been predicted by the Holy Scriptures.<sup>1</sup>

In the month of November, Freundsberg at the head of fifteen thousand men was at the foot of the Alps. The old general, avoiding the military roads, that were well guarded by the enemy, flung himself into a narrow path, over frightful precipices, that a few blows of the mattock would have rendered impassable. The soldiers were forbidden to look behind them; nevertheless their heads turned, their feet slipped, and horse and foot rolled from time to time into the abyss. In the most difficult passes, the surest-footed of the infantry lowered their long pikes to the right and left of their aged chief, by way of barrier, and Freundsberg advanced clinging to the lansquenet in front, and pushed on by the one behind. In three days the Alps were crossed, and on the 19th November the army reached the territory of Brescia.

The Constable of Bourbon, who succeeded to the chief command of the imperial army after the death of Pescara, had just taken possession of the duchy of Milan. The emperor having promised him this conquest for a recompense, Bourbon was compelled to remain there some time to consolidate his power. At length, on the 12th February, he and his Spanish troops joined the army of Freundsberg, which was becoming impatient at his delays. The constable had many men, but no money; he resolved therefore to follow the advice of the Duke of Ferrara, that inveterate enemy of the princes of the Church, and proceed straight to Rome.<sup>2</sup> The whole army received this news with a shout of joy. The Spaniards were filled with the desire of avenging Charles V, and the Germans were overflowing with hatred against the pope; all exulted in the hope of receiving their pay and of having their labours richly repaid at last by those treasures of Christendom that Rome had been accumulating for ages. Their shouts re-echoed beyond the Alps. Every man in Germany thought that the last hour of the papacy had arrived, and prepared to contemplate its fall. "The emperor's forces are triumphing in Italy," wrote Luther; "the pope is visited from every quarter. His destruction draweth nigh; his hour and his end are come."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Revel., xviii. We should not however restrict this prediction to the incomplete sack of 1527, from which the city recovered.

<sup>2</sup> Guicciardini, History of the Wars in Italy, xviii, 698.

<sup>3</sup> Papa ubique visitatur, ut destruat: venit enim finis et hora ejus. Luther to Haussmann, 10th January, 1527. Epp., iii, 156.

A few slight advantages gained by the papal soldiers in the kingdom of Naples led to the conclusion of a truce that was to be ratified by the pope and by the emperor. As soon as this was known, a frightful tumult broke out in the constable's army. The Spanish troops revolted, compelled him to flee, and pillaged his tent. Then approaching the lansquenets, they began to shout as loudly as they could, the only German words they knew: *Lance! lance! money! money!*<sup>1</sup> Such cries found an echo in the bosoms of the Imperialists; they were moved in their turn, and also began to shout with all their might: *Lance! lance! money! money!* Friendsberg beat to muster, and having drawn up the soldiers around him and his principal officers, calmly demanded if he had ever deserted them. All was useless. The old affection which the lansquenets bore to their leader seemed extinct. One chord alone vibrated in their hearts: they must have pay and war. Accordingly, lowering their lances, they presented them as if they would slay their officers, and again began to shout, "*Lance! lance! money! money!*" When Friendsberg, whom no army however large had ever frightened,—Friendsberg, who was accustomed to say, "the more enemies, the greater the honour," saw these lansquenets, at whose head he had grown grey, aiming their murderous steel against him, he lost all power of utterance, and fell senseless upon a drum, as if struck with a thunderbolt.<sup>2</sup> The strength of the veteran general was broken for ever. But the sight of their dying captain produced on the lansquenets an effect that no speech could have made. All the lances were upraised, and the agitated soldiers retired with downcast eyes. Four days later, Friendsberg recovered his speech. "Forward," said he to the Constable; "God himself will bring us to the mark." Forward! forward! repeated the lansquenets. Bourbon had no alternative: besides, neither Charles nor Clement would listen to any proposals of peace. Friendsberg was carried to Ferrara, and afterwards to his castle of Mindelheim, where he died after an illness of eighteen months; and on the 18th April Bourbon took that high road to Rome which so many formidable armies coming from the north had already trodden.

Whilst the storm descending from the Alps was approaching the eternal city, the pope lost his presence of mind, sent away his troops, and kept only his body-guard. More than 30,000

<sup>1</sup> Lanz, lanz, gelt, gelt.

<sup>2</sup> Cum vero hastas ducibus obverterent indignatione et ægitudine animi oppressus, Fronsbergius subito in deliquium incidit, ita ut in tympano quod adstabat desidere cogeretur, nullumque verbum proloqui amplius posset. Seckend., ii, 79.



Romans, capable of bearing arms, paraded their bravery in the streets, dragging their long swords after them, quarrelling and fighting; but these citizens, eager in the pursuit of gain, had little thought of defending the pope, and hoping to derive great profit from his stay, they desired on the contrary that the magnificent Charles would come and settle in Rome.

On the evening of the 5th May Bourbon arrived under the walls of the capital; and he would have begun the assault at that very moment had he been provided with ladders. On the morning of the 6th, the army, concealed by a thick fog which hid their movements,<sup>1</sup> was put in motion, the Spaniards marching to their station above the gate of the Holy Ghost, and the Germans below.<sup>2</sup> The constable, wishing to encourage his soldiers, seized a scaling-ladder, mounted the wall, and called on them to follow him. At this moment a ball struck him: he fell, and expired an hour after. Such was the end of this unhappy man, a traitor to his king and to his country, and suspected even by his new friends.

His death, far from checking, served only to excite the army. Claudius Seidenstucker, grasping his long sword, first cleared the wall; he was followed by Michael Hartmann, and these two reformed Germans exclaimed that God himself was marching before them in the clouds. The gates were opened, the army poured in, the suburbs were taken, and the pope, surrounded by thirteen cardinals, fled to the castle of St. Angelo. The Imperialists, at whose head was now the prince of Orange, offered him peace on condition of his paying 300,000 crowns. But Clement, who thought that the holy league was on the point of delivering him, and fancied he already saw their leading horsemen, rejected every proposition. After four hours' repose, the attack was renewed, and by sunset the army was master of all the city. It remained under arms and in good order until midnight, the Spaniards in the Piazza Navona, and the Germans in the Campofiore. At last, seeing no demonstrations either of war or peace, the soldiers disbanded and ran to pillage.

Then began the famous "Sack of Rome." The papacy had for centuries put Christendom in the press. Prebends, annates, jubilees, pilgrimages, ecclesiastical graces, — she had made money of them all. These greedy troops, that for months had lived in wretchedness, determined to make her disgorge. No

<sup>1</sup> Guicciardini, ii, 721.

<sup>2</sup> Since the new wall built by Urban VIII, on the top of the Janiculum, the gates of the Holy Ghost and of Seltimiana have become useless.

one was spared, the imperial not more than the ultramontane party, the Ghibellines not more than the Guelfs. Churches, palaces, convents, private houses, basilics, banks, tombs—every thing was pillaged, even to the golden ring that the corpse of Julius II. still wore on its finger. The Spaniards displayed the greatest skill, scenting out and discovering treasures in the most mysterious hiding-places; but the Neapolitans were the most outrageous.<sup>1</sup> “On every side were heard,” says Guicciardini, “the piteous shrieks of the Roman women and of the nuns, whom the soldiers dragged away by companies to satiate their lust.”<sup>2</sup>

At first the Germans found a certain pleasure in making the papists feel the weight of their swords. But ere long, happy at procuring victuals and drink, they were more pacific than their allies. It was upon those things which the Romans called “holy” that the anger of the Lutherans was especially discharged. They took away the chalices, the pyxes, the silver remonstrances, and clothed their servants and camp-boys with the sacerdotal garments.<sup>3</sup> The Campofiore was changed into an immense gambling-house. The soldiers brought thither golden vessels and bags full of crowns, staked them upon one throw of the dice, and after losing them went in search of others. A certain Simon Baptista, who had foretold the sack of the city, had been thrown into prison by the pope; the Germans liberated him, and made him drink with them. But, like Jeremiah, he prophesied against all. “Rob, plunder,” cried he to his liberators; “you shall however give back all; the money of the soldiers and the gold of the priests will follow the same road.”

Nothing pleased the Germans more than to mock the papal court. “Many prelates,” says Guicciardini, “were paraded on asses through all the city of Rome.”<sup>4</sup> After this procession, the bishops paid their ransom; but they fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who made them pay it a second time.<sup>5</sup>

One day a lansquenet, named Guillaume de Sainte Celle, put on the pope’s robes, and placed the triple crown upon his head; others gathered round him, adorning themselves with the red hats and long robes of the cardinals; and going in procession upon asses through the streets of the city, they all arrived at

<sup>1</sup> Jovius Vita Pompeii Colonnæ, p. 191; Ranke, Deutsche Gesch., ii, 398. <sup>2</sup> Guicciardini, ii, 724.

<sup>3</sup> Sacras vestes profanis induebant lixis. (Cochlæus, p. 156.) They put the sacred garments on profane scullions.

<sup>4</sup> Wars of Italy, ii, 728.

<sup>5</sup> Eundem civem seu curialem haud raro, nunc ab Hispanis, nunc a Germanis ære mutuo redimi. (Cochlæus, p. 156.) The same citizen, or courtier, was not unfrequently ransomed with borrowed money, at one time, from the Spaniards, and at another, from the Germans.

last before the castle of St. Angelo, to which Clement VII. had retired. Here the soldier-cardinals alighted, and lifting up the front of their robes, kissed the feet of the pretended pontiff. The latter drank to the health of Clement VII., the cardinals kneeling did the same, and exclaimed that henceforward they would be pious popes and good cardinals, careful not to excite wars as their predecessors had done. They then formed a conclave, and the pope having announced to his consistory that it was his intention to resign the papacy, all hands were immediately raised for the election, and they cried out, "Luther is pope! Luther is pope!"<sup>1</sup> Never had pontiff been proclaimed with such perfect unanimity. Such were the humours of the Germans.

The Spaniards did not let the Romans off so easily. Clement VII. had called them "Moors," and had published a plenary indulgence for whoever should kill any of them. Nothing, therefore, could restrain their fury. These faithful Catholics put the prelates to death in the midst of horrible cruelties, destined to extort their treasures from them: they spared neither rank, sex, nor age. It was not until the sack had lasted ten days, and a booty of ten millions of golden crowns had been collected, and from five to eight thousand victims had perished, that quiet began to be in some degree restored.

Thus did the pontifical city decline in the midst of a long and cruel pillage, and that splendour with which Rome from the beginning of the sixteenth century had filled the world, faded in a few hours. Nothing could preserve this haughty capital from chastisement, not even the prayers of its enemies. "I would not have Rome burnt," Luther had exclaimed; "it would be a monstrous deed."<sup>2</sup> The fears of Melancthon were still keener: "I tremble for the libraries," said he; "we know how hateful books are to Mars."<sup>3</sup> But in despite of these wishes of the reformers, the city of Leo X. fell under the judgment of God.

Clement VII., besieged in the castle of Saint Angelo, and fearful that the enemy would blow his asylum into the air with their mines, at last capitulated. He renounced every alliance against Charles the Fifth, and bound himself to remain a prisoner until he had paid the army four hundred thousand ducats. The evangelical Christians gazed with astonishment on this judg-

<sup>1</sup> *Milites itaque levassent manum ac exclamassent: Lutherus Papa! Lutherus Papa!* (Cœchleus, p. 156.) The soldiers therefore raised their hands and exclaimed: Luther is pope! Luther is pope!

<sup>2</sup> *Romam nollem exustam, magnum enim portentum esset.* Epp. iii, 221.

<sup>3</sup> *Métuo bibliothecis.* Corp. Ref., i, 869.



ment of the Lord. "Such," said they, "is the empire of Jesus Christ, that the emperor, pursuing Luther on behalf of the pope, is constrained to ruin the pope instead of Luther. All things minister unto the Lord, and turn against his adversaries."<sup>1</sup>

### CHAPTER III.

Profitable Calm—Constitution of the Church—Philip of Hesse—The Monk of Marburg—Lambert's Paradoxes—Friar Boniface—Disputation at Hamburg—Triumph of the Gospel in Hesse—Constitution of the Church—Bishops—Synods—Two Elements of the Church—Luther on the Ministry—Organization of the Church—Luther's Contradictions on State Interference—Luther to the Elector—German Mass—Melancthon's Instructions—Disaffection—Visitation of the Reformed Churches—Results—The Reformation advances—Elizabeth of Brandenburg.

THE Reformation needed some years of repose that it might increase and gain strength; and it could not enjoy peace, unless its great enemies were at war with each other. The madness of Clement VII. was as it were the *lightning-conductor* of the Reformation, and the ruins of Rome built up the Gospel. It was not only a few months' gain; from 1526 to 1529 there was a calm in Germany, by which the Reformation profited to organize and extend itself. A constitution was now to be given to the renovated Church.

As the papal yoke had been broken, the ecclesiastical order required to be re-established. It was impossible to restore their ancient jurisdiction to the bishops; for these continental prelates maintained that they were, in an especial manner, the pope's servants. A new state of things was therefore called for, under pain of seeing the Church fall into anarchy. This was immediately provided against. It was then that the evangelical nations separated definitely from that despotic dominion which had for ages kept all the West in bondage.

The diet had already on two occasions wished to make the reform of the Church a national work; the emperor, the pope, and a few princes were opposed to it; the diet of Spires had therefore resigned to each state the task that it could not accomplish itself.

But what constitution were they about to substitute for the papal hierarchy?

They could, while suppressing the pope, preserve the Episcopal order: it was the form nearest approximating that which was on the point of being destroyed. This was done in Eng-

<sup>1</sup> Ut Cæsar pro Papa Lutherum persequens, pro Luthero papam cogatur vastare. L. Epp., iii, 188.

land, where we have an Episcopalian Church; but, as we have just observed, it could not be realized on the continent. There were no Latimers, no Cranmers among the continental bishops.

They might, on the contrary, reconstruct the ecclesiastical order, by having recourse to the sovereignty of God's Word, and by re-establishing the rights of the christian people. This form was the most remote from the Roman hierarchy. Between these two extremes there were several middle courses.

The latter plan was Zwingle's: but the reformer of Zurich had not fully carried it out. He had not called upon the christian people to exercise the sovereignty, and had stopped at the Council of Two Hundred as representing the Church.<sup>1</sup>

The step before which Zwingle had hesitated might be taken, and it was so. A prince did not shrink from what had alarmed even republicans. Evangelical Germany, at the moment when she began to try her hand on ecclesiastical constitutions, began with that which trenched deepest on the papal monarchy.

It was not, however, from Germany that such a system could proceed. If aristocratic England was destined to cling to the episcopal form, docile Germany was destined the rather to stop in a governmental medium. The democratic extreme issued from Switzerland and France. One of Calvin's predecessors now hoisted that flag which the powerful arm of the Genevese Reformer was to lift again in after-years and plant in France, Switzerland, Holland, Scotland, and even in England, whence it was a century later to cross the Atlantic and summon North America to take its rank among the nations.

Philip of Hesse, who has been compared to Philip of Macedon in subtlety, and to his son Alexander in courage, was the most enterprising of all the evangelical princes. Philip comprehended that religion was at length acquiring its due importance; and far from opposing the great development that was agitating the people, he put himself in harmony with the new ideas.

The morning-star had risen for Hesse almost at the same time as for Saxony. In 1517, when Luther in Wittemberg was preaching the gratuitous remission of sins, men and women in Marburg were seen repairing secretly to one of the ditches of the city, and there, collected round a solitary loophole, listening eagerly to the words of consolation that issued from within. It was the voice of the Franciscan, James Limburg, who, having declared that for fifteen centuries the

<sup>1</sup> *Supra*, Vol. III. b. xi, ch. x.

priests had falsified the Gospel of Christ, had been thrown into this gloomy dungeon. These mysterious assemblies lasted a fortnight. On a sudden the voice was silent; these lonely meetings had been discovered, and the Franciscan, torn from his cell, had been hurried away across the Lahnberg towards some unknown spot. Not far from the Ziegenberg, some weeping citizens of Marburg came up with him, and hastily pulling aside the awning that covered his car, they asked him, "Whither are you going?" "Where God wills," calmly replied the friar.<sup>1</sup> He was never heard of again, and it is not known what became of him. These disappearances are usual in the papacy.

No sooner had Philip prevailed in the Diet of Spires, than he resolved on devoting himself to the reformation of his hereditary states.

His resolute character made him incline towards the Swiss reform; it was not therefore one of the moderates that he wanted. He had formed a connexion at Spires with James Sturm, the deputy from Strasburg, who spoke to him of Francis Lambert of Avignon, who was then at Strasburg. Of a pleasing exterior and decided character, Lambert combined with the fire of the south all the perseverance of the north. He was the first in France to throw off the cowl, and from that time he had never ceased to call for a thorough reform in the Church. "Formerly," said he, "when I was a hypocrite, I lived in abundance; now I consume frugally my daily bread with my small family;<sup>2</sup> but I had rather be poor in Christ's kingdom, than possess abundance of gold in the dissolute dwellings of the pope." The landgrave saw that Lambert was just the man he required, and invited him to his court.

Lambert, desiring to clear the way for the reformation of Hesse, drew up one hundred and fifty-eight theses, which he entitled "paradoxes," and posted them, according to the custom of the times, on the church doors.

Friends and enemies immediately crowded round them. Some Roman-catholics would have torn them down, but the reformed townspeople kept watch, and holding a synod in the public square, discussed, developed, and proved these propositions, ridiculing at the same time the anger of the papists.

Boniface Dornemann, a young priest, full of self-conceit, whom the bishop, on the day of his consecration, had extolled

<sup>1</sup> Rommel, Phil. von Hesse, i, 128.

<sup>2</sup> Nunc cum familiola mea panem mando et potum capio in mensura. (Lamberti Commentarii de Sacro Conjugio.) Now with my small family I eat bread and take drink in moderation.



above Paul for his learning, and above the Virgin for his chastity, finding himself too short to reach Lambert's placard, borrowed a stool, and, surrounded by a numerous audience, began to read the propositions aloud,<sup>1</sup>

"All that is deformed ought to be reformed. The Word of God alone teaches us what ought to be so, and all reform that is effected otherwise is vain."<sup>2</sup>

This was the first thesis. "Hem!" said the young priest, "I shall not attack that." He continued.

"It belongs to the Church to judge on matters of faith. Now the Church is the congregation of those who are united by the same spirit, the same faith, the same God, the same Mediator, the same Word, by which alone they are governed, and in which alone they have life."<sup>3</sup>

"I cannot attack that proposition," said the priest.<sup>4</sup> He continued reading from his stool.

"The Word is the true key. The kingdom of heaven is open to him who believes the Word, and shut against him who believes it not. Whoever, therefore, truly possesses the Word of God, has the power of the keys. All other keys, all the decrees of the councils and popes, and all the rules of the monks, are valueless."

Friar Boniface shook his head and continued.

"Since the priesthood of the law has been abolished, Christ is the only immortal and eternal priest, and he does not, like men, need a successor. Neither the Bishop of Rome nor any other person in the world is his representative here below. But all Christians, since the commencement of the Church, have been and are participators in his priesthood."

This proposition smelt of heresy. Dornemann, however, was not discouraged; and whether it was from weakness of mind, or from the dawning of light, at each proposition that did not too much shock his prejudices, he repeated: "Certainly, I shall not attack that one!" The people listened in astonishment, when one of them—whether he was a fanatical Romanist, a fanatical reformer, or a mischievous wag, I cannot tell—tired with these continual repetitions, exclaimed, "Get down, you

<sup>1</sup> Cui statura homines huiusmodi esset ut inter Pygmæos internosci difficulter posset, scabellum sibi dari postulabat, eoque consenso, cepit, &c. (Othon. Melandri Jocorum Cent.) As his stature was of a kind which would have made it difficult to distinguish him among pigmies, he called for a stool and having mounted it began, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Vana est omnis Reformatio quæ alioqui fit. Paradoxa Lamberti: Scultetti Annal.

<sup>3</sup> Ecclesia est congregatio eorum quos unit idem spiritus

(Ibid.) The church is the congregation of those whom the same spirit unites.

<sup>4</sup> Hanc equidem haud impugnaverim. Illam ne quidem attigerim. Othon. Mil. Joc. Cent.

knave, who cannot find a word to impugn." Then rudely pulling away the stool, he threw the unfortunate clerk flat in the mud.<sup>1</sup>

On the 21st October, at seven in the morning, the gates of the principal church at Homburg were thrown open, and prelates, abbots, priests, counts, knights, and deputies of the towns, entered in succession, and among them was Philip, in his quality of first member of the church.

After Lambert had explained and proved his theses, he added: "Let him stand forth who has anything to say against them." At first there was a profound silence; but at length Nicholas Ferber, superior of the Franciscans of Marburg, who in 1524, applying to Rome's favourite argument, had entreated the Landgrave to employ the sword against the heretics, began to speak with drooping head and downcast eyes. As he invoked Augustin, Peter Lombard, and other doctors to his assistance, the landgrave observed to him: "Do not put forward the wavering opinions of men, but the Word of God, which alone fortifies and strengthens our hearts." The Franciscan sat down in confusion, saying, "This is not the place for replying." The disputation, however, recommenced, and Lambert, showing all the power of truth, so astonished his adversary, that the superior, alarmed at what he called "thunders of blasphemy and lightnings of impiety,"<sup>2</sup> sat down again, observing a second time, "This is not the place for replying."

In vain did the Chancellor Feige declare to him that each man had the right of maintaining his opinion with full liberty; in vain did the landgrave himself exclaim that the Church was sighing after truth; silence had become Rome's refuge. "I will defend the doctrine of purgatory," a priest had said prior to the discussion; "I will attack the paradoxes under the sixth head (on the true priesthood)," had said another;<sup>3</sup> and a third had exclaimed, "I will overthrow those under the tenth head (on images): but now they were all dumb.

Upon this Lambert, clasping his hands, exclaimed with Zacharias: *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel; for he hath visited and redeemed his people.*

<sup>1</sup> Apagesis, nebulo! qui quod impugnes infirmesque invenire haud possis! hisque dictis scabellum ei mox subtrahit, ut miser ille præceps in lutum ageretur. (Ibid.) Begone, misereant! You cannot find any thing to impugn and invalidate. With these words he pulls the stool from under him, and the poor clerk tumbles headlong into the mire.

<sup>2</sup> Fulgura impietatum, tonitrua blasphemiarum.

<sup>3</sup> Erant enim prius qui dicerent: Ego asseram purgatorium; alius, Ego impugnabo paradoxam tituli sexti, etc. Lamberti Epistola ad Colon.

After three days of discussion, which had been a continual triumph for the evangelical doctrine, men were selected and commissioned to constitute the churches of Hesse in accordance with the Word of God. They were more than three days occupied in the task, and their new constitution was then published in the name of the synod.

The first ecclesiastical constitution produced by the Reformation should have a place in history, and the more so as it was then put forward as a model for the new churches of Christendom.<sup>1</sup>

The autonomy of self-government of the Church is its fundamental principle: it is from the Church, from its representatives assembled in the name of the Lord, that this legislation emanates; there is no mention in the prologue either of state or of landgrave.<sup>2</sup> Philip, content with having broken for himself and for his people the yoke of a foreign priest, had no desire to put himself in his place, and was satisfied with that external superintendence which is necessary for the maintenance of order.

A second distinctive feature in this constitution is its simplicity both of government and worship. The assembly conjures all future synods not to load the churches with a multitude of ordinances, "seeing that where orders abound disorder superabounds." They would not even continue the organs in the churches, "because," said they, "men should understand what they hear."<sup>3</sup> The more the human mind has been bent in one direction, the more violent is the reaction when it is unbent. The Church passed at that time from the extreme of symbols to the extreme of simplicity. These are the principal features of this constitution:—

"The Church can only be taught and governed by the Word of its Sovereign Pastor. Whoever has recourse to any other word shall be deposed and excommunicated."<sup>4</sup>

"Every pious man, learned in the Word of God, whatever be his condition, may be elected bishop if he desire it, for he is called inwardly of God."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This constitution will be found in Schminke, *Monumenta Hassiaca*, vol. ii, p. 588: "Pro Hassiæ Ecclesiis, et si deinde nonnullæ aliæ ad idem nostro exemplo provocarentur." For the churches of Hesse, and any others who may thereupon be stimulated by our example to do the same.

<sup>2</sup> *Synodus in nomine Domini congregata.* (Ibid.) The synod assembled in name of the Lord. <sup>3</sup> *Ne homines non intelligent.* (Ibid. cap. 3.) Lest men should not understand.

<sup>4</sup> *Non admittimus verbum aliud quam ipsius pastoris nostri.* (Ibid. cap. 2.) We admit not any other word than that of our pastor himself.

<sup>5</sup> *Si quis pius, in verbo sancto et exercitatus, docere petit verbum sanctum, non repellatur, a Deo enim interne mittitur.* (Ibid. cap. 23.) If any man who is pious and skilled in the holy Word seeks to touch the holy Word, let him not be repulsed, for he is sent internally by God.



“Let no one believe that by a bishop we understand any thing else than a simple minister of the Word of God.<sup>1</sup>

“The ministers are servants, and consequently they ought not to be lords, princes, or governors.

“Let the faithful assemble and choose their bishops and deacons. Each church should elect its own pastor.<sup>2</sup>

“Let those who are elected bishops be consecrated to their office by the imposition of the hands of three bishops; and as for the deacons, if there are no ministers present, let them receive the laying on of hands from the elders of the Church.<sup>3</sup>

“If a bishop causes any scandal to the church by his effeminacy, by the splendour of his garments, or by levity of conduct, and if, on being warned, he persists, let him be deposed by the Church.<sup>4</sup>

“Let each church place its bishop in a condition to live with his family, and to be hospitable, as St. Paul enjoins; but let the bishops exact nothing for their casual duties.<sup>5</sup>

“On every Sunday let there be, in some suitable place, an assembly of all the men who are in the number of the saints, to regulate with the bishop, according to God's Word, all the affairs of the Church, and to excommunicate whoever gives occasion of scandal to the Church; for the Church of Christ has never existed without exercising the power of excommunication.<sup>6</sup>

“As a weekly assembly is necessary for the direction of the particular churches, so a general synod should be held annually for the direction of all the churches in the country.<sup>7</sup>

“All the pastors are its natural members; but each church shall further elect from its body a man full of the Spirit and of faith, to whom it shall entrust its powers for all that is in the jurisdiction of the synod.<sup>8</sup>

“Three visitors shall be elected yearly, with commission to

<sup>1</sup> Ne quis putet, nos hic per episcopos, alios intelligere, quam ministros Dei verbi. (Schminke, Monumenta Hassiaca, cap. 2.) Let no one suppose that by bishops we here understand any other than ministers of the Word of God.

<sup>2</sup> Eligat quævis

ecclesia episcopum suum. (Ibid., cap. 23.) Let every church choose its own bishop.

<sup>3</sup> Manus imponent duo ex senioribus, nisi alii episcopi intersint. (Ib. c. 21.) Let two of the elders lay on hands if other bishops be not present.

<sup>4</sup> Deponet ecclesia episcopum suum quod ad eam spectet judicare de voce pastorum. (Ib., c. 23.) Let the church depose its bishop because it pertains to it to judge the voice of pastors.

<sup>5</sup> Alat quævis ecclesia episcopum suum sicque illi administret ut cum sua familia vivere possit. (Ibid., cap. 23.) Let every church maintain its bishop, and so maintain that he may be able to live with his family.

<sup>6</sup> Fiat conventus fidelium in congruo loco, ad quem quotquot ex viris in sanctorum numero habentur . . . Christi ecclesiam nunquam fuisse sine excommunicatione. Ibid., cap. 15.

<sup>7</sup> Ut semel pro toto Hessa celebretur synodus apud Marpurgum tertia dominica post pascha. Ibid., cap. 18.

<sup>8</sup> Universi episcopi . . . Quolibet ecclesia congregetur et eligat ex se ipsa unum plenum fide et Spiritu Dei. (Ibid.) All the bishops . . . Let each church meet and elect from itself one full of faith and of the Spirit of God.

go through all the churches, to examine those who have been elected bishops, to confirm those who have been approved of, and to provide for the execution of the decrees of the synod." It will no doubt be found that this first evangelical constitution went in some points to the extreme of ecclesiastical democracy; but certain institutions had crept in that were capable of increase and of changing its nature. Six superintendents for life were afterwards substituted for the three annual visitors (who, according to the primitive institution, might be simple members of the church); and, as has been remarked,<sup>1</sup> the encroachments, whether of these superintendents or of the state, gradually paralyzed the activity and independence of the churches of Hesse. This constitution fared like that of the Abbé Sièyes, in the year 8, (A.D. 1799,) which, intended to be republican, served, through the influence of Napoleon Bonaparte to establish the despotism of the Empire.

It was not the less a remarkable work. Romish doctors have reproached the Reformation for making the Church a too interior institution.<sup>2</sup> In effect, the Reformation and Popery recognise two elements in the Church,—the one exterior, the other interior; but while Popery gives precedence to the former, the Reformation assigns it to the latter. If however it be a reproach against the Reformation for having an inward Church only, and for not creating an external one, the remarkable constitution of which we have just exhibited a few features, will save us the trouble of reply. The exterior ecclesiastical order, which then sprung from the very heart of the Reformation, is far more perfect than that of Popery.

One great question presented itself: Will these principles be adopted by all the Churches of the Reformation?

Every thing seemed to indicate that they would. At that time the most pious men were of opinion that the ecclesiastical power proceeded from the members of the Church. On withdrawing from the hierarchical extreme, they flung themselves into a democratical one. Luther himself had professed this doctrine as early as 1523. When the Calixtins of Bohemia found that the bishops of their country refused them ministers, they had gone so far as to take the first vagabond priest. "If you have no other means of procuring pastors," wrote Luther to them, "rather do without them, and let each head of a family read the Gospel in his own house, and baptize his children, sighing after

<sup>1</sup> Rettig, Die Freie Kirche. <sup>2</sup> This is the opinion set forth in the *Symbolik* of Dr. Möhler, the most celebrated defender of the Romish doctrine among our contemporaries.



the sacrament of the altar as the Jews at Babylon did for Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> The consecration of the Pope creates priests—not of God, but of the Devil, ordained solely to trample Jesus Christ under foot, to bring his sacrifice to naught, and to sell imaginary holocausts to the world in his name.<sup>2</sup> Men become ministers only by election and calling, and that ought to be effected in the following manner:

First, seek God by prayer;<sup>3</sup> then being assembled together with all those whose hearts God has touched, choose in the Lord's name him or them whom you shall have acknowledged to be fitted for this ministry. After that, let the chief men among you lay their hands on them, and redömmend them to the people and to the Church.<sup>4</sup>

But in thus calling upon the people alone to nominate their pastors, submitted to the necessities of the times in Bohemia. It was requisite to constitute the ministry; and as the ministry had no existence, it could not then have the legitimate part that belongs to it in the choice of God's ministers.

But another necessity, proceeding in like manner from the state of affairs, was to incline Luther to deviate in Saxony from the principles he had formerly laid down.

It can hardly be said that the German Reformation began with the lower classes, as in Switzerland and France; and Luther could scarcely find anywhere that christian people, which should have played so great a part in his new constitution. Ignorant men, conceited townspeople, who would not even maintain their ministers—these were the members of the Church. Now what could be done with such elements?

But if the people were indifferent, the princes were not so. They stood in the foremost rank of the great battle of the Reformation, and sat on the first bench in the council. The democratic organization was therefore compelled to give way to an organization conformable to the civil government. The Church is composed of Christians, and they are taken wherever they are found—high or low. It was particularly in high stations that Luther found them. He admitted the princes (as

<sup>1</sup> Tutius enim et salubrius esset, quemlibet patrem-familias suæ domui legere Evangelium. (L. Opp. Lat. ii, p. 363.) For it were safer and more salutary for each head of a family to read the gospel to his house.

<sup>2</sup> Per ordines papisticos non sacerdotes Dei sed sacerdotes Satanae, tantum ut Christum conculcent. (Ibid., p. 364.) By papistical orders they are not priests of God but priests of Satan only that they may trample upon Christ.

<sup>3</sup> Oracionibus tum privatis tum publicis. (Ibid., p. 370.) By prayers both public and private.

<sup>4</sup> Eligite quem et quos voveritis. Tum impositis super eos manibus, sint hoc ipso vestri episcopi, vestri ministri, seu pastores. (L. Opp. Lat., ii, p. 370.) Choose what person or persons so ever you may have desired. Then, after hands have been laid upon them, let them by this very act be your bishops, your ministers, or pastors.



Zwingle did the Council of Two Hundred) as representatives of the people, and henceforward the influence of the State became one of the principal elements in the constitution of the evangelical Church in Germany.

Thus Luther, setting out in principle from the democratic, arrived in fact at the Erastian extreme. Never perhaps was there so immense a space between the premises laid down by any man and the conduct he adopted. If Luther crossed that wide interval without hesitation, it was not from mere inconsistency on his part; he yielded to the necessities of the times. The rules of Church government are not, like the doctrines of the Gospel, of an absolute nature; their application depends in a measure on the state of the Church. Nevertheless there was some inconsistency in Luther: he often expressed himself in a contradictory manner on what princes ought and ought not to do in the Church. This is a point upon which the reformer and his age had no very settled opinions: there were other questions to be cleared up.

In the mind of the reformer the tutelage of the princes was only to be provisional. The faithful being still in their minority, they had need of a guardian: but the era of the Church's majority might arrive, and then would come its emancipation.

As we said in another place,<sup>1</sup> we will not decide on this great controversy of Church and State. But there are certain ideas which can never be forgotten. God is the principle from which every being emanates, and who ought to govern the whole world—societies as well as individuals—the State not less than the Church. God has to do with governments, and governments with God. The great truths of which the Church is the depository are given from above to exert their influence on the whole nation,—on him who is seated on the throne, as well as on the peasant in his cottage: and it is not only as an individual that the prince must be partaker of this heavenly light; it is also that he may receive a Divine wisdom as governor of his people. God must be in the State. To place nations, governments, social and political life on one side,—and God, his Word, and his Church on the other, as if there were a great gulf between them, and that these two orders of things should never meet,—would be at once high treason against man and against God.

But if there ought to be a close union between these two spheres (the Church and State), we ought to seek the means

best calculated to obtain it. Now, if the direction of the Church is intrusted to the civil government, as was the case in Saxony, there is great reason to fear lest the reality of this union should be compromised, and the infiltration of heavenly strength into the body of the nation be obstructed. The Church administered by a civil department will often be sacrificed to political ends, and, gradually becoming secularized, will lose its pristine vigour. This at least has taken place in Germany, where in some places religion has sunk to the rank of a temporal administration. In order that any created being may exercise all the influence of which it is capable, it ought to have a free development. Let a tree grow unconfined in the open fields, you will better enjoy its cool shade, and gather more abundant fruits, than if you planted it in a vase and shut it up in your chamber. Such a tree is the Church of Christ.

The recourse to the civil power, which was perhaps at that time necessary in Germany, had still another consequence; when Protestantism became an affair of governments it ceased to be universal. The new spirit was capable of creating a new earth. But instead of opening new roads and of purposing the regeneration of all Christendom and the conversion of the whole world, Protestantism shrank back, and Protestants sought to settle themselves as comfortably as possible in a few German duchies. This timidity, which has been called prudence, did immense injury to the Reformation.

The organizing power being once discovered in the councils of the princes, the reformers thought of organization, and Luther applied to the task; for although he was in an especial manner an assailant and Calvin an organizer, these two qualities, as necessary to the reformers of the Church as to the founders of empires, were not wanting in either of these great servants of God.

It was necessary to compose a new ministry, for most of the priests who had quitted the papacy were content to receive the watchword of Reform without having personally experienced the sanctifying virtue of the truth. There was even one parish in which the priest preached the Gospel in his principal church, and sang mass in its succursal.<sup>1</sup>

But something more was wanting: a Christian people had to be created. "Alas," said Luther of some of the adherents of the Reform, "they have abandoned their Romish doctrines and rites, and they scoff at ours."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In æde parochiali evangelico more decebat, in filiali missificabat. Seck., p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> Sic enim sua papistica neglexerunt, et nostra contemnunt. L. Epp., iii, 224.

Luther did not shrink from before this double necessity; and he made provision for it. Convinced that a general visitation of the churches was necessary, he addressed the elector on this subject, on the 22nd October, 1526. "Your highness, in your quality of guardian of youth, and of all those who know not how to take care of themselves," said he, "should compel the inhabitants, who desire neither pastors nor schools, to receive these means of grace, as they are compelled to work on the roads, on bridges, and such like services.<sup>1</sup> The papal order being abolished, it is your duty to regulate these things; no other person cares about them, no other can, and no other ought to do so. Commission, therefore, four persons to visit all the country; let two of them inquire into the tithes and church property; and let two take charge of the doctrine, schools, churches, and pastors." It may be asked, on reading these words, whether the church which was formed in the first century without the support of princes, could not in the sixteenth be reformed without them?

Luther was not content with soliciting in writing the intervention of the prince. He was indignant at seeing the courtiers, who in the time of the elector Frederick had shown themselves the inveterate enemies of the Reformation, now rushing, "sporting, laughing, skipping," as he said, on the spoils of the Church. Accordingly, at the end of this year, the elector having come to Wittemberg, the reformer repaired immediately to the palace, made his complaint to the prince-electoral, whom he met at the gate, and then, without caring about those who would have stopped him, forced his way into the elector's bed-chamber, and addressing this prince, who was surprised at so unexpected a visit, begged him to remedy the evils of the Church. The visitation of the churches was resolved upon, and Melancthon was commissioned to draw up the necessary instructions.

In 1526, Luther published his "German Mass," by which he signified the order of church service in general. "The real evangelical assemblies," he said, "do not take place publicly, pell-mell, admitting people of every sort;<sup>2</sup> but they are formed of serious Christians, who confess the Gospel by their words and by their lives,<sup>3</sup> and in the midst of whom we may reprove and excommunicate those who do not live according to the rule

<sup>1</sup> Als oberster vormund der Jugend und aller die es bedurften, soll sie mit Gewalt dazu halten. L. Epp., iii, 136. <sup>2</sup> Non publice, sive promiscue et admissa omnis generis plebe. (De Missa Germ.) Not publicly or promiscuously and admitting people of all descriptions. <sup>3</sup> Qui nomina sua in catalogum referrent, add he. (Ibid.)



of Christ Jesus.<sup>1</sup> I cannot institute such assemblies, for I have no one to place in them;<sup>2</sup> but if the thing becomes possible, I shall not be wanting in this duty.”

It was with a conviction that he must give the Church, not the best form of worship imaginable; but the best possible, that Melancthon, like Luther, laboured at his instructions.

The German Reformation at that time tacked about, as it were. If Lambert in Hesse had gone to the extreme of a democratical system, Melancthon in Saxony was approximating the contrary extreme of traditional principles. A conservative principle was substituted for a reforming one. Melancthon wrote to one of the inspectors:<sup>3</sup> “All the old ceremonies that you can preserve, pray do so.”<sup>4</sup> Do not innovate much, for every innovation is injurious to the people.”<sup>5</sup>

They retained, therefore, the Latin liturgy, a few German hymns being mingled with it;<sup>6</sup> the communion in one kind for those only who scrupled from habit to take it in both; a confession made to the priest without being in any way obligatory; many saints' days, the sacred vestments,<sup>7</sup> and other rites, “in which,” said Melancthon, “there is no harm, whatever Zwingle may say.”<sup>8</sup> And at the same time they set forth with reserve the doctrines of the Reformation.

It is but right to confess the dominion of facts and circumstances upon these ecclesiastical organizations; but there is a dominion which rises higher still—that of the Word of God.

Perhaps Melancthon did all that could be effected at that time; but it was necessary for the work to be one day resumed and re-established on its primitive plan, and this was Calvin's glory.

A cry of astonishment was heard both from the camp of Rome and from that of the Reformation. “Our cause is betrayed,” exclaimed some of the evangelical Christians: “the liberty is taken away that Jesus Christ had given us.”<sup>9</sup>

On their part the Ultramontanists triumphed in Melancthon's moderation: they called it a retraction, and took advantage of it to insult the Reform. Cochleus published a “horrible”

<sup>1</sup> Excommunicari qui Christiano more se non gerent. (De Missa Germ.) That those who might not conduct themselves in a christian manner are excommunicated.

<sup>2</sup> Neque enim habeo qui sint idonei. (Ibid.) For I have none who are fit. <sup>3</sup> Dr. Dewette thinks this letter is Luther's, L. Epp., iii, 352. It appears clear to me, as also to Dr. Bretschneider, that it is Melancthon's. Luther never went so far in the way of concession.

<sup>4</sup> Observo quantum ex veteribus ceremoniis retineri potest, retineas. Corp. Ref., ii, 990. <sup>5</sup> Omnis novitas nocet in vulgo. (Ibid.)

<sup>6</sup> Non aboleas eam totam (the Latin mass): satis est alicubi miscere Germanicas cantationes. Ibid. <sup>7</sup> Ut retineantur vestes usitatæ in sacris. Corp. Ref. ad Jonam, 20th December, 1527.

<sup>8</sup> Vel si Zwinglius ipse prædicaturus sit. Corp. Ref., ii, 910. <sup>9</sup> Alii dicerent prodi causam. Camer. Vita Melancthon, p. 107.

engraving, as he styles it himself, in which, from beneath the same hood was seen issuing a seven-headed monster representing Luther. Each of these heads had different features, and all, uttering together the most frightful and contradictory words, kept disputing, tearing, and devouring each other.<sup>1</sup>

The astonished Elector resolved to communicate Melanethon's paper to Luther. But never did the reformer's respect for his friend show itself in a more striking manner. He made only one or two unimportant additions to this plan, and sent it back accompanied with the highest eulogiums. The Romanists said that the tiger caught in a net was licking the hands that clipped his talons. But it was not so. Luther knew that the aim of Melanethon's labours was to strengthen the very soul of the Reformation in all the churches of Saxony. That was sufficient for him. He thought besides, that in every thing there must be a transition; and being justly convinced that his friend was more than himself a man of transition, he frankly accepted his views.

The general visitation began. Luther in Saxony, Spalatin in the districts of Altenburg and Zwickau, Melanethon in Thuringia, and Thuring in Franconia, with ecclesiastical deputies and several lay colleagues, commenced the work in October and November, 1528.

They purified the clergy by dismissing every priest of scandalous life;<sup>2</sup> assigned a portion of the church property to the maintenance of public worship, and placed the remainder beyond the reach of plunder. They continued the suppression of the convents, and every where established unity of instruction. "Luther's greater and smaller catechisms," which appeared in 1529, contributed more perhaps than any other writings to propagate throughout the new churches the ancient faith of the apostles. The visitors commissioned the pastors of the great towns, under the title of superintendents, to watch over the churches and the schools; they maintained the abolition of celibacy; and the ministers of the Word, become husbands and fathers, formed the germ of a third estate, whence in after years were diffused in all ranks of society learning, activity, and light. This is one of the truest causes of that intellectual and moral superiority which indisputably distinguishes the evangelical nations.

<sup>1</sup> *Monstruosus ille Germaniæ partus, Lutherus septiceps.* (Cochleus, p. 169.) That monstrous birth of Germany, seven-headed Luther.

<sup>2</sup> *Viginti fere rudes et inepti, multique concubinari et potatores deprehensi sunt.* (Seckend., p. 102.) About twenty were found to be ignorant and unfit; and many to be keepers of concubines and drunkards.

The organization of the churches in Saxony, notwithstanding its imperfections, produced for a time at least the most important results. It was because the word of God prevailed; and because, wherever this Word exercises its power, secondary errors and abuses are paralyzed. The very discretion that was employed really originated in a good principle. The reformers, unlike the enthusiasts, did not utterly reject an institution because it was corrupted. They did not say, for example, "The sacraments are disfigured, let us do without them! the ministry is corrupt, let us reject it!"—but they rejected the abuse, and restored the use. This prudence is the mark of a work of God; and if Luther sometimes permitted the chaff to remain along with the wheat, Calvin appeared later, and more thoroughly purged the christian threshing-floor.

The organization which was at that time going on in Saxony exerted a strong reaction on all the German empire, and the doctrine of the Gospel advanced with gigantic strides. God's design in turning aside from the reformed states of Germany the thunder-bolt that he caused to fall upon the seven-hilled city, was clearly manifest. Never were years more usefully employed; and it was not only to framing a constitution that the Reformation devoted itself, it was also to extend its doctrine.

The duchies of Luneburg and Brunswick, many of the most important imperial cities, as Nuremberg, Augsburg, Ulm, Strasburg, Gottingen, Gosslar, Nordhausen, Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, removed the tapers from the chapels, and substituted in their place the brighter torch of the Word of God.

In vain did the frightened canons allege the authority of the Church. "The authority of the Church," replied Kempe and Zeehenhagen, the reformer of Hamburg, "cannot be acknowledged unless the Church herself obeys her pastor Jesus Christ."<sup>1</sup> Pomeranus visited many places to put a finishing hand to the Reform.

In Franconia, the Margrave George of Brandenburg, having reformed Anspach and Bayreuth, wrote to his ancient protector, Ferdinand of Austria, who had knit his brows on being informed of these proceedings: "I have acted thus by God's order; for he commands princes to take care not only of the bodies of their subjects, but also of their souls."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Evangelicæ auctoritatem Ecclesiæ non aliter agnoscendam esse contendebant quam si vocem pastoris Christi sequeretur. (Seckend., i, 245.) The evangelical party maintained that the authority of the Church was to be maintained only if she followed the voice of Christ her Pastor. <sup>2</sup> Non modo quoad corpus, sed etiam quoad animam. Ibid., ii, 121.



In East Friesland, on new-year's day 1527, a Dominican named Resius, having put on his hood,<sup>1</sup> ascended the pulpit at Noorden, and declared himself ready to maintain certain theses according to the tenor of the Gospel. After silencing the Abbot of Noorden by the soundness of his arguments, Resius took off his cowl, left it on the pulpit, and was received in the nave by the acclamations of the faithful. Ere long the whole of Friesland laid aside the uniform of popery, as Resius had done.

At Berlin, Elizabeth, electress of Bradenburg, having read Luther's works, felt a desire to receive the Lord's Supper in conformity with Christ's institution. A minister secretly administered it at the festival of Easter, 1528; but one of her children informed the elector. Joachim was greatly exasperated, and ordered his wife to keep her room for several days;<sup>2</sup> it was even rumoured that he intended shutting her up.<sup>3</sup> This princess, being deprived of all religious support, and mistrusting the perfidious manœuvres of the Romish priests, resolved to escape by flight; and claimed the assistance of her brother, Christian II. of Denmark, then residing at Torgau. Taking advantage of a dark night, she quitted the castle in a peasant's dress, and got into a rude country-waggon that was waiting for her at the gate of the city. Elizabeth urged on the driver, when, in a bad road, the wain broke down. The electress, hastily unfastening a handkerchief she wore round her head, flung it to the man, who employed it in repairing the damage, and ere long Elizabeth arrived at Torgau. "If I should expose you to any risk," said she to her uncle, the Elector of Saxony, "I am ready to go wherever Providence may lead me."<sup>4</sup> But John assigned her a residence in the castle of Lichtenberg, on the Elbe, near Wittenberg. Without taking upon us to approve of Elizabeth's flight, let us acknowledge the good that God's Providence derived from it. This amiable lady, who lived at Lichtenberg in the study of His Word, seldom appearing at court, frequently going to hear Luther's sermons, and exercising a salutary influence over her children, who sometimes had permission to see her, was the first of those pious princesses whom the house of Brandenburg has counted, and even still counts, among its members.

At the same time, Holstein, Sleswick, and Silesia decided in favour of the Reformation: and Hungary, as well as Bohemia, saw the number of its adherents increase.

<sup>1</sup> Resius, cucullum indutus, suggestum ascendit. Scultet. Ann. p. 93. <sup>2</sup> Aliquot diebus a marito in cubiculo detenta fuisse. Seckend. ii. 122. <sup>3</sup> Marchio statuerat eam immurare. L. Epp. ad Lenkium, iii, 296.

In every place, instead of a hierarchy seeking its righteousness in the works of man, its glory in external pomp, its strength in a material power, the Church of the Apostles reappeared, humble as in primitive times, and like the ancient Christians, looking for its righteousness, its glory, and its power solely in the blood of the Lamb and in the Word of God.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER IV.

Edict of Ofen.—Persecutions.—Winckler, Carpenter, and Keyser.—Alarm in Germany.—Pack's Forgery.—League of the Reformed Princes.—Advice of the Reformers.—Luther's Pacific Counsel.—Surprise of the Papist Princes.—Pack's Scheme not improbable.—Vigour of the Reformation.

THESE triumphs of the Gospel could not pass unperceived; there was a powerful reaction, and until political circumstances should permit a grand attack upon the Reformation on the very soil where it was established, and of fighting against it by means of diets, and if necessary by armies, the adversaries began to persecute it in detail in the Romish countries with tortures and the scaffold.

On the 20th August, 1527, King Ferdinand, by the Edict of Ofen, in Hungary, published a tariff of crimes and penalties, in which he threatened death by the sword, by fire, or by water,<sup>2</sup> against whoever should say that Mary was like other women; or partake of the sacrament in an heretical manner; or consecrate the bread and wine, not being a Romish priest; and further, in the second case, the house in which the sacrament should have been administered was to be confiscated or rased to the ground.

Such was not the legislation of Luther. Link having asked him if it were lawful for the magistrate to put the false prophets to death, meaning the Sacramentarians, whose doctrines Luther had so violently attacked,<sup>3</sup> the reformer replied: "I am slow whenever life is concerned, even if the offender is exceedingly guilty."<sup>4</sup> I can by no means admit that the false teachers should be put to death:<sup>5</sup> it is sufficient to remove them.<sup>6</sup> For ages the Romish Church has bathed in blood.

<sup>1</sup> Revelation, xii, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Die sollen mit den Feuer, Schwerdt, oder Wasser gestraft werden. Ferd. Mandat. L. Opp., xix, 596.

<sup>3</sup> Contra hostes sacramentarios strenue nobiscum certare. Epp. to Lenk, July 14, 1528.

<sup>4</sup> Ego ad judicium sanguinis tardus sum, etiam ubi meritum abundat. Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Nullo modo possum admitttere falsos doctores occidi. Ibid.

Luther was the first to profess the great principles of humanity and religious liberty.

Recourse was sometimes had to more expeditious means than the scaffold itself. George Winkler, pastor of Halle, having been summoned before Archbishop Albert in the spring of 1527, for having administered the sacrament in both kinds, had been acquitted. As this minister was returning home along an unfrequented road in the midst of the woods, he was suddenly attacked by a number of horsemen, who murdered him, and immediately fled through the thickets without taking anything from his person.<sup>1</sup> "The world," exclaimed Luther, "is a cavern of assassins under the command of the devil; an inn, whose landlord is a brigand, and which bears this sign, *Lies and Murder*: and none are more readily put to death therein than those who proclaim Jesus Christ."

At Munich, George Carpenter was led to the scaffold for having denied that the baptism of water is able by its own virtue to save a man. "When you are thrown into the fire," said some of his brethren, "give us a sign by which we may know that you persevere in the faith."—"As long as I can open my mouth, I will confess the name of the Lord Jesus."<sup>2</sup> The executioner stretched him on a ladder, tied a small bag of gunpowder round his neck, and then flung him into the flames. Carpenter immediately cried out, "Jesus! Jesus!" and while the executioner was turning him again and again with his hooks, the martyr several times repeated the word Jesus, and expired.

At Landsberg nine persons were consigned to the flames, and at Munich twenty-nine were thrown into the water. At Scherding, Leonard Keyser, a friend and disciple of Luther, having been condemned by the bishop, had his head shaved, and being dressed in a smock-frock, was placed on horseback. As the executioners were cursing and swearing, because they could not disentangle the ropes with which his limbs were to be tied, he said to them mildly: "Dear friends, your bonds are not necessary; my Lord Christ has already bound me." When he drew near the stake, Keyser looked at the crowd and exclaimed: "Behold the harvest! O Master, send forth thy labourers!" He then ascended the scaffold and said: "O Jesu, save me! I am thine." These were his last words.<sup>3</sup> "Who

<sup>1</sup> Mox enim ut interfecerunt, aufugerunt per avia loca, nihil prædæ aut pecuniæ capientes. Cochl., p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> Dum os aperire liceret, servatoris nostri nomen profiteri nunquam intermittam. Scultet., ii, 110.

<sup>3</sup> Incenso jam igne, clara voce proclamavit: *Tuus sum Jesu! Salva me!* (Seckend., ii, 85.) "After the fire was kindled he exclaimed in a clear voice, *I am thine, O Jesus! Save me.*"



an I, a wordy preacher," cried Luther, when he received the news of his death, "in comparison with this great doer!"<sup>1</sup>

Thus the Reformation manifested by such striking works the truth that it had come to re-establish; namely, that faith is not, as Rome maintains, an historical, vain, dead knowledge,<sup>2</sup> but a lively faith, the work of the Holy Ghost, the channel by which Christ fills the heart with new desires and with new affections, the true worship of the living God.

These martyrdoms filled Germany with horror, and gloomy forebodings descended from the thrones among the ranks of the people. Around the domestic hearth, in the long winter evenings, the conversations wholly turned on prisons, tortures, scaffolds, and martyrs; the slightest noise alarmed the old men, women, and children. Such narratives gathered strength as they passed from mouth to mouth; the rumour of a universal conspiracy against the Gospel spread through all the empire. Its adversaries, taking advantage of this terror, announced with a mysterious air that they must look during this year (1528) for some decisive measure against the reform.<sup>3</sup> One scoundrel (Pack) resolved to profit by this state of mind to satisfy his avarice.

No blows are more terrible to a cause than those which it inflicts upon itself. The Reformation, seized with a dizziness, was on the verge of self-destruction. There is a spirit of error that conspires against the cause of truth, beguiling by subtlety;<sup>4</sup> the Reformation was about to experience its attacks, and to stagger under the most formidable assaults—perturbation of thought, and estrangement from the ways of wisdom and truth.

Otho Pack, vice-chancellor to Duke George of Saxony, was a crafty and dissipated man,<sup>5</sup> who took advantage of his office, and had recourse to all sorts of practices to procure money. The Duke having on one occasion sent him to the Diet of Nuremberg as his representative, the Bishop of Merseburg confided to him his contribution towards the imperial government. The bishop having been afterwards called upon for this money, Pack declared that he had paid it to a citizen of Nuremberg, whose seal and signature he produced. This paper was a forgery;

<sup>1</sup> Tam impar verbosus prædicator, illi tam potenti verbi operator. (L. Epp., iii, 1214.) A wordy preacher, so unequal to him who was so powerful a doer of the Word.

<sup>2</sup> Si quis dixerit fidem non esse veram fidem, licet non fit viva, aut eum qui fidem sine caritate habet, non esse christianum, anathema sit. (Conc. Frid. Sess. 6, p. 28.) If any one says that faith, though it becomes not living, is not true faith, or that he who has faith without charity is not a Christian, let him be anathema.

<sup>3</sup> Nescio quid mirari quod hoc anno contra reformationem expectandum sit. Seckend., ii, 101. <sup>4</sup> 2 Cor., xi, 3. <sup>5</sup> Homo erat versutus, et præterea prodigus, quo vitio ad alia inductus est. (Seckend., ii, 94.) He was a crafty man, and moreover a prodigal, a vice by which he was led into other vices.

Pack himself was the author of it.<sup>1</sup> The wretch, however, put an impudent face on the matter, and having escaped conviction, preserved the confidence of his master. Ere long an opportunity presented itself of exercising his criminal talents on a larger scale.

No one entertained greater suspicions with regard to the papists than the Landgrave of Hesse. Young, susceptible, and restless, he was always on the alert. In the month of February, 1528, Pack happening to be at Cassel to assist Philip in some difficult business, the landgrave imparted to him his fears. If any one could have had any knowledge of the designs of the papists, it must have been the vice-chancellor of one of the greatest enemies to the Reformation. The crafty Pack heaved a sigh, bent down his eyes, and was silent. Philip immediately became uneasy, entreated him, and promised to do nothing that would injure the duke. Then Pack, as if he had allowed an important secret to be torn from him with regret, confessed that a league against the Lutherans had been concluded at Breslau on the Wednesday following *Jubilate* Sunday, 12th May, 1527; and engaged to procure the original of this act for the landgrave, who offered him for this service a remuneration of ten thousand florins. This was the greatest transaction that the wretched man had ever undertaken; but it tended to nothing less than the utter overthrow of the empire.

The landgrave was amazed: he restrained himself, however, wishing to see the act with his own eyes before informing his allies. He therefore repaired to Dresden. "I cannot," said Pack, "furnish you with the original: the duke always carries it about his person to read it to other princes whom he hopes to gain over. Recently at Leipsic, he showed it to Duke Henry of Brunswick. But here is a copy made by his highness's order." The landgrave took the document, which bore all the marks of the most perfect authenticity. It was crossed by a cord of black silk, and fastened at both ends by the seal of the ducal chancery.<sup>2</sup> Above was an impression from the ring Duke George always wore on his finger, with the three quarterings that Philip had so often seen; at the top, the coronet, and at the bottom, the two lions. He had no more doubts as to its authenticity. But how can we describe his indignation as he read this guilty document? King Ferdinand, the Elector of Mentz and of Brandenburg, Duke George of Saxony, the Dukes of Bavaria, the Bishops of Salzburg, Wurtzburg, and Bam-

<sup>1</sup> It is still to be seen in the records at Dresden.

<sup>2</sup> Cui filum sericum circumligatum, et sigillum cancellariæ impressum erat. Seck., ii, 94.

berg, had entered into a coalition to call upon the Elector of Saxony to deliver up the arch-heretic Luther, with all the apostate priests, monks, and nuns, and to re-establish the ancient worship. If he made default, his states were to be invaded, and this prince and his descendants for ever dispossessed. The same measure was next to be applied to the landgrave, only ("it was your father-in-law, Duke George," said Pack to Philip, "who got this clause inserted") his states were to be restored to him in consideration of his youth, if he became fully reconciled to the holy Church. The document stated moreover the contingents of men and money to be provided by the confederates, and the share they were to have in the spoils of the two heretical princes.

Many circumstances tended to confirm the authenticity of this paper. Ferdinand, Joachim of Brandenburg, and George of Saxony, had in fact met at Breslau on the day indicated, and an evangelical prince, the Margrave George, had seen Joachim leave Ferdinand's apartments, holding in his hand a large parchment to which several seals were attached. The agitated landgrave caused a copy to be taken of this document, promised secrecy for a time, paid Pack four thousand florins, and engaged to make up the sum agreed upon, if he would procure him the original. And then, wishing to prevent the storm, he hastened to Weimar to inform the elector of this unprecedented conspiracy.

"I have seen," said he to John and his son, "nay more—I have had in my hands, a duplicate of this horrible treaty. Signatures, seals—nothing was wanting. Here is a copy, and I bind myself to place the original before your eyes. The most frightful danger threatens us—ourselves, our faithful subjects, and the Word of God."

The elector had no reason to doubt the account the landgrave had just given him: he was stunned, confounded, and overpowered. The promptest measures alone could avert such unprecedented disasters: everything must be risked to extricate them from certain destruction. The impetuous Philip breathed fire and flames; his plan of defence was already prepared. He presented it, and in the first moment of consternation carried the consent of his ally, as it were, by assault. On the 9th March, 1528, the two princes agreed to employ all their forces to defend themselves, and even to take the offensive,

<sup>1</sup> Hortleber, De Bello Germanico, ii, 579.

<sup>2</sup> Nam is affirmabat se archetypum vidisse, commemorabat ἀρχέτυπον. Corp. Ref., i, 286.

erat. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Mirabiliter incensus



and sacrifice life, honour, rank, subjects, and states, that they might preserve the Word of God. The Dukes of Prussia, Mecklenburg, Luneburg, and Pomerania, the Kings of Denmark and Poland, and the Margrave of Brandenburg, were to be invited to enter into this alliance. Six hundred thousand florins were destined for the expenses of the war; and to procure them, they would raise loans, pledge their cities, and sell the offerings in the churches.<sup>1</sup> They had already begun to raise a powerful army.<sup>2</sup> The landgrave set out in person for Nuremberg and Anspach. The alarm was general in those countries; the commotion was felt throughout all Germany,<sup>3</sup> and even beyond it. John Zapolya, king of Hungary, at that time a refugee at Cracow, promised a hundred thousand florins to raise an army, and twenty thousand florins a-month for its maintenance. Thus a spirit of error was misleading the princes; if it should carry away the Reformers also, the destruction of the Reformation would not be far distant.

But God was watching over them. Supported on the rock of the Word, Melancthon and Luther replied: "It is written, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." As soon as these two men whom the danger threatened (for it was they who were to be delivered up to the papal power) saw the youthful landgrave drawing the sword, and the aged elector himself putting his hand on the hilt, they uttered a cry, and this cry, which was heard in heaven, saved the Reformation.

Luther, Pömeranus, and Melancthon immediately forwarded the following advice to the elector: "Above all things, let not the attack proceed from our side, and let no blood be shed through our fault. Let us wait for the enemy, and seek after peace. Send an ambassador to the emperor to make him acquainted with this hateful plot."

Thus it was that the faith of the children of God, which is so despised by politicians, conducted them aright, at the very moment when the diplomatists were going astray. The elector and his son declared to the landgrave that they would not assume the offensive. Philip was in amazement. "Are not the preparations of the papists worthy an attack?" asked he.<sup>4</sup> "What! we will threaten war, and yet not make it! We will inflame the hatred of our antagonists, and leave them time to prepare their forces! No, no; forward! It is thus we shall secure

<sup>1</sup> Venditisque templorum donariis. Seckend, ii, 95.

<sup>2</sup> Magno studio validum comparaverunt ambo exercitum. Cochleus, p. 171.

<sup>3</sup> Non leviter commotos esse nostrorum animos. Corp. Ref., ii, 986.

<sup>4</sup> Landgravius preparamenta adversariorum pro aggressionem habebat. Seck., ii, 95.

the means of an honourable peace."—"If the landgrave desires to begin the war," replied the reformer, "the elector is not obliged to observe the treaty; for we must obey God rather than men. God and the right are above every alliance. Let us beware of painting the devil on our doors, and inviting him as godfather.<sup>1</sup> But if the landgrave is attacked, the elector ought to go to his assistance; for it is God's will that we preserve our faith." This advice, which the reformers gave, cost them dear. Never did man, condemned to the torture, endure a punishment like theirs. The fears excited by the landgrave were succeeded by the terrors inspired by the papist princes. This cruel trial left them in great distress. "I am worn away with sorrow," cried Melancthon; "and this anguish puts me to the most horrible torture."<sup>2</sup> The issue," added he, "will be found on our knees before God."<sup>3</sup>

The elector, drawn in different directions by the theologians and the politicians, at last took a middle course: he resolved to assemble an army, "but only," said he, "to obtain peace." Philip of Hesse at length gave way, and forthwith sent copies of the famous treaty to Duke George, to the dukes of Bavaria, and to the emperor's representatives, calling upon them to renounce such cruel designs. "I would rather have a limb cut off," said he to his father-in-law, "than know you to be a member of such an alliance."

The surprise of the German courts, when they read this document, is beyond description. Duke George immediately replied to the landgrave, that he had allowed himself to be deceived by unmeaning absurdities; that he who pretended to have seen the original of this act was an infamous liar, and an incorrigible scoundrel; and called upon the landgrave to give up his authority, or else it might well be thought that he was himself the inventor of this impudent fabrication. King Ferdinand, the Elector of Brandenburg, and all the pretended conspirators, made similar replies.

Philip of Hesse saw that he had been deceived;<sup>4</sup> his confusion was only exceeded by his anger. He had in this affair justified the accusations of his adversaries, who called him a hot-headed young man, and had compromised to the highest degree the cause of the Reformation and that of his people. He said afterwards, "If that business had not happened, it

<sup>1</sup> Man darf den Teufel nicht über die Thür malen; noch ihn zu gerathen bitten. L. Epp. iii. 321.

<sup>2</sup> Curæ vehementer cruciarunt. Corp. Ref. i. 988.

<sup>3</sup> Es yowad's Stov. Ibid. <sup>4</sup> Wir fühlten dass wir betrogen waren. Hartleber, iv. 567.

would no more happen now. Nothing that I have done in all my life has caused me greater vexation."

Pack fled in alarm to the landgrave, who caused him to be arrested; and envoys from the several princes whom this scoundrel had compromised met at Cassel, and proceeded to examine him. He maintained that the original act of the alliance had really existed in the Dresden archives. In the following year the landgrave banished him from Hesse, proving by this action that he did not fear him. Pack was afterwards discovered in Belgium; and to the demand of Duke George, who had never shown any pity towards him, he was seized, tortured, and finally beheaded.

The landgrave was unwilling to have taken up arms to no purpose. The Archbishop-elect of Mentz was compelled, on the 11th June, 1528, to renounce in the camp of Herzkirchen all spiritual jurisdiction in Saxony and Hesse.<sup>1</sup> This was no small advantage.

Scarcely had the arms been laid aside before Luther took up his pen and began a war of another kind. "Impious princes may deny this alliance as long as they please," wrote he to Link; "I am very certain that it is not a chimera. These insatiable leeches will take no repose until they see the whole of Germany flowing with blood."<sup>2</sup> This idea of Luther's was the one generally entertained. "The document presented to the landgrave may be," it was said, "Pack's invention; but all this fabric of lies is founded on some truth. If the alliance has not been concluded it has been conceived."<sup>3</sup>

Melancholy were the results of this affair. It inspired division in the bosom of the Reformation, and fanned the hatred between the two parties.<sup>4</sup> The sparks from the piles of Keyser, Winkler, Carpenter, and so many other martyrs, added strength to the fire that was already threatening to set the empire in flames. It was under such critical circumstances, and with such menacing dispositions, that the famous Diet of Spire was opened in March 1529. The empire and the Papacy were in reality preparing to annihilate the Reformation, although in a manner different from what Pack had pretended. It was still to be learnt whether more vital strength would be found in the revived Church than in so many sects that Rome had easily crushed. Happily the faith had increased, and the constitution given to the Church had imparted greater power to its

<sup>1</sup> Kopp. Hess. Gerichts.—Verf. i, 107.

<sup>2</sup> Sanguisugæ insatiabiles quiescere nolunt, nisi Germaniam sanguine madere sentiant. 14th June, 1528.

<sup>3</sup> Non enim prorsus conficta res. Corp. Ref., i, 988.

<sup>4</sup> Hec minæ apud inimicos odia auxerint. (Ibid., 985.) For the thing was not a mere fiction.



adherents. All were resolved on defending a doctrine so pure, and a church government so superior to that of popery. During three years of tranquillity the Gospel tree had struck its roots deep; and if the storm should burst it would now be able to brave it.

## CHAPTER V.

Alliance between Charles and Clement VII.—Omens—Hostility of the Papists—Arbitrary Proposition of Charles—Resolutions of the Diet—The Reformation in Danger—Decision of the Princes—Violence of Ferdinand—The Schism completed.

THE sack of Rome by exasperating the adherents of the Papacy, had given arms to all the enemies of Charles V. The French army under Lautrec had forced the imperial army, enervated by the delights of a new Capua, to hide itself within the walls of Naples. Doria, at the head of his Genoese galleys, had destroyed the Spanish fleet, and all the imperial power seemed drawing to an end in Italy. But Doria suddenly declared for the emperor; pestilence carried off Lautrec and half of his troops; and Charles, suffering only from alarm, had again grasped the power with a firm resolution to unite henceforward closely with the pontiff, whose humiliation had nearly cost him so dear. On his side Clement VII., hearing the Italians reproach him for his illegitimate birth, and even refuse him the title of pope, said aloud, that he would rather be the emperor's groom than the sport of his people. On the 29th June 1528, a peace between the heads of the Empire and of the Church was concluded at Barcelona, based on the destruction of heresy; and in November a diet was convoked to meet at Spires on the 21st February 1529. Charles was resolved to endeavour at first to destroy the Reform by a federal vote; but if this means did not suffice, to employ his whole power against it. The road being thus traced out, they were about to commence operations.

Germany felt the seriousness of the position. Mournful omens filled every mind. About the middle of January, a great brightness in the sky had suddenly dispersed the darkness of the night.<sup>1</sup> "What that forebodes," exclaimed Luther, "God only knows!" At the beginning of April there was a rumour of an earthquake that had engulfed castles, cities, and whole districts in Carinthia and Istria, and split the tower of St. Mark

<sup>1</sup> An aurora borealis. "Magnum chasma, quo nox tota illuminabatur." L. Epp., iii, 420.

at Venice into four parts. "If that is true," said the reformer, "these prodigies are the forerunners of the day of Jesus Christ."<sup>1</sup> The astrologers declared that the aspect of the quartiles of Saturn and Jupiter, and the general position of the stars, was ominous.<sup>2</sup> The waters of the Elbe rolled thick and stormy, and stones fell from the roofs of churches. "All these things," exclaimed the terrified Melancthon, "excite me in no trifling degree."<sup>3</sup>

The letters of convocation issued by the imperial government agreed but too well with these prodigies. The emperor writing from Toledo to the elector, accused him of sedition and revolt. Alarming whispers passed from mouth to mouth that were sufficient to cause the fall of the weak. Duke Henry of Mecklenburg and the elector-palatine hastily returned to the side of popery.

Never had the sacerdotal party appeared in the diet in such numbers, or so powerful and decided.<sup>4</sup> On the 5th March, Ferdinand, the president of the diet, after him the Dukes of Bavaria, and lastly the ecclesiastical Electors of Mentz and Treves, had entered the gates of Spire surrounded by a numerous armed escort.<sup>5</sup> On the 13th March, the Elector of Saxony arrived, attended only by Melancthon and Agricola. But Philip of Hesse, faithful to his character, entered the city on the 18th March to the sound of trumpets, and with two hundred horsemen.

The divergence of men's minds soon became manifest. A papist did not meet an evangelical in the street without casting angry glances upon him, and secretly threatening him with perfidious machinations.<sup>6</sup> The elector-palatine passed the Saxons without appearing to know them;<sup>7</sup> and although John of Saxony was the most important of the electors, none of the chiefs of the opposite party visited him. Grouped around their tables, the Roman-catholic princes seemed absorbed in games of hazard.<sup>8</sup>

But ere long they gave positive marks of their hostile disposition. The elector and the landgrave were prohibited from

<sup>1</sup> Si vera sunt, diem Christi præcurrunt hæc monstra. (L. Epp., iii, 438.) These prodigies, if true, are precursors of the day of Christ. <sup>2</sup> Adspectum ætæternæ Saturni et Jovis. Corp. Ref., i, 1075.

<sup>3</sup> Ego non leviter commoveor his rebus. Ibid., 1076.

<sup>4</sup> Nunquam fuit tanta frequentia ullis conciliis ἀρχιεπίσκοπων quanta in his est. (Ibid., 1039.) Never at any councils was there so great an attendance of high priests as at these.

<sup>5</sup> Mogantinum et Trevirensem cum comitatu armato. Seckend., ii, 129.

<sup>6</sup> Vultu significant quantum nos oderint, et quid machinantur. (Corp. Ref., i, 1040.) By their looks they show how much they hate us and what they are plotting.

<sup>7</sup> Pfalz kennt kein Sachsen mehr. Epp. Alberti Mansfeld. <sup>8</sup> Adversæ partes procures alea tempus perdere. (L. Epp., iii, 438.) The leaders of the opposite party are losing their time at play.

having the Gospel preached in their mansions. It was asserted even at this early period that John was about to be turned out of Spires, and deprived of his electorate.<sup>1</sup> "We are the ex-ecration and the sweepings of the world," said Melancthon; "but Christ will look down on his poor people, and will pre-serve them."<sup>2</sup> In truth, God was with the witnesses to his Word. The people of Spires thirsted for the Gospel, and the elector wrote to his son on Palm Sunday: "About eight thou-sand persons were present to-day in my chapel at morning and evening worship."<sup>3</sup>

The Roman party now quickened their proceedings: their plan was simple but energetic. It was necessary to put down the religious liberty that had existed for more than three years; and for this purpose they must abrogate the decree of 1526, and revive that of 1521.

On the 15th March the imperial commissaries announced to the diet that the last resolution of Spires, which left all the states free to act in conformity with the inspirations of their consciences, having given rise to great disorders, the emperor had annulled it by virtue of his supreme power. This arbitrary act, which had no precedent in the empire, as well as the des-potic tone in which it was notified, filled the evangelical Chris-tians with indignation and alarm. "Christ," exclaimed Sturm, "has again fallen into the hands of Caiaphas and Pilate."<sup>4</sup>

A commission was charged to examine the imperial proposi-tion. The Archbishop of Salzburg, Faber, and Eck, that is to say, the most violent enemies of the Reformation, were among its members. "The Turks are better than the Lutherans," said Faber, "for the Turks observe fast-days, and the Luth-erans violate them. If we must choose between the Holy Scrip-tures of God and the old errors of the Church, we should reject the former."<sup>5</sup> Every day in full assembly Faber casts some new stone at us Gospellers," says Melancthon.<sup>6</sup> "Oh, what an Iliad I should have to compose," added he, "if I were to report all these blasphemies!"

The priests called for the execution of the edict of Worms, 1521, and the evangelical members of the commission, among whom were the Electors of Saxony and Sturm, demanded on

<sup>1</sup> Alii exclusum Spiræ, alii ademptum electoratum. (L. Epp., iii, 488.) Some said that he was excluded from Spires, others that he was deprived of his electorate.

<sup>2</sup> Sed Christus respiciet et salvabit populum pauperem. Corp. Ref., i, 1040.

<sup>3</sup> Christus est denuo in manibus Caiaphi et Pilati. Jung Beyträge, 4.

ciferatus est Turcos Lutheranis meliores esse. Corp. Ref., p. 1041.

<sup>4</sup> Vo-lle abjicere scripturam quam veteres errores Ecclesiæ. (Ibid., p. 1046.) That he would sooner cast away the Scriptures than the ancient errors of the Church.

<sup>5</sup> Faber lapidat nos quotidie pro concione. Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Vo-

<sup>7</sup> Mal-le

<sup>8</sup> Faber



the contrary the maintenance of the edict of Spires, 1526. The latter thus remained within the bounds of legality, whilst their adversaries were driven to *coups d'état*. In fact, a new order of things having been legally established in the empire, no one could infringe it; and if the diet presumed to destroy by force what had been constitutionally established three years before, the evangelical states had the right of opposing it. The majority of the commission felt that the re-establishment of the ancient order of things would be a revolution no less complete than the Reformation itself. How could they subject anew to Rome and to her clergy those nations in whose bosom the Word of God had been so richly spread abroad? For this reason, equally rejecting the demands of the priests and of the evangelicals, the majority came to a resolution on the 24th March that every religious innovation should continue to be interdicted in the places where the edict of Worms had been carried out; and that in those where the people had deviated from it, and where they could not conform to it without danger of revolt, they should at least effect no new reform, they should touch upon no controverted point, they should not oppose the celebration of the mass, they should permit no Roman Catholic to embrace Lutheranism,<sup>1</sup> they should not decline the Episcopal jurisdiction, and should tolerate no anabaptists or sacramentarians. The *status-quo* and no proselytism—such were the essentials of this resolution.

The majority no longer voted as in 1526: the wind had turned against the Gospel. Accordingly this proposition, after having been delayed a few days by the festival of Easter, was laid before the diet on the 6th April, and passed on the 7th.<sup>2</sup>

If it became a law, the Reformation could neither be extended into those places where as yet it was unknown, nor be established on solid foundations in those where it already existed. The re-establishment of the Romish hierarchy, stipulated in the proposition, would infallibly bring back the ancient abuses; and the least deviation from so vexatious an ordinance would easily furnish the Romanists with a pretext for completing the destruction of a work already so violently shaken.

The Elector, the Landgrave, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Prince of Anhalt, and the Chancellor of Luneburg, on one side, and the deputies for the cities on the other, consulted together. An entirely new order of things was to proceed from

<sup>1</sup> Nec Catholicos a libero religionis exercitio impediri debere, neque cuiquam ex his licere Lutheranismum amplecti. (Seckend., ii, 127.) That neither ought the Catholics to be impeded in the free exercise of their religion, nor any one of them allowed to embrace Lutheranism. <sup>2</sup> Sleidan, i, 261.

this council. If they had been animated by selfishness, they would perhaps have accepted this decree. In fact they were left free, in appearance at least, to profess their faith: ought they to demand more? could they do so? Were they bound to constitute themselves the champions of liberty of conscience in all the world? Never, perhaps, had there been a more critical situation; but these noble-minded men came victorious out of the trial. What! should they legalize by anticipation the scaffold and the torture! Should they oppose the Holy Ghost in its work of converting souls to Christ! Should they forget their Master's command: "*Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature*"? If one of the states of the empire desired some day to follow their example and be reformed, should they take away its power of doing so? Having themselves entered the kingdom of heaven, should they shut the door after them? No! rather endure everything, sacrifice everything, even their states, their crowns, and their lives.

"Let us reject this decree," said the princes. "In matters of conscience the majority has no power."—"It is to the decree of 1526," added the cities, "that we are indebted for the peace that the empire enjoys: its abolition would fill Germany with troubles and divisions. The diet is incompetent to do more than preserve religious liberty until a council meets." Such in fact is the grand attribute of the state, and if in our days the protestant powers should desire to influence the Romish governments, they should strive solely at obtaining for the subjects of the latter that religious liberty which the pope confiscates to his own advantage wherever he reigns alone, and by which he profits greatly in every evangelical state. Some of the deputies proposed refusing all assistance against the Turks, hoping thus to force the emperor to interfere in this religious question. But Sturm called upon them not to mix up political matters with the salvation of souls. They resolved therefore to reject the proposition, but without holding out any threats. It was this noble resolution that gained for modern times liberty of thought and independence of faith.

Ferdinand and the priests, who were no less resolute, determined, however, on vanquishing what they called a daring obstinacy; and they commenced with the weaker states. They began to frighten and divide the cities, which had hitherto pursued a common course. On the 12th April they were summoned before the diet: in vain did they allege the absence of some of their number, and ask for delay. It was refused, and the call was hurried on. Twenty-one free cities accepted the

proposition of the diet, and fourteen rejected it. It was a bold act on the part of the latter, and was accomplished in the midst of the most painful sufferings. "This is the first trial," said Pfarrer, second deputy of Strasburg; "now will come the second; we must either deny the Word of God or—be burnt."<sup>1</sup>

A violent proceeding of Ferdinand's immediately commenced the series of humiliations that were reserved for the evangelical cities. A deputy of Strasburg should, in conformity with the decree of Worms, have been a member of the imperial government from the commencement of April. He was declared excluded from his rights until the re-establishment of the mass in Strasburg. All the cities united in protesting against this arbitrary act.

At the same time, the elector-palatine and King Ferdinand himself begged the princes to accept the decree, assuring them that the emperor would be exceedingly pleased with them. "We will obey the emperor," replied they calmly, "in everything that may contribute to maintain peace and the honour of God."

It was time to put an end to this struggle. On the 18th April it was decreed that the evangelical states should not be heard again; and Ferdinand prepared to inflict the decisive blow on the morrow.

When the day came, the king appeared in the diet, surrounded by the other commissaries of the empire, and by several bishops. He thanked the Roman-catholics for their fidelity, and declared that the resolution having been definitively agreed to, it was about to be drawn up in the form of an imperial decree. He then announced to the elector and his friends, that their only remaining course was to submit to the majority.

The evangelical princes, who had not expected so positive a declaration, were excited at this summons, and passed, according to custom, into an adjoining chamber to deliberate. But Ferdinand was not in a humour to wait for their answer. He rose, and the imperial commissaries with him. Vain were all endeavours to stop him. "I have received an order from his imperial majesty," replied he; "I have executed it. All is over."

Thus did Charles's brother notify an order to the christian princes, and then retire without caring even if there was any reply to be made! To no purpose they sent a deputation entreating the king to return. "It is a settled affair," repeated

<sup>1</sup> Das wort Gottes zu-wiederrufen oder aber brennen. Jung Beyträge, p. 37.



Ferdinand; "submission is all that remains."<sup>1</sup> This refusal completed the schism: it separated Rome from the Gospel. Perhaps more justice on the part of the empire and of the papacy might have prevented the rupture that since then has divided the Western Church.

## CHAPTER VI.

The Protest—Principles of the Protest—Supremacy of the Gospel—Christian Union—Ferdinand rejects the Protest—Attempt at Conciliation—Exultation of the Papists—Evangelical Appeal—Christian Unity a Reality—Dangers of the Protestants—The Protestants leave Spires—The Princes the true Reformers—Germany and Reform.

If the imperial party displayed such contempt, it was not without a cause. They felt that weakness was on the side of the Reformation, and strength with Charles and the pope. But the weak have also their strength; and of this the evangelical princes were aware. As Ferdinand paid no attention to their complaints, they ought to pay none to his absence, to appeal from the report of the diet to the Word of God, and from the Emperor Charles to Jesus Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords.

They resolved upon this step. A declaration was drawn up to that effect, and this was the famous *Protest* that henceforward gave the name of *Protestant* to the renovated Church. The elector and his allies having returned to the common hall of the diet, thus addressed the assembled states:<sup>2</sup>

"Dear Lords, Cousins, Uncles, and Friends! Having repaired to this diet at the summons of his majesty, and for the common good of the empire and of Christendom, we have heard and learnt that the decisions of the last diet concerning our holy Christian faith are to be repealed, and that it is proposed to substitute for them certain restrictive and onerous resolutions.

"King Ferdinand and the other imperial commissaries, by affixing their seals to the last *Recess* of Spires, had promised, however, in the name of the emperor, to carry out sincerely and inviolably all that it contained, and to permit nothing that was contrary to it. In like manner, also, you and we, electors, princes, prelates, lords, and deputies of the empire, bound our-

<sup>1</sup> Die artikel weren beschlossen. Jung Beytr., p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> There are two copies of this act; one of them is brief, and the other, which is longer, was transmitted in writing to the imperial commissaries. It is from the latter we extract the passages in the text. They will both be found in Jung Beyträge, p. 91-105. See also Müller's *Historie der Protestation*, p. 52.

selves to maintain always and with our whole might every article of that decree.

“We cannot therefore consent to its repeal:—

“Firstly, because we believe that his imperial majesty (as well as you and we), is called to maintain firmly what has been unanimously and solemnly resolved.

“Secondly, because it concerns the glory of God and the salvation of our souls, and that in such matters we ought to have regard, above all, to the commandment of God, who is King of kings and Lord of lords; each of us rendering him account for himself, without caring the least in the world about majority or minority.<sup>1</sup>

“We form no judgment on that which concerns you, most dear lords; and we are content to pray God daily that he will bring us all to unity of faith, in truth, charity, and holiness through Jesus Christ, our throne of grace and our only Mediator.

“But in what concerns ourselves, adhesion to your resolution (and let every honest man be judge!) would be acting against our conscience, condemning a doctrine that we maintain to be christian, and pronouncing that it ought to be abolished in our states, if we could do so without trouble.

“This would be to deny our Lord Jesus Christ, to reject his holy Word, and thus give him just reason to deny us in turn before his Father, as he has threatened.

“What! we ratify this edict! We assert that when Almighty God calls a man to His knowledge, this man cannot however receive the knowledge of God! Oh! of what deadly backslidings should we not thus become the accomplices, not only among our own subjects, but also among yours!

“For this reason we reject the yoke that is imposed on us. And although it is universally known that in our states the holy sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord is becomingly administered, we cannot adhere to what the edict proposes against the sacramentarians, seeing that the imperial edict did not speak of them, that they have not been heard, and that we cannot resolve upon such important points before the next council.

“Moreover”—and this is the essential part of the protest—“the new edict declaring the ministers shall preach the Gospel, explaining it according to the writings accepted by the holy Christian Church; we think that, for this regulation to have any value, we should first agree on what is meant by the true and holy Church. Now, seeing that there is great diversity

<sup>1</sup> Ein jeglicher für sich selbst vor Gott stehen. Jung Beyträge, p. 96.

of opinion in this respect; that there is no sure doctrine but such as is conformable to the Word of God; that the Lord forbids the teaching of any other doctrine; that each text of the Holy Scriptures ought to be explained by other and clearer texts; that this holy book is in all things necessary for the Christian, easy of understanding, and calculated to scatter the darkness: we are resolved, with the grace of God, to maintain the pure and exclusive preaching of his holy Word, such as it is contained in the biblical books of the Old and New Testament, without adding anything thereto that may be contrary to it.<sup>1</sup> This Word is the only truth; it is the sure rule of all doctrine and of all life, and can never fail or deceive us. He who builds on this foundation shall stand against all the powers of hell, whilst all the human vanities that are set up against it shall fall before the face of God.

“For these reasons, most dear lords, uncles, cousins, and friends, we earnestly entreat you to weigh carefully our grievances and our motives. If you do not yield to our request, we PROTEST by these presents, before God, our only Creator, Preserver, Redeemer, and Saviour, and who will one day be our judge, as well as before all men and all creatures, that we, for us and for our people, neither consent nor adhere in any manner whatsoever to the proposed decree, in any thing that is contrary to God, to his holy Word, to our right conscience, to the salvation of our souls, and to the last decree of Spires.

“At the same time we are in expectation that his imperial majesty will behave towards us like a christian prince who loves God above all things; and we declare ourselves ready to pay unto him, as well as unto you, gracious lords, all the affection and obedience that are our just and legitimate duty.”

Thus, in presence of the diet, spoke out those courageous men whom Christendom will henceforward denominate THE PROTESTANTS.

They had barely finished when they announced their intention of quitting Spires on the morrow.<sup>2</sup>

This protest and declaration produced a deep impression. The diet was rudely interrupted and broken into two hostile parties,—thus preluding war. The majority became the prey of the liveliest fears. As for the Protestants, relying, *jure humano*, upon the edict of Spires, and, *jure divino*, upon the Bible, they were full of courage and firmness.

The principles contained in this celebrated protest of the 19th

<sup>1</sup> Allein Gottes wort, lauter und rein, und nichts das dawieder ist. Jung Beyträge, p. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Also zu verritten urlaub genommen. Ibid., p. 52.



April 1529, constitute the very essence of Protestantism. New this protest opposes two abuses of man in matters of faith: the first is the intrusion of the civil magistrate, and the second the arbitrary authority of the Church. Instead of these abuses, Protestantism sets the power of conscience above the magistrate; and the authority of the Word of God above the visible church. In the first place, it rejects the civil power in divine things, and says with the prophets and apostles: *We must obey God rather than man.* In presence of the crown of Charles the Fifth, it uplifts the crown of Jesus Christ. But it goes farther: it lays down the principle, that all human teaching should be subordinate to the oracles of God. Even the primitive Church, by recognizing the writings of the apostles, had performed an act of submission to this supreme authority, and not an act of authority, as Rome maintains; and the establishment of a tribunal charged with the interpretation of the Bible, had terminated only in slavishly subjecting man to man in what should be the most unfettered—conscience and faith. In this celebrated act of Spire no doctor appears, and the Word of God reigns alone. Never has man exalted himself like the pope; never have men kept in the background like the reformers.

A Romish historian maintains that the word *Protestant* signifies *enemy of the emperor and of the pope.*<sup>1</sup> If he means that Protestantism, in matters of faith, rejects the intervention both of the empire and of the papacy, it is well. But even this explanation does not exhaust the signification of the word, for Protestantism threw off man's authority solely to place Jesus Christ on the throne of the Church, and his Word in the pulpit. There has never been anything more positive, and at the same time more aggressive, than the position of the Protestants at Spire. By maintaining that their faith alone is capable of saving the world, they defended with intrepid courage the rights of Christian proselytism. We cannot abandon this proselytism without deserting the protestant principle.

The Protestants of Spire were not content to exalt the truth; they defended charity. Faber and the other papal partisans had endeavoured to separate the princes, who in general walked with Luther, from the cities that ranged themselves rather on the side of Zwingle. Œcolampadius had immediately written to Melancthon, and enlightened him on the doctrines of the Zurich Reformer. He had indignantly rejected the idea that Christ was banished into a corner of heaven, and had energetically declared that, according to the Swiss Chris-

<sup>1</sup> Perduelles in Pontificem ac Cæsarem. Pallavicini, C. T. I., p. 217.

tians, Christ was in every place upholding all things by the Word of his power.<sup>1</sup> "With the visible symbols," he added, "we give and we receive the invisible grace, like all the faithful."<sup>2</sup>

These declarations were not useless. There were at Spire two men who from different motives opposed the efforts of Faber, and seconded those of Ecolampadius. The landgrave, ever revolving projects of alliance in his mind, felt clearly that if the Christians of Saxony and of Hesse allowed the condemnation of the Churches of Switzerland and of Upper Germany, they would by that very means deprive themselves of powerful auxiliaries.<sup>3</sup> Melanethon, who unlike the landgrave was far from desiring a diplomatic alliance, lest it should hasten on a war, defended the great principles of justice, and exclaimed: "To what just reproaches should we not be exposed, were we to recognise in our adversaries the right of condemning a doctrine without having heard those who defend it!" The union of all evangelical Christians is therefore a principle of primitive Protestantism.

As Ferdinand had not heard the protest of the 19th April, a deputation of the evangelical states went the next day to present it to him. The brother of Charles the Fifth received it at first, but immediately after desired to return it. Then was witnessed a strange scene—the king refusing to keep the protest, and the deputies to take it back. At last the latter, out of respect, received it from Ferdinand's hands; but they laid it boldly upon a table, and directly quitted the hall.

The king and the imperial commissaries remained in presence of this formidable writing. It was there—before their eyes—a significant monument of the courage and faith of the Protestants. Irritated against this silent but mighty witness, which accused his tyranny, and left him the responsibility of all the evils that were about to burst upon the empire, the brother of Charles the Fifth called some of his counsellors, and ordered them instantly to carry the important document back to the Protestants.

All this was unavailing; the protest had been registered in the annals of the world, and nothing could erase it. Liberty of thought and of conscience had been conquered for ages to come. Thus all evangelical Germany, foreseeing these things,

<sup>1</sup> Ubique ut et portet omnia verbo virtutis sue. Hospin. Hist. Sacr., ii, 112.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐξεν γὰρ τὴν ἀόρατον μετὰ τῶν συμβόλων ἰσάτων. (Ibid.) The invisible grace with the invisible symbols.

<sup>3</sup> Omni studio laborabat ut filios uniret. (Seck., ii, 127.) He did his utmost to unite them.

was moved at this courageous act, and adopted it as the expression of its will and of its faith. Men in every quarter beheld in it not a mere political event, but a christian action, and the youthful electoral prince, John Frederick, in this respect the organ of his age, cried to the Protestants of Spire: "May the Almighty, who has given you grace to confess energetically, freely, and fearlessly, preserve you in that christian firmness until the day of eternity!"<sup>1</sup>

While the Christians were filled with joy, their enemies were frightened at their own work. The very day on which Ferdinand had declined to receive the protest (Tuesday 20th April), at one in the afternoon, Henry of Brunswick and Philip of Baden presented themselves as mediators, announcing, however, that they were acting solely of their own authority. They proposed that there should be no more mention of the decree of Worms, and that the first decree of Spire should be maintained, but with a few modifications; that the two parties, while remaining free until the next council, should oppose every new sect, and tolerate no doctrine contrary to the sacrament of the Lord's body.<sup>2</sup>

On Wednesday, 21st April, the evangelical states did not appear adverse to these propositions; and even those who had embraced the doctrines of Zwingle declared boldly that such a proposal would not compromise their existence. "Only let us call to mind," said they, "that in such difficult matters we must act, not with the sword, but with the sure Word of God.<sup>3</sup> For, as St. Paul says: *What is not of faith is sin.* If therefore we constrain Christians to do what they believe unjust, instead of leading them by God's Word to acknowledge what is good, we force them to sin and incur a terrible responsibility."

The fanatics of the Roman party trembled as they saw the victory nearly escaping from them; they rejected all compromise, and desired purely and simply the re-establishment of the papacy. Their zeal overcame everything, and the negotiations were broken off.

On Thursday, 22d April, the diet re-assembled at seven in the morning, and the *Recess* was read precisely as it had been previously drawn up, without even mentioning the attempt at conciliation which had just failed.

<sup>1</sup> In eo mansuros esse, nec passuros ut ulla hominum machinatione ab ea sententia divellerentur. (Seckend., ii, 121.) That they were to abide therein, and not allow themselves to be driven from that sentiment by any machination of men.

<sup>2</sup> Vergleich artikel. Jung Beyträge, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> In diesen Schweren Sachen, nichts mit Gewalt noch Schwerdt, sondern mit Gottes gewissen wort. Ibid., p. 59. This document is from the pen of Sturm.



Faber triumphed. Proud of having the ear of kings, he tossed himself furiously about, and to look at him, one would have said (according to an eye-witness) that he was a Cyclops forging in his cavern the monstrous chains with which he was about to bind the Reformation and the reformers.<sup>1</sup> The papist princes, carried away by the tumult, gave the spur, says Melancthon, and flung themselves headlong into a path filled with dangers.<sup>2</sup> Nothing was left for the evangelical Christians but to fall on their knees and cry to the Lord. "All that remains for us now to do," repeated Melancthon, "is to call upon the Son of God."<sup>3</sup>

The last sitting of the diet took place on the 24th April. The princes renewed their protest, in which fourteen free and imperial cities joined; and they next thought of giving their appeal a legal form.

On Sunday, 25th April, two notaries, Leonard Stetner of Freysingen and Pangrace Saltzmann of Bamberg, were seated before a small table in a narrow chamber on the ground-floor of a house situated in St. John's Lane, near the church of the same name in Spire, and around them were the chancellors of the princes and of the evangelical cities, with several witnesses.<sup>4</sup>

This little house belonged to an humble pastor, Peter Muterstatt, deacon of St. John's, who taking the place of the elector or of the landgrave, had offered a domicile for the important act that was preparing. His name shall in consequence be transmitted to posterity. The document having been definitively drawn up, one of the notaries began reading it. "Since there is a natural communion between all men," said the Protestants, "and since even persons condemned to death are permitted to unite and appeal against their condemnation; how much more are we, who are members of the same spiritual body, the Church of the Son of God, children of the same Heavenly Father, and consequently brothers in the Spirit,<sup>5</sup> authorized to unite when our salvation and eternal condemnation are concerned."

After reviewing all that had passed in the diet, and after intercalating in their appeal the principal documents that had reference to it, the Protestants ended by saying: "We there-

<sup>1</sup> Cyclops ille nunc ferocem se facit. (Corp. Ref., i, 1062.) That Cyclops is now becoming ferocious.

<sup>2</sup> Ut ingrediantur lubricum isti iter, impingendo stimulis calces. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> De quo reliquum est ut invocemus Filium Dei. Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Untern in einem Kleinen Stüblein. Jung Beyträge, p. 78. Instrumentum Appellationis.

<sup>5</sup> Membra unius corporis spiritualis Jesu Christi et filii unius patris celestis, ideoque fratres spirituales. (Seckend., ii, 130.) Members of one spiritual body, Jesus Christ and children of our heavenly Father, and therefore spiritual brethren.

fore, appeal for ourselves, for our subjects, and for all who receive or who shall hereafter receive the Word of God, from all past, present, or future vexatious measures, to his Imperial Majesty, and to a free and universal assembly of holy Christendom." This document filled twelve sheets of parchment; the signatures and seals were affixed to the thirteenth.

Thus in the obscure dwelling of the chaplain of St. John's was made the first confession of the true christian union. In presence of the wholly mechanical unity of the pope, these confessors of Jesus raised the banner of the living unity of Christ; and, as in the days of our Saviour, if there were many synagogues in Israel, there was at least but one temple. The Christians of Electoral Saxony, of Luneburg, of Anhalt, of Hesse and the Margravate, of Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Lindau, Memmingen, Kempten, Nordlingen, Heilbronn, Reutlingen, Isny, Saint Gall, Weissemburg, and Windsheim, took each other's hands on the 25th April, near the church of St. John, in the face of threatening persecutions. Among them might be found those who, like Zwingle, acknowledged in the Lord's Supper the entirely spiritual presence of Jesus Christ, as well as those who, with Luther, admitted his corporeal presence. There existed not at that time in the evangelical body any sects, hatred, or schism; christian unity was a reality. That upper chamber in which, during the early days of Christianity, the apostles with the women and the brethren "continued with one accord in prayer and supplication,"<sup>1</sup> and that lower chamber where, in the first days of the Reformation, the renewed disciples of Jesus Christ presented themselves to the pope and the emperor, to the world and to the scaffold, as forming but one body, are the two cradles of the Church; and it is in this its hour of weakness and humiliation that it shines forth with the brightest glory.

After this appeal each one returned in silence to his dwelling. Several tokens excited alarm for the safety of the Protestants. A short time previously Melancthon hastily conducted through the streets of Spire toward the Rhine his friend Simon Grynaeus, pressing him to cross the river. The latter was astonished at such precipitation.<sup>2</sup> "An old man of grave and solemn air, but who is unknown to me," said Melancthon, "appeared before me and said: In a minute officers of justice will be sent by Ferdinand to arrest Grynaeus." As he was intimate with Faber, and had been scandalized at one of his

<sup>1</sup> Acts, i, 14. <sup>2</sup> Mirantiquelesset tantæ festinationis causa. Camerarius Vita Mel., p. 113.

sermons; Grynæus went to him, and begged him no longer to make war against the truth. Faber dissembled his anger, but immediately after repaired to the king, from whom he had obtained an order against the importunate professor of Heidelberg.<sup>1</sup> Melanethon doubted not that God had saved his friend by sending one of his holy angels to forewarn him. Motionless on the banks of the Rhine, he waited until the waters of that stream had rescued Grynæus from his persecutors. At last, cried Melanethon, as he saw him on the opposite side, "at last he is torn from the cruel jaws of those who thirst for innocent blood."<sup>2</sup> When he returned to his house, Melanethon was informed that officers in search of Grynæus had ransacked it from top to bottom.<sup>3</sup>

There was nothing to detain the Protestants longer in Spires, and accordingly, on the morning after their appeal (Monday, 26th April), the elector, the landgrave, and the Dukes of Luneburg, quitted the city, reached Worms, and then returned by Hesse into their own states. The appeal of Spires was published by the landgrave on the 5th, and by the elector on the 13th of May.

Melanethon had returned to Wittenberg on the 6th of May, persuaded that the two parties were about to draw the sword. His friends were alarmed at seeing him agitated, exhausted, and like one dead. "It is a great event that has just taken place at Spires," said he; "an event pregnant with dangers, not only to the empire, but to religion itself. All the pains of hell oppress me."<sup>4</sup>

It was Melanethon's greatest affliction, that these evils were attributed to him, as indeed he ascribed them himself. "One single thing has injured us," said he; "our not having approved, as was required of us, the edict against the Zwinglians." Luther did not take this gloomy view of affairs; but he was far from comprehending the force of the protest. "The diet," said he, "has come to an end almost without results, except that those who scourge Jesus Christ have not been able to satisfy their fury."<sup>5</sup>

Posterity has not ratified this decision; and on the contrary,

<sup>1</sup> Faber qui valde offenderetur orationi tali, dissimulare tamen omnia. (Camer. Vita Mel., p. 113.)

<sup>2</sup> Ereptus quasi e faucibus eorum qui sitiunt sanguinem innocentium. (Mel. ad Camer. 23d April, Corp. Ref., i, 1062.) Snatched as it were from the jaws of those who thirst for the blood of the innocent.

<sup>3</sup> Affluit armata quedam manus ad comprehendum Grynæum missa. Camer. Vita Mel., p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Ita fuit perturbatus ut primis diebus pene extinctus sit. Corp. Ref., i, 1067.

<sup>5</sup> Non enim tantum imperium, sed religio etiam periclitantur. Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Omnes dolores inferni oppresserant me. Ibid., 1067, 1069.

<sup>7</sup> Christo-mastiges et Psychotyrannum furorem non potuerunt explere. (L. Epp. Linco, 6th May, 1529.) The scourgers of Christ and tyrants of souls have not been able to satiate their fury.



dating from this epoch the definitive formation of Protestantism, it has hailed in the Protest of Spires one of the greatest movements recorded in history.

Let us see to whom the chief glory of this act belongs. The part taken by the princes, and especially by the Elector of Saxony, in the German Reformation, must strike every impartial observer. These are the true Reformers—the true martyrs. The Holy Ghost, that bloweth where it listeth, had inspired them with the courage of the ancient confessors of the Church; and the God of election was glorified in them. Somewhat later, perhaps, this great part played by the princes may have produced deplorable consequences: there is no grace of God that man cannot pervert. But nothing should prevent us from rendering honour to whom honour is due, and from adoring the work of the eternal Spirit in these eminent men who, under God, were in the sixteenth century the liberators of Christendom.

The Reformation had taken a bodily form. It was Luther alone who had said No at the Diet of Worms: but churches and ministers, princes and people, said No at the Diet of Spires.

In no country had superstition, scholasticism, hierarchy, and popery, been so powerful as among the Germanic nations. These simple and candid people had humbly bent their neck to the yoke that came from the banks of the Tiber. But there was in them a depth, a life, a need of interior liberty, which, sanctified by the Word of God, might render them the most energetic organs of Christian truth. It was from them that was destined to emanate the reaction against that material, external, and legal system, which had taken the place of Christianity; it was they who were called to shatter in pieces the skeleton which had been substituted for the spirit and the life, and restore to the heart of Christendom, ossified by the hierarchy, the generous beatings of which it had been deprived for so many ages. The universal Church will never forget the debt it owes to the princes of Spires and to Luther.

## CHAPTER VII.

Union necessary to Reform—Luther's Doctrine on the Lord's Supper—A Lutheran Warning—Proposed Conference at Marburg—Melancthon and Zwingle—Zwingle leaves Zurich—Rumours in Zurich—The Reformers at Marburg—Carlstadt's Petition—Preliminary discussions—Holy Ghost—Original Sin—Baptism—Luther, Melancthon, and Zwingle—Opening of the Conference—The Prayer of the Church—*Hoc est Corpus Meum*—Syllogism of Ecolampadius—The Flesh profited no

thing—Lambert convinced—Luther's Old Song—Agitation in the Conference—Arrival of new Deputies—Christ's Humanity finite—Mathematics and Popery—Testimony of the Fathers—Testimony of Augustine—Argument of the Velvet Cover—End of the Conference—The Landgrave meditates—Necessity of Union—Luther rejects Zwingle's hand—Sectarian Spirit of the Germans—Bucer's Dilemma—Christian Charity prevails—Luther's Report—Unity of Doctrine—Unity in Diversity—Signatures—Two Extremes—Three Views—Germ of Popery—Departure—Luther's Rejection—Turks before Vienna—Luther's Battle, Sermon and Agony—Luther's Firmness—Victory—Exasperation of the Papists—Threatening Prospects.

THE Protest of Spires had still further increased the indignation of the papal adherents; and Charles the Fifth, according to the oath he had made at Barcelona, set about preparing "a suitable antidote for the pestilential disease with which the Germans were attacked, and to avenge in a striking manner the insult offered to Jesus Christ." The pope, on his part, endeavoured to combine all the other princes of Christendom in this crusade; and the peace of Cambray, concluded on the 5th August, tended to the accomplishment of his cruel designs. It left the emperor's hands free against the heretics. After having entered their protest at Spires, it was necessary for the evangelicals to think of maintaining it.

The protestant states that had already laid the foundations of an evangelical alliance at Spires, had agreed to send deputies to Rothach; but the elector, staggered by the representations of Luther, who was continually repeating to him, "In returning and rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength;"<sup>2</sup> ordered his deputies to listen to the propositions of his allies, but to decide upon nothing. They adjourned to a new conference, which never took place. Luther triumphed; for human alliances failed. "Christ the Lord will know how to deliver us without the landgrave, and even against the landgrave," said he to his friends.<sup>3</sup>

Philip of Hesse, who was vexed at Luther's obstinacy, was convinced that it arose from a dispute about words. "They will hear no mention of alliances because of the Zwinglians," said he; "well then, let us put an end to the contradictions that separate them from Luther."

The union of all the disciples of the Word of God seemed in fact a necessary condition to the success of the Reformation. How could the Protestants resist the power of Rome and of the empire, if they were divided? The landgrave no doubt wished

<sup>1</sup> *Natamque Christo injuriam pro viribus ulciscuntur.* Dumont, Corp. Univ. Diplomatique. iv. 1, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Isaiah, xxx, 15. E. Bpp. iii, 454.

<sup>3</sup> *Unser Herr Christus, &c. (Abid.)* This confidence of Luther shocks a Lutheran historian—Plank, ii, 454.

to unite their minds, that he might afterwards be able to unite their arms; but the cause of Christ was not to triumph by the sword. If they should succeed in uniting their hearts and prayers, the Reformation would then find such strength in the faith of its children, that Philip's spearmen would no longer be necessary.

Unfortunately, this union of minds, that was now to be sought after above all things, was a very difficult task. Luther in 1519 had at first appeared not only to reform, but entirely renovate the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, as the Swiss did somewhat later. "I go to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper," he had said, "and I there receive a sign from God that Christ's righteousness and passion justify me; such is the use of the sacrament."<sup>1</sup> This discourse, which had gone through several impressions in the cities of Upper Germany, had prepared men's minds for the doctrine of Zwingli. Accordingly Luther, astonished at the reputation he had gained, published this solemn declaration in 1527: "I protest before God and before the whole world that I have never walked with the sacramentarians."

Luther in fact was never Zwinglian as regards the Communion. Far from that, in 1519, he still believed in Transubstantiation. Why then should he speak of a sign? It was for this reason. While, according to Zwingli, the bread and wine are signs of the body and blood of Christ; according to Luther, the very body and blood of Jesus Christ are signs of God's grace. These opinions are widely different from one another.

Ere long this disagreement declared itself. In 1527 Zwingli, in his *Friendly Exposition*,<sup>2</sup> refuted Luther's opinion with mildness and respect. Unluckily the pamphlet of the Saxon reformer, "against the enthusiasts," was then issuing from the press, and in it Luther expressed his indignation that his adversaries should dare to speak of christian unity and peace. "Well!" exclaimed he, "since they thus insult all reason, I will give them a Lutheran warning.<sup>3</sup> Cursed be this concord! cursed be this charity! down, down with it to the bottomless pit of hell! If I should murder your father, your mother, your wife, your child, and then, wishing to murder you, I should say to you, 'Let us be at peace, my dear friend!' what answer would you make?—It is thus that the enthusiasts,

<sup>1</sup> In the writing entitled, *Dass diese Worte noch feste Stehen*. L. Opp., xix, 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Amica exegesis*, id est, *Expositio Eucharistiæ negotii ad M. Lutherum*. Zw. Opp.

<sup>3</sup> Eine Lutherische Warnung. L. Opp., xix, 391. *Wider die Schwärmegeister*.



who murder Jesus Christ my Lord, God the Father, and Christendom my mother, wish to murder me also; and then they say, 'Let us be friends!'

Zwingle wrote two replies "to the excellent Martin Luther," in a cold tone and with a haughty calmness more difficult to pardon than the invectives of the Saxon doctor. "We ought to esteem you a vessel of honour, and we do so with joy," said he, "notwithstanding your faults." Pamphlet followed pamphlet, Luther always writing with the same impetuosity, and Zwingle with unalterable coolness and irony.

Such were the doctors whom the landgrave undertook to reconcile. Already, during the sitting of the Diet of Spires, Philip of Hesse, who was afflicted at hearing the papists continually repeating, "You boast of your attachment to the pure Word of God, and yet you are nevertheless disunited,"<sup>1</sup> had made overtures to Zwingle in writing. He now went farther, and invited the theologians of the different parties to meet at Marburg. These invitations met with various receptions. Zwingle, whose heart was large and fraternal, answered the landgrave's call; but it was rejected by Luther, who discovered leagues and battles behind this pretended concord.

It seemed, however, that great difficulties would detain Zwingle. The road from Zurich to Marburg lay through the territories of the emperor and of other enemies to the Reformation; the landgrave himself did not conceal the dangers of the journey;<sup>2</sup> but in order to obviate these difficulties, he promised an escort from Strasburg to Hesse, and for the rest "the protection of God."<sup>3</sup> These precautions were not of a nature to reassure the Zurichers.

Reasons of another kind detained Luther and Melancthon. "It is not right," said they, "that the landgrave has so much to do with the Zwinglians. Their error is of such a nature that people of acute minds are easily tainted by it. Reason loves what it understands, particularly when learned men clothe their ideas in a scriptural dress."

Melancthon did not stop here, but put forth the very extraordinary notion of selecting papists as judges of the discussion. "If there were no impartial judges," said he, "the Zwinglians would have a good chance of boasting of victory."<sup>4</sup> Thus, according to Melancthon, papists would be impartial judges when the real presence was the subject of discussion! He went still

<sup>1</sup> Inter nos ipsos de religionis doctrina non consentire. Zw. Epp., ii, 287.

<sup>2</sup> Viam Francofurdi capias, quam autem hac periculosiorem esse putamus. Ibid., p. 312.

<sup>3</sup> Juveante Deo tuti. Ibid., p. 329.

<sup>4</sup> Papistische als unpar-

teische. Corp. Ref., i, 1066.

farther. "Let the elector," he wrote on the 14th May to the Prince Electoral, "refuse to permit our journey to Marburg; so that we may be able to allege this excuse." The elector would not lend himself to so disgraceful a proceeding; and the reformers of Wittenberg found themselves compelled to accede to the request of Philip of Hesse. But they did so with these words: "If the Swiss do not yield to us, all your trouble will be lost;" and they wrote to the theologians among their friends who were convoked by the prince: "Stay away if you can; your absence will be very useful to us."<sup>1</sup>

Zwingle, on the contrary, who would have gone to the end of the world, made every exertion to obtain permission from the magistrates of Zurich to visit Marburg. "I am convinced," said he to the secret council, "that if we doctors meet face to face, the splendour of truth will illuminate our eyes."<sup>2</sup> But the council, that had only just signed the first religious peace,<sup>3</sup> and who feared to see war burst out afresh positively refused to allow the departure of the reformer.

Upon this Zwingle decided for himself. He felt that his presence was necessary for the maintenance of peace in Zurich; but the welfare of all Christendom summoned him to Marburg. Accordingly, raising his eyes towards heaven, he resolved to depart, exclaiming, "O God! thou hast never abandoned us; Thou wilt perform thy will for thine own glory."<sup>4</sup> During the night of the 31st August, Zwingle, who was unwilling to wait for the landgrave's safe-conduct, prepared for his journey. Rodolph Collins, the Greek professor, was alone to accompany him. The reformer wrote to the Smaller and to the Great Council: "If I leave without informing you, it is not, most wise lords, because I despise your authority; but, knowing the love you bear towards me, I foresee that your anxiety will oppose my going."

As he was writing these words, a fourth message arrived from the landgrave, more pressing still than the preceding ones. The reformer sent the prince's letter to the burgomaster with his own; he then quitted his house privily by night,<sup>5</sup> concealing his departure both from friends, whose importunity he feared, and from enemies, whose snares he had good cause to dread. He did not even tell his wife where he was going, lest it should distress her. He and Collins then mounted two horses that

<sup>1</sup> Si potes, noli adesce. L. Epp., iii, 501.  
nostros feriat. Zw. Epp., ii, 321.

<sup>2</sup> Ut veritatis splendor oculis.  
<sup>3</sup> See below, Book xvi, chap. ii, anno 1529.

<sup>4</sup> Dei nunquam fallentis, qui nos nunquam deseruit, gratiam reputavi. Zw. Epp., ii, 356.

<sup>5</sup> Sabbati die, mane ante lucem, 1 Septembris. Ibid.



had been hired for the purpose,<sup>1</sup> and rode off rapidly in the direction of Basle.

During the day the rumour of Zwingle's absence spread through Zurich, and his enemies were elated. "He has fled the country," said they; "he has run away with a pack of scoundrels!" "As he was crossing the river at Bruck," said others, "the boat upset and he was drowned." "The devil," affirmed many, with a malicious smile, "appeared to him bodily and carried him off."<sup>2</sup>— "There was no end to their stories," says Bullinger. But the council immediately resolved on acceding to the wish of the reformer. On the very day of his departure they appointed one of the councillors, Ulrich Funck, to accompany him to Marburg, who forthwith set out with one domestic and an arquebusier. Strasburg and Basle in like manner sent statesmen in company with their theologians, under the idea that this conference would doubtless have, also, a political object.

Zwingle arrived safely at Basle,<sup>3</sup> and embarked on the river on the 6th September with Œcolampadius and several merchants.<sup>4</sup> In thirteen hours they reached Strasburg, where the two reformers lodged in the house of Matthew Zell, the cathedral preacher. Catherine, the pastor's wife, prepared the dishes in the kitchen, waited at table, according to the ancient German manners,<sup>5</sup> and then sitting down near Zwingle, listened attentively, and spoke with so much piety and knowledge, that the latter soon ranked her above many doctors.

After discussing with the magistrates the means of resisting the Romish league, and the organization to be given to the christian confederacy,<sup>6</sup> Zwingle quitted Strasburg; and he and his friends, conducted along by-roads, through forests, over mountains and valleys, by secret but sure paths, at length reached Marburg, escorted by forty Hessian cavaliers.<sup>7</sup>

Luther, on his side, accompanied by Melancthon, Cruciger, and Jonas, had stopped on the Hessian frontier, declaring that nothing should induce him to cross it without a safe-conduct from the landgrave. This document being obtained, Luther arrived at Alsfeld, where the scholars, kneeling under the reformer's windows, chanted their pious hymns. He entered

<sup>1</sup> Equis conductoriis. Zw. Epp., ii, 361.

Bullinger, ii, 224.

<sup>3</sup> Integer et sanus Basiliam pervenit. Zw. Epp., ii, 361.

<sup>4</sup> Aliquos mercatorum fide dignos, comites. Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ich bin 14 Tag magd und Köchin gewesen. Füssl. Beytr., v, 813. See her remarkable correspondence with the superintendent Rabus. Ibid., 191-354.

<sup>6</sup> De jure præsidendi confœderationis civitatum christianarum. Ibid., 364. See book xvi. of this History.

<sup>7</sup> Per devia et sylvas, montes et valles, tutissimos et occultos. Ibid., 368.



Marburg on the 30th September, a day after the arrival of the Swiss. Both parties went to inns; but they had scarcely alighted, before the landgrave invited them to come and lodge in the castle, thinking by this means to bring the opposing parties closer together. Philip entertained them in a manner truly royal.<sup>1</sup> "Ah!" said the pious Jonas, as he wandered through the halls of the palace, "it is not in honour of the Muses, but in honour of God and of his Christ, that we are so munificently treated in these forests of Hesse!" After dinner, on the first day, Œcolampadius, Hedio, and Bucer, desirous of entering into the prince's views, went and saluted Luther. The latter conversed affectionately with Œcolampadius in the castle-court; but Bucer, with whom he had once been very intimate, and who was now on Zwingle's side, having approached him, Luther said to him, smiling and making a sign with his hand: "As for you, you are a good-for-nothing fellow and a knave!"<sup>2</sup>

The unhappy Carlstadt, who had begun this dispute, was at that time in Friesland, preaching the spiritual presence of Christ, and living in such destitution that he had been forced to sell his Hebrew Bible to procure bread. The trial had crushed his pride, and he wrote to the landgrave: "We are but one body, one house, one people, one sacerdotal race; we live and die by one and the same Saviour.<sup>3</sup> For this reason, I, poor and in exile, humbly pray your highness, by the blood of Jesus Christ, to allow me to be present at the disputation."

But how bring Luther and Carlstadt face to face? and yet how repel the unhappy man? The landgrave, to extricate himself from this difficulty, referred him to the Saxon reformer. Carlstadt did not appear.

Philip of Hesse desired that, previously to the public conference, the theologians should have a private interview. It was however considered dangerous, says a contemporary, for Zwingle and Luther, who were both naturally violent, to contend with one another at the very beginning; and as Œcolampadius and Melancthon were the mildest, they were apportioned to the roughest champions.<sup>4</sup> On Friday, the 1st October, after divine service, Luther and Œcolampadius were conducted into one chamber, and Zwingle and Melancthon into another. The combatants were then left to struggle two and two.

The principal contest took place in the room of Zwingle and

<sup>1</sup> Except in arce hospitio et mensa regali. Corp. Ref., i. 1096. <sup>2</sup> Subridens aliquantulum respondit: tu es nequam et nebulo. Sculteti Annal., ad 1529. <sup>3</sup> State Papers of Cassel. <sup>4</sup> Abgetheilt zu den rühren. Bull., ii. 225.

Melancthon. "It is affirmed," said Melancthon to Zwingle, "that some among you speak of God after the manner of the Jews, as if Christ was not essentially God."<sup>1</sup> "I think on the Holy Trinity," replied Zwingle, "with the Council of Nice and the Athanasian creed." "Councils! creeds! What does that mean?" asked Melancthon. "Have you not continually repeated that you recognise no other authority than that of Scripture?" "We have never rejected the councils," replied the Swiss reformer, "when they are based on the authority of the Word of God."<sup>2</sup> The four first councils are truly sacred as regards doctrine, and none of the faithful have ever rejected them. This important declaration, handed down to us by Œcolampadius, characterizes the reformed theology.<sup>3</sup>

"But you teach," resumed Melancthon, "like Thomas Munster, that the Holy Ghost acts quite alone, independently of the sacraments and of the Word of God." "The Holy Ghost," replied Zwingle, "works in us justification by the Word, but by the Word preached and understood, by the soul and the marrow of the Word, by the mind and will of God clothed in human language."<sup>4</sup>

"At least," continued Melancthon, "you deny original sin, and make sin consist only in actual and external works, like the Pelagians, the philosophers, and the Papists."

This was the principal difficulty. "Since man naturally loves himself," replied Zwingle, "instead of loving God; in that there is a crime, a sin that condemns him."<sup>5</sup> He had more than once before expressed the same opinion; and yet Melancthon exulted on hearing him: "Our adversaries," said he afterwards, "have given way on all these points!"

Luther had pursued the same method with Œcolampadius as Melancthon with Zwingle. The discussion had in particular turned on baptism. Luther complained that the Swiss would not acknowledge that by this simple sacrament a man became a member of the Church. "It is true," said Œcolampadius, "that we require faith—either an actual or a future faith. Why should we deny it? Who is a Christian, if it be not he who believes in Christ? However, I should be unwilling to deny that the water of baptism is in a certain sense a

<sup>1</sup> Ubi unquam concilla, rejicimus, verbi divini auctoritati suffulta? (Zw. Opp., iv, 191.) Where do we ever reject councils supported by the authority of the Divine Word?

<sup>2</sup> The word *Reformed* is used to distinguish the doctrine and the church of Zwingle and Calvin from those of Luther.

<sup>3</sup> Mens et medulla verbi mens et voluntas Dei amicta tamen humanis verbis. (Zw. Epp., iv, 173.) The mind and marrow of the Word the mind and the will of God, though clothed in human language.

<sup>4</sup> Malum, peccatum. Ibid., 172.

<sup>5</sup> De peccato origi-

nali ab Urb. Rhegium. Ibid., iii, 602.



water of regeneration; for by it he, whom the Church knew not, becomes its child."<sup>1</sup>

These four theologians were in the very heat of their discussions, when domestics came to inform them that the prince's dinner was on the table. They immediately arose and Zwingle and Melancthon meeting Luther and Œcolampadius, who were also quitting their chamber, the latter approached Zwingle, and whispered mournfully in his ear: "I have fallen a second time into the hands of Dr. Eck."<sup>2</sup> In the language of the reformers nothing stronger could be said.

It does not appear that the conference between Luther and Œcolampadius was resumed after dinner. Luther's manner held out very little hope; but Melancthon and Zwingle returned to the discussion, and the Zurich doctor finding the Wittenberg professor escape him like an eel, as he said, and take, "like Proteus, a thousand different forms," seized a pen in order to fix his antagonist. Zwingle committed to writing whatever Melancthon dictated, and then wrote his reply, giving it to the other to read.<sup>3</sup> In this manner they spent six hours, three in the morning, and three in the afternoon.<sup>4</sup> They prepared for the general conference.

Zwingle requested that it should be an open one; this Luther resisted. It was eventually resolved that the princes, nobles, deputies, and theologians, should be admitted; but a great crowd of citizens, and even many scholars and gentlemen, who had come from Frankfort, from the Rhine districts, from Strasburg, from Basle and other Swiss towns, were excluded. Brentz speaks of fifty or sixty hearers; Zwingle, of twenty-four only.<sup>5</sup>

On a gentle elevation, watered by the Lahn, is situated an old castle, overlooking the city of Marburg; in the distance may be seen the beautiful valley of the Lahn, and beyond, the mountain-tops rising one above another, until they are lost in the horizon. It was beneath the vaults and Gothic arches of an antique chamber in this castle, known as the Knight's Hall, that the conference was to take place.

On Saturday morning (2d October) the landgrave took his seat in the hall, surrounded by his court, but in so plain a dress

<sup>1</sup> Atque adeo ipse, non negarim, aquam baptismi esse aquam regenerantem: fit enim puer ecclesie, qui dudum ab ecclesia non agnoscebatur. (Zw. Opp., iv, 193.) And therefore I am not inclined to deny that the water of baptism is regeneration water; for he who was not acknowledged by the Church becomes a child of the Church.

<sup>2</sup> Lutherum Œcolampadium ita excepit, ut ad me veniens clam queratur, se denuo in Ecclesiam incidisse. Zw. Epp., ii, 369.

<sup>3</sup> At Melancthon, cum nimis lubricus esset et Protei in morem se in omnia transformaret, me compulsi, ut sumpto calamo manu armarem. Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Istud colloquium sex in horas traximus. Ibid., 370. <sup>5</sup> Quinquaginta aut sexaginta colloquio presentes. Zw. Opp., iv, 201. Pauci arbitri ad summum quatuor et viginti. Epp. ii, 370.



that no one would have taken him for a prince. He wished to avoid all appearance of acting the part of a Constantine in the affairs of the Church. Before him was a table which Luther, Zwingle, Melancthon, and Œcolampadius approached. Luther, taking a piece of chalk, bent over the velvet cloth which covered it, and steadily wrote four words in large characters. All eyes followed the movement of his hand, and soon they read *HOC EST CORPUS MEUM*.<sup>1</sup> Luther wished to have this declaration continually before him, that it might strengthen his own faith, and be a sign to his adversaries.

Behind these four theologians were seated their friends, Hedio, Sturm, Funck, Frey, Eberhard, Thane, Jonas, Cruciger, and others besides. Jonas cast an inquiring glance upon the Swiss: "Zwingle," said he, "has a certain rusticity and arrogance;<sup>2</sup> if he is well versed in letters, it is in spite of Minerva and of the muses. In Œcolampadius there is a natural goodness and admirable meekness. Hedio seems to have as much liberality as kindness; but Bucer possesses the cunning of a fox, that knows how to give himself an air of sense and prudence." Men of moderate sentiments often meet with worse treatment than those of the extreme parties.

Other feelings animated those who contemplated this assembly from a distance. The great men who had led the people in their footsteps on the plains of Saxony, on the banks of the Rhine, and in the lofty valleys of Switzerland, were there met face to face; the chiefs of Christendom who had separated from Rome, were come together to see if they could remain one. Accordingly, from all parts of Germany, prayers and anxious looks were directed towards Marburg. "Illustrious princes of the Word,"<sup>3</sup> cried the evangelical Church through the mouth of the poet Cordus, "penetrating Luther, mild Œcolampadius, magnanimous Zwingle, pious Snepf, eloquent Melancthon, courageous Bucer, candid Hedio, excellent Osiander, valiant Brentz, amiable Jonas, fiery Craton, Mænus, whose soul is stronger than his body, great Dionysius, and you Myconius—all you whom Prince Philip, that illustrious hero, has summoned, ministers and bishops, whom the christian cities have sent to terminate the schism, and to show us the way of truth; the suppliant Church falls weeping at your feet, and begs you by the bowels of Jesus Christ to bring this matter to a happy

<sup>1</sup> This is my body. Zw. Opp., iv. 175.  
arrogantulum. Corp. Ref., i. p. 1097.

<sup>2</sup> In Zwinglio agreste quiddam est et

<sup>3</sup> Insignes verbi proceres. Bull., ii. 236.

issue, that the world may acknowledge in your resolution the work of the Holy Ghost himself."<sup>1</sup>

The landgrave's chancellor, John Feige, having reminded them in the prince's name that the object of this colloquy was the re-establishment of union, "I protest," said Luther, "that I differ from my adversaries with regard to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and that I shall always differ from them. Christ has said, *This is my body*. Let them show me that a body is not a body. I reject reason, common sense, carnal arguments, and mathematical proofs. God is above mathematics.<sup>2</sup> We have the Word of God; we must adore it and perform it!

It cannot be denied," said Ecolampadius, "that there are figures of speech in the Word of God; as *John is Elias, the rock was Christ, I am the vine*. The expression *This is my body*, is a figure of the same kind." Luther granted that there were figures in the Bible, but denied that this last expression was figurative.

All the various parties, however, of which the Christian Church is composed see a figure in these words. In fact, the Romanists declare that *This is my body* signifies not only "my body," but also "my blood," "my soul," and even "my Divinity," and "Christ wholly."<sup>3</sup> These words, therefore according to Rome, are a synecdoche, a figure by which a part is taken for the whole. And, as regards the Lutherans, the figure is still more evident.<sup>4</sup>—Whether it be synecdoche, metaphor, or metonymy, there is still a figure.

In order to prove it, Ecolampadius employed this syllogism:—

What Christ rejected in the sixth chapter of St. John, he could not admit in the words of the Eucharist. Now Christ, who said to the people of Capernaum *The flesh profiteth nothing*, rejected by those very words the oral manducation of his body.

"Therefore he did not establish it at the institution of his Supper."

LUTHER.—"I deny the minor (the second of these propositions); Christ has not rejected all oral manducation, but only

<sup>1</sup> Et cupido supplex vobis Ecclesia voto  
Vestros cadit flens ad pedes. Bull., ii, 236.

<sup>2</sup> Deum esse supra mathematicam. Zw. Opp., iv, 175. <sup>3</sup> If any one denies that the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, with his soul and his divinity, and consequently the whole Jesus Christ (totum Christum,) is contained in the sacrament of the Eucharist, let him be anathema. Council of Trent, sess. 13. <sup>4</sup> Totum Christi personam. Form. concord., viii.

a material manducation, like that of the flesh of oxen or of swine."<sup>1</sup>

ECOLAMPADIUS.—“There is danger in attributing too much to mere matter.”

LUTHER.—“Everything that God commands becomes spirit and life. If we lift up a straw, by the Lord's order, in that very action we perform a spiritual work. We must pay attention to him who speaks, and not to what he says. God speaks: Men, worms, listen!—God commands: let the world obey! and let us altogether fall down and humbly kiss the Word.”<sup>2</sup>

ECOLAMPADIUS.—“But since we have the spiritual eating, what need of the bodily one?”

LUTHER.—“I do not ask what need we have of it; but I see it written, *Eat, this is my body.*” We must therefore believe and do. We must do—we must do!<sup>3</sup>—If God should order me to eat dung, I would do it, with the assurance that it would be salutary.”<sup>4</sup>

At this point Zwingle interfered in the discussion.

“We must explain Scripture by Scripture,” said he, “We cannot admit two kinds of corporeal manducation, as if Jesus had spoken of eating, and the Capernaïtes of tearing in pieces, for the same word is employed in both cases: Jesus says that to eat his flesh corporeally profiteth nothing (John, vi, 63); whence it would result that he had given us in the Supper a thing that would be useless to us.—Besides, there are certain words that seem to me rather childish,—the dung, for instance; The oracles of the demons were obscure, not so are those of Jesus Christ.”

LUTHER.—“When Christ says the flesh profiteth nothing, he speaks not of his own flesh, but of ours.”

ZWINGLE.—“The soul is fed with the Spirit and not with the flesh.”

LUTHER.—“It is with the mouth that we eat the body; the soul does not eat it.”

ZWINGLE.—“Christ's body is therefore a corporeal nourishment, and not a spiritual.”

LUTHER.—“You are captious.”

ZWINGLE.—“Not so; but you utter contradictory things.”

<sup>1</sup> Qualis est carnis bovillæ aut suillæ. Scult., p. 217. <sup>2</sup> Quum præcipit quid, pareat mundus; et omnes osculemur verbum. (Zw. Opp., iv, 176.) When he commands let the world obey, and let us all kiss the Word. <sup>3</sup> Man mus es thun sæpe inculcabat. Ibid. <sup>4</sup> Si juberet finem comedere, facerem. Ibid. <sup>5</sup> Anima non edat ipsum (corpus) corporaliter. (Zw. Epp., ii, 370.) The soul does not eat the body corporally.



LUTHER.—“If God should present me wild apples, I should eat them spiritually. In the Eucharist, the mouth receives the body of Christ, and the soul believes in his words.”

Zwingle then quoted a great number of passages from the Holy Scriptures, in which the sign is described by the very thing signified; and thence concluded that, considering our Lord's declaration in St. John, *The flesh profiteth nothing*, we must explain the words of the Eucharist in a similar manner.

Many hearers were struck by these arguments. Among the Marburg professors sat the Frenchman Lambert; his tall and spare frame was violently agitated. He had been at first of Luther's opinion,<sup>1</sup> and was then hesitating between the two reformers. As he went to the conference, he said: “I desire to be a sheet of blank paper, on which the finger of God may write his truth.” Ere long he exclaimed, after hearing Zwingle and Œcolampadius: “Yes! the Spirit, 'tis that which vivifies.”<sup>2</sup> When this conversion was known, the Wittembergers, shrugging their shoulders, called it “Gallic fickleness.” “What!” replied Lambert, “was St. Paul fickle because he was converted from Pharisaism? And have we ourselves been fickle in abandoning the lost sects of popery?”

Luther was, however, by no means shaken. “*This is my body*,” repeated he, pointing with his finger to the words written before him. “*This is my body*. The devil himself shall not drive me from that. To seek to understand it, is to fall away from the faith.”<sup>3</sup>

“But, doctor,” said Zwingle, “St. John explains how Christ's body is eaten, and you will be obliged at last to leave off singing always the same song.”

“You make use of unmannerly expressions,” replied Luther.<sup>4</sup> The Wittembergers themselves called Zwingle's argument “his old song.”<sup>5</sup> Zwingle continued without being disconcerted: “I ask you, doctor, whether Christ in the sixth chapter of St. John did not wish to reply to the question that had been put to him.

LUTHER.—“Master Zwingle, you wish to stop my mouth by the arrogancy of your language. That passage has nothing to do here.”

ZWINGLE, *hastily*.—“Pardon me, doctor, that passage breaks your neck.”

<sup>1</sup> See his commentary on St. Luke, xxii, 19, 20.

<sup>2</sup> He added, that the body of Christ was in the Eucharist neither mathematically or commensurably, nor really (*neque mathematicè seu commensurative, neque re ipsa*). Epist. Lamb. de Marb. ed.

<sup>3</sup> Si interrogo, excido a fide. (Zw. Epp., ii, 177.) If I interrogate I fall from the faith.

<sup>4</sup> Invidiose loqueris. (Bull., ii, 228.) You speak invidiously (offensively).

<sup>5</sup> Veterem suam cantilenam. Zw. Opp., iv, 221.

LUTHER.—“Do not boast so much! You are in Hesse, and not in Switzerland. In this country we do not break people's necks.”

Then turning towards his friends, Luther complained bitterly of Zwingle; as if the latter had really wished to break his neck. “He makes use of camp terms and blood-stained words,” said he.<sup>1</sup> Luther forgot that he had employed a similar expression in speaking of Carlstadt.

ZWINGLE resumed: “In Switzerland also there is strict justice, and we break no man's neck without trial. That expression signifies merely that your cause is lost and hopeless.”

Great agitation prevailed in the Knight's Hall. The roughness of the Swiss and the obstinacy of the Saxon had come into collision. The landgrave, fearing to behold the failure of his project of conciliation, nodded assent to Zwingle's explanation. “Doctor,” said he to Luther, “you should not be offended at such common expressions.” It was in vain: the agitated sea could not again be calmed. The prince therefore arose, and they all repaired to the banqueting hall. After dinner they resumed their tasks.

“I believe,” said Luther, “that Christ's body is in heaven, but I also believe that it is in the sacrament. It concerns me little whether it be against nature, provided that it be not against faith.<sup>2</sup> Christ is substantially in the sacrament, such as he was born of the Virgin.”

ÆCOLAMPADIUS, quoting a passage from St. Paul: “We know not Jesus Christ after the flesh.”<sup>3</sup>

LUTHER.—“After the flesh means, in this passage, after our carnal affections.”<sup>4</sup>

ÆCOLAMPADIUS.—“You will not allow that there is a metaphor in these words, *This is my body*, and yet you admit a synecdoche.”

LUTHER.—“Metaphor permits the existence of a sign only; but it is not so with synecdoche. If a man says he wishes to drink a bottle, we understand that he means the beer in the bottle. Christ's body is in the bread, as a sword in the scabbard,<sup>5</sup> or as the Holy Ghost in the dove.”

The discussion was proceeding in this manner, when Oslander, pastor of Nuremberg, Stephen Agricola, pastor of Augsburg, and Brentz, pastor of Halle in Swabia, author of the famous Syngramma, entered the hall. These also had been

<sup>1</sup> Verbum istud, tanquam castrense et orulentum. Hospin., p. 131.

quod sit contra naturam, modo non contra fidem. Zw. Opp., iv, 173.

v, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Pro carnalibus affectibus. Zw. Opp., iv, p. 202.

in pane sicut gladius in vagina. Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Non euro

<sup>3</sup> 2 Cor.,

<sup>5</sup> Corpus est

invited by the landgrave. But Brentz, to whom Luther had written that he should take care not to appear, had no doubt by his indecision retarded his own departure as well as that of his friends. Places were assigned them near Luther and Melancthon. "Listen, and speak if necessary," they were told. They took but little advantage of this permission. "All of us, except Luther," said Melancthon, "were silent personages."<sup>1</sup>

The struggle continued.

When Zwingli saw that exegesis was not sufficient for Luther, he added dogmatical theology to it, and, subsidiarily, natural philosophy.

"I oppose you," said he, "with this article of our faith; *Ascendit in cælum*—he ascended into heaven. If Christ is in heaven as regards his body, how can he be in the bread? The Word of God teaches us that he was like his brethren in all things (Heb., ii, 17). He therefore cannot be in several places at once."

LUTHER.—"Were I desirous of reasoning thus, I would undertake to prove that Jesus Christ had a wife; that he had black eyes,<sup>2</sup> and lived in our good country of Germany.<sup>3</sup> I care little about mathematics."

"There is no question of mathematics here," said Zwingli, "but of St. Paul, who writes to the Philippians, *μορφὴν δούλου λαβών*."<sup>4</sup>

LUTHER, *interrupting him*.—"Read it to us in Latin or in German, not in Greek."

ZWINGLI (*in Latin*).—"Pardon me: for twelve years past I have made use of the Greek Testament only." Then continuing to read the passage, he concluded from it that Christ's humanity is of a finite nature like our own.

LUTHER, *pointing to the words written before him*.—"Most dear sirs, since my Lord Jesus Christ says, *Hoc est corpus meum*, I believe that his body is really there."

Here the scene grew animated. Zwingli started from his chair, sprang towards Luther, and said, striking the table before him:<sup>5</sup>

"You maintain then, doctor, that Christ's body is locally in the Eucharist; for you say Christ's body is really *there—there—there*," repeated Zwingli. "*There* is an adverb of place.<sup>6</sup> Christ's body is then of such a nature as to exist in a place."

<sup>1</sup> Fuimus *κᾶφα πρόσωπα*. (Corp. Ret., i, 1098.) We were *dumb faces*.

<sup>2</sup> Quod uxorem et nigros oculos habuisset. Scultet., p. 225. <sup>3</sup> In Germania diuturnum contubernium egisse. Zw. Opp., iv, 202.

<sup>4</sup> Having taken the form of a servant. Phil., ii, 7.

<sup>5</sup> Ibi Zwinglius illico prosiliens. Scultet., p. 225.

<sup>6</sup> Da, da, da. Ibi est adverbium loci. Ibid.



If it is in a place, it is in heaven, whence it follows that it is not in the bread."

LUTHER.—"I repeat that I have nothing to do with mathematical proofs. As soon as the words of consecration are pronounced over the bread, the body is there, however wicked be the priest who pronounces them."

ZWINGLE.—"You are thus re-establishing Popery."<sup>1</sup>

LUTHER.—"This is not done through the priest's merits, but because of Christ's ordinance. I will not, when Christ's body is in question, hear speak of a particular place. I absolutely will not."

ZWINGLE.—"Must every thing, then, exist precisely as you will it?"

The landgrave perceived that the discussion was growing hot; and as the repast was waiting, he broke off the contest.<sup>2</sup>

The conference was continued on the next day, Sunday, the 3d October, perhaps because of an epidemic (the Sweating Sickness) that had just broken out at Marburg, and which did not allow any great prolongation of the colloquy. Luther, returning to the discussion of the previous evening, said :

"Christ's body is in the sacrament, but it is not there as in a place."

ZWINGLE.—"Then it is not there at all."

LUTHER.—"Sophists say, that a body may very well be in several places at once. The universe is a body, and yet we cannot assert that it is in a particular place."

ZWINGLE.—"Ah! you speak of sophists, doctor; are you really after all obliged to return to the onions and flesh-pots of Egypt?"<sup>3</sup> As for what you say, that the universe is in no particular place, I beg all intelligent men to weigh this proof." Then Zwingle, who, whatever Luther may have said, had more than one arrow in his quiver, after establishing his proposition by exegesis and philosophy, resolved on confirming it by the testimony of the Fathers of the Church.

"Listen," said he, "to what Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspa in Numidia, said, in the fifth century, to Trasamond, king of the Vandals: 'The Son of God took the attributes of true humanity, and did not lose those of true divinity. Born in time, according to his mother, he lives in eternity according to the divinity that he holds from the Father: coming from man, he is man, and consequently in a place; proceeding from the Father, he is God, and consequently present in every place.

<sup>1</sup> Damit richtend ir das papstum uf. Zw. Opp. iii, 57.  
diremit certamen. Ib., iv, 179.

<sup>2</sup> Coena instabat et  
<sup>3</sup> Ad cepas et ollas Ægyptiacas. Ib., ii, part 3, 57.

According to his human nature, he was absent from heaven while he was upon earth, and quitted the earth when he ascended into heaven; but, according to his divine nature, he remained in heaven, when he came down thence, and did not abandon the earth when he returned thither.”<sup>1</sup>

But Luther still replied: “It is written, *This is my body.*” Zwingle, becoming impatient, said, “All that is idle wrangling. An obstinate disputant might also maintain this expression of our Saviour to his mother, *Behold thy son*, pointing to St. John. Vain would be every explanation, he would continue crying No, no! He said *Ecce filius tuus*, Behold thy son, behold thy son! Listen to a new testimony; it is from the great Augustine: ‘Let us not think,’ says he, ‘that Christ, according to his human form, is present in every place; let us beware, in our endeavour to establish his divinity, of taking away his truth from his body. Christ is now every where present, like God; and yet, in consequence of his real body, he is in a definite part of heaven.’”<sup>2</sup>

“St. Augustine,” replied Luther, “is not here speaking of the Eucharist. Christ’s body is not in the Eucharist, as in a place.”

Ecolampadius saw that he might take advantage of this assertion of Luther’s. “The body of Christ,” said he, “is not locally in the Eucharist, therefore no real body is there; for every one knows that the essence of a body is its existence in a place.”

Here finished the morning’s discussion.

Ecolampadius, upon reflection, felt convinced that Luther’s assertion might be looked upon as an approximation. “I remember,” said he after dinner, “that the doctor conceded this morning that Christ’s body was not in the sacrament as in a place. Let us therefore inquire amicably what is the nature of Christ’s bodily presence.”

“You will not make me take a step further,” exclaimed Luther, who saw where they wished to drag him; “You have Fulgentius and Augustine on your side, but all the other Fathers are on ours.”

Ecolampadius, who seemed to the Wittenbergers to be vexatiously precise,<sup>3</sup> then said, “Name these doctors. We will take upon ourselves to prove that they are of our opinion.”

<sup>1</sup> Secundum humanam substantiam, absens cælo, cum esset in terra, et derelinquens terram cum ascendisset in cælum. Fulgentius to King Trasamond, lib. ii.

<sup>2</sup> In loco aliquo cæli propter veri corporis modum. Aug. Ep., p. 57. <sup>3</sup> Quem omnes sperassemus mitiorem, interdum videbatur paulo more sior, sed citra contumeliam. (Zw. Opp., iv, 201.) When we all had hoped he would be milder, he seemed somewhat more morose, but was not contumelious.

"We will not name them to you,"<sup>1</sup> said Luther. "It was in his youth," added he, "that Augustine wrote what you have quoted; and, besides, he is an obscure author." Then retreating to the ground which he had resolved never to quit, he was no longer content to point his finger at the inscription, *Hoc est corpus meum*, but seized the velvet cover on which the words were written, tore it off the table, held it up in front of Zwingli and Œcolampadius, and placing it before their eyes,<sup>2</sup> "See!" said he, "see! This is our text: you have not yet driven us from it, as you had boasted, and we care for no other proofs."

"If this be the case," said Œcolampadius, "we had better leave off the discussion. But I will first declare, that, if we quote the Fathers, it is only to free our doctrine from the reproach of novelty, and not to support our cause by their authority." No better definition can be given of the legitimate use of the doctors of the Church.

There was no reason, in fact, for prolonging the conference. "As Luther was of an intractable and imperious disposition," says even his great apologist Seckendorf, "he did not cease from calling upon the Swiss to submit simply to his opinion."<sup>3</sup>

The chancellor, alarmed at such a termination of the colloquy, exhorted the theologians to come to some understanding. "I know but one means for that," said Luther; "and this it is: Let our adversaries believe as we do." "We cannot," answered the Swiss. "Well then," rejoined Luther, "I abandon you to God's judgment, and pray that he will enlighten you." "We will do the same," added Œcolampadius.

While these words were passing, Zwingli sat silent, motionless, and deeply moved; and the liveliness of his affections, of which he had given more than one proof during the conference, was then manifested in a very different manner. He burst into tears in the presence of all.

The conference was ended. It had been in reality more tranquil than the documents seem to show, or perhaps the chroniclers appreciated such matters differently from ourselves. "With the exception of a few sallies, all had passed off quietly, in a courteous manner, and with very great gentleness," says an eye-witness.<sup>4</sup> "During the colloquy no other words than these were heard: 'Sir, and very dear friend, your charity,' or

<sup>1</sup> Non nominabimus illos. Scultet., p. 228.

Oslander; Niederer's Nachrichten, ii, 114.

imperioso ingenio. Seck., p. 136.

suetudine transiebantur. Zw. Opp., iv, 201.

<sup>2</sup> Da hub Luther die Samma-  
tendeck auf, und Zeigt ihm den Spruch, den er mit kreyden heit für sich geschrieben.

<sup>3</sup> Lutherus vero ut erat fero et im-

<sup>4</sup> Omnia humanissime et summa cum man-



other similar expressions. Not a word of schism or of heresy. It might have been said that Luther and Zwingli were brothers, and not adversaries."<sup>1</sup> This is the testimony of Brentz. But these flowers concealed an abyss, and Jonas, also an eye-witness, styles the conference "a very sharp contest."<sup>2</sup>

The contagion that had suddenly broken out in Marburg was creating frightful ravages, and filled everybody with alarm.<sup>3</sup> All were anxious to leave the city. "Sirs," remarked the landgrave, "you cannot separate thus." And desirous of giving the doctors an opportunity of meeting one another with minds unoccupied with theological debates, he invited them to his table. This was Sunday night.

Philip of Hesse had all along shown the most constant attention, and each one imagined him to be on his side. "I would rather place my trust in the simple words of Christ, than in the subtle thoughts of man," was a remark he made according to Jonas;<sup>4</sup> but Zwingli affirmed that this prince entertained the same opinions as himself, although with regard to certain persons he dissembled the change. Luther, sensible of the weakness of his defence as to the declarations of the Fathers, transmitted a note to Philip, in which several passages were pointed out from Hilary, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Irenæus, and Ambrose, which he thought were in his favour.

The time of departure drew near, and nothing had been done. The landgrave toiled earnestly at the union, as Luther wrote to his wife.<sup>5</sup> He invited the theologians one after another into his closet;<sup>6</sup> he pressed, entreated, warned, exhorted, and conjured them. "Think," said he, "of the salvation of the christian republic, and remove all discord from its bosom."<sup>7</sup> Never had general at the head of an army taken such pains to win a battle.

A final meeting took place, and undoubtedly the Church has seldom witnessed one of greater solemnity. Luther and Zwingli, Saxony and Switzerland, met for the last time. The sweating sickness was carrying off men around them by thousands;<sup>8</sup> Charles the Fifth and the pope were uniting in Italy; Ferdinand and the Roman Catholic princes were preparing to tear in pieces the Protest of Spires; the thunder-cloud became more

<sup>1</sup> Amicissime Domine, Vestra charitas, et id genus . . . . Dixisses Lutherum et Zwinglium non adversarios. Zw. Opp., iv, 201. <sup>2</sup> Acerrimo certamine. Corp. Ref., i, 1096.

<sup>3</sup> Nisi Sudor Anglicus subito Marburgum invasisset et terrore omnium animos percutisset. Hospin., p. 131. <sup>4</sup> Dicitur palam proclamasse. Corp. Ref., p. 1097.

<sup>5</sup> Da arbeit der Landgraf heftig. L. Epp. iii, 512.

<sup>6</sup> Unumquemque nostrum seorsim absque arbitris. Zw. Opp., iv, 203. <sup>7</sup> Compellans, rogans, monens, exhortans, postulans ut Reipublice Christiane rationem haberemus, et discordiam e medio tolleremus. Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Multa perierunt milia. Hospin., p. 131.

threatening every day; union alone seemed capable of saving the Protestants, and the hour of departure was about to strike—an hour that would separate them perhaps for ever.

“Let us confess our union in all things in which we agree,” said Zwingle; “and as for the rest, let us remember that we are brothers. There will never be peace between the churches if, while we maintain the grand doctrine of salvation by faith, we cannot differ on secondary points.”<sup>1</sup> Such is, in fact, the true principle of Christian union. The sixteenth century was still too deeply sunk in scholasticism to understand this: let us hope that the nineteenth century will comprehend it better.

“Yes, yes!” exclaimed the landgrave; “you agree! Give then a testimony of your unity, and recognise one another as brothers.”—“There is no one upon earth with whom I more desire to be united, than with you,” said Zwingle, approaching the Wittenberg doctors.<sup>2</sup> Œcolampadius, Bucer, and Hedio said the same.

“Acknowledge them! acknowledge them as brothers!” continued the landgrave.<sup>3</sup> Their hearts were moved; they were on the eve of unity: Zwingle, bursting into tears, in the presence of the prince, the courtiers, and divines (it is Luther himself who records this),<sup>4</sup> approached Luther, and held out his hand. The two families of the Reformation were about to be united: long quarrels were about to be stifled in their cradle; but Luther rejected the hand that was offered him: “You have a different spirit from ours,” said he. These words communicated to the Swiss, as it were, an electric shock. Their hearts sunk each time Luther repeated them, and he did so frequently. He himself is our informant.

A brief consultation took place among the Wittenberg doctors. Luther, Melancthon, Agricola, Brentz, Jonas, and Osiander, conferred together. Convinced that their peculiar doctrine on the eucharist was essential to salvation, they considered all those who rejected it as without the pale of the faith. “What folly!”<sup>5</sup> said Melancthon, who afterwards nearly coincided with Zwingle’s sentiments: “they condemn us, and yet they desire we should consider them as our brothers!” “What versatility!” added Brentz: “they accused us but lately of worshipping a bread-god, and they now ask for com-

<sup>1</sup> Quod nulla unquam Ecclesiarum pax constituta sit, si non in multis aliis dissen- tiendi a se facultatem faciant. (Scultet., p. 207.) That no peace was established in churches without allowing others to differ from them in many things.

<sup>2</sup> Es werendt keine lüth uff Erden. Bull., ii, 225.

L. Epp., iii, 513.

Hospin., p. 136.

<sup>3</sup> Idque Princeps valde urgebat.

<sup>4</sup> Zwinglius palam lacrymans coram Langravio et omnibus.

<sup>5</sup> Vide eorum stultitiam! Corp. Ref., i, 1108.

munion with us!"<sup>1</sup> Then, turning towards Zwingle and his friends, the Wittenbergers said: "You do not belong to the communion of the Christian Church; we cannot acknowledge you as brethren!"<sup>2</sup>

The Swiss were far from partaking of this sectarian spirit. "We think," said Bucer, "that your doctrine strikes at the glory of Jesus Christ, who now reigns at the right hand of the Father. But seeing that in all things you acknowledge your dependence on the Lord, we look at your conscience, which compels you to receive the doctrine you profess, and we do not doubt that you belong to Christ."

"And we," said Luther—"we declare to you once more that our conscience opposes our receiving you as brethren."—"If such is the case," replied Bucer, "it would be folly to ask it."

"I am exceedingly astonished that you wish to consider me as your brother," pursued Luther. "It shows clearly that you do not attach much importance to your own doctrine."

"Take your choice," said Bucer, proposing a dilemma to the reformer: "either you should not acknowledge as brethren those who differ from you on any point—and if so, you will not find a single brother in your own ranks<sup>3</sup>—or else you will receive some of those who differ from you, and then you ought to receive us."

The Swiss had exhausted their solicitations. "We are conscious," said they, "of having acted as if in the presence of God. Posterity will be our witness."<sup>4</sup> They were on the point of retiring: Luther remained like a rock, to the landgrave's great indignation.<sup>5</sup> The Hessian divines, Kraft, Lambert, Snepf, Lonicer, and Melander, united their exertions to those of the prince.

Luther was staggered, and conferred anew with his colleagues. "Let us beware," said he to his friends, "of wiping our noses too roughly, lest blood should come."<sup>6</sup>

Then turning to Zwingle and Œcolampadius, they said: "We acknowledge you as friends; we do not consider you as brothers and members of Christ's Church.<sup>7</sup> But we do not exclude you from that universal charity which we owe even to our enemies."<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Nos tanquam adoratores panifici Dei traduxerant. Zw. Opp., iv, 203. <sup>2</sup> Eos a communione Ecclesiæ Christianæ alienos esse. Ibid. <sup>3</sup> Nemo alteri vel inter ipsos frater erit. (Ibid., 194.) None will be a brother either to his own people, or to any other person. <sup>4</sup> Id testabitur posteritas. Ibid. <sup>5</sup> Principi illud durum videbatur. Ibid., 203.

<sup>6</sup> Ne nimis mungendo, sanguinem eliceremus. L. Epp. in his letter written to Gerbellius on the same day—Monday. <sup>7</sup> Agnoscere quidem velimus tanquam amicos, sed non tanquam fratres. (Zw. Opp., iv, 203.) We may be willing indeed to acknowledge you as friends, but not as brethren.

<sup>8</sup> Charitate quæ etiam hosti debetur. Ibid., 190.



The hearts of Zwingli, Œcolampadius, and Bucer, were ready to burst,<sup>1</sup> for this concession was almost a new insult. "Let us carefully avoid all harsh and violent words and writings," said they; "and let each one defend himself without railing."<sup>2</sup>

Luther then advanced towards the Swiss, and said: "We consent, and I offer you the hand of peace and charity." The Swiss rushed in great emotion towards the Wittenbergers, and all shook hands.<sup>3</sup> Luther himself was softened: christian charity resumed her rights in his heart. "Assuredly," said he, "a great portion of the scandal is taken away by the suppression of our fierce debates; we could not have hoped for so much. May Christ's hand remove the last obstacle that separates us."<sup>4</sup> There is now a friendly concord between us, and if we persevere in prayer, brotherhood will come."

It was desirable to confirm this important result by a report. "We must let the christian world know," said the landgrave, "that, except the manner of the presence of the body and blood in the eucharist, you are agreed in all the articles of faith."<sup>5</sup> This was resolved on; but who should be charged with drawing up the paper? All eyes were turned upon Luther. The Swiss themselves appealed to his impartiality.

Luther retired to his closet, lost in thought, uneasy, and finding the task very difficult. "On the one hand," said he, "I should like to spare their weakness; but, on the other, I would not in the least degree strike at the holy doctrine of Christ." He did not know how to set about it, and his anguish increased. He got free at last. "I will draw up the articles," said he, "in the most accurate manner. Do I not know that whatever I may write, they will never sign them?"<sup>7</sup> Ere long fifteen articles were committed to paper, and Luther, holding them in his hand, repaired to the theologians of the two parties.

These articles are of importance. The two doctrines that were evolved in Switzerland and in Saxony, independently of each other, were brought together and compared. If they were of man, there would be found in them a servile uniformity, or a remarkable opposition. This was not the case. A great

<sup>1</sup> Indignissime affecti sunt. Zw. Opp., iv, 190.

<sup>2</sup> Quisque suam sententiam doceat absque invectivis. (L. Epp., iii, 514.) Let every one teach his own view without invective.

<sup>3</sup> Dedimus tamen manus pacis et caritatis. Ibid., 513.

<sup>4</sup> Utinam et ille reliquis scrupulis per Christum tandem tollatur,—in his letter written to Gerbellius after leaving this meeting.

<sup>5</sup> Ut orbi Christiano notum fieret eos in omnibus fidei capitibus consentire. (Hospin., p. 127.) That it might be made known to the Christian world that they agree in all the leading articles of faith.

<sup>6</sup> Het gern ihrer Schwachheit verschont. Niederer Nachr., ii, 120.

<sup>7</sup> Doch zuletzt sprach er Ich will die artikel auf aller pesste stellen, sy werdens doch nicht annehmen. Ibid.

unity was found between the German and the Swiss Reformations, for they both proceeded from the same Divine teaching; and a diversity on secondary points, for it was by man's instrumentality that God had effected them.

Luther took his paper, and reading the first article, said:

"First, we believe that there is one sole, true, and natural God, creator of heaven and earth and of all creatures; and that this same God, one in essence and in nature, is three-fold in person, that is to say, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as was declared in the Nicene Council, and as all the Christian Church professes.

To this the Swiss gave their assent.

They were agreed also on the divinity and humanity of Jesus Christ; on his death and resurrection, on original sin, justification by faith, the operation of the Holy Ghost and of the Word of God, baptism, good works, confession, civil order, and tradition.

Thus far all were united. The Wittembergers could not recover from their astonishment.<sup>1</sup> The two parties had rejected, on the one hand, the errors of the papists, who make religion little more than an outward form; and, on the other, those of the Enthusiasts, who speak exclusively of internal feelings; and they were found drawn up under the same banners between these two camps. But the moment was come that would separate them. Luther had kept till the last the article on the Eucharist.

The reformer resumed:

"We all believe with regard to the Lord's Supper, that it ought to be celebrated in both kinds, according to the primitive institution; that the mass is not a work by which a Christian obtains pardon for another man, whether dead or alive; that the sacrament of the altar is the sacrament of the very body and very blood of Jesus Christ; and that the spiritual manducation of this body and blood is specially necessary to every true Christian."<sup>2</sup>

It was now the turn of the Swiss to be astonished. Luther continued:

"In like manner, as to the use of the sacrament, we are agreed that, like the Word, it was ordained of Almighty God, in order that weak consciences might be excited by the Holy Ghost to faith and charity."

<sup>1</sup> Quod mirari non satis potuimus. Brentius, Zw. Opp., iv, 203.  
spiritualis manducatio hujus corporis et sanguinis unicuique Christiano præcipue necessaria sit. Scultet., p. 232.

<sup>2</sup> Quod

The joy of the Swiss was redoubled. Luther continued: "And although at present we are not agreed on the question whether the real body and blood of Christ are corporeally present in the bread and wine, yet both the interested parties shall cherish more and more a truly christian charity for one another, so far as conscience permits; and we will all earnestly implore the Lord to condescend by his Spirit to confirm us in the sound doctrine."<sup>1</sup>

The Swiss obtained what they had asked: unity in diversity. It was immediately resolved to hold a solemn meeting for the signature of the articles.

They were read over again. Ecolampadius, Zwingle, Bucer, and Hedio, signed them first on one copy; while Luther, Melancthon, Jonas, Osiander, Brentz, and Agricola, wrote their names on the other; both parties then subscribed the copy of their adversaries, and this important document was sent to the press.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the Reformation had made a sensible step at Marburg. The opinion of Zwingle on the spiritual presence, and of Luther on the bodily presence, are both found in Christian antiquity; but both the extreme doctrines have been always rejected: that of the Rationalists, on the one hand, who behold in the Eucharist nothing but a simple commemoration; and of the Papists, on the other, who adore in it a transubstantiation. These are both errors; while the doctrines of Luther and Zwingle, and the medium taken by Calvin, already maintained by some of the Fathers, were considered in ancient times as different views of the same truth. If Luther had yielded, it might have been feared that the Church would fall into the extreme of rationalism; if Zwingle, that it would rush into the extreme of popery. It is a salutary thing for the Church that these different views should be entertained; but it is a pernicious thing for individuals to attach themselves to one of them in such a manner as to anathematize the other. "There is only this little stumbling-block," wrote Melancthon, "that embarrasses the Church of our Lord."<sup>3</sup>

All,—Romanists and Evangelicals, Saxons and Swiss,—admitted the presence, and even the real presence of Christ;

<sup>1</sup> Osiander (a Lutheran) employs the accusative, "in den rechten Verstand," which would indicate a movement towards an object that we do not possess; Bullinger and Scultet (both reformed divines) have the dative.

<sup>2</sup> Bullinger and others indicate the 3d October as the day on which the articles were signed; Osiander, an eye-witness, and whose narrative is very exact, says it was the 4th, which agrees with all the other data.

<sup>3</sup> *Hic unus in Ecclesia hæret scrupulus.* (Corp. Ref., i, 1106.) This one scruple remains in the church.



but here was the essential point of separation: Is this presence effected by the faith of the communicant, or by the *opus operatum* of the priest? The germs of Popery, Sacerdotalism, Puseyism, are inevitably contained in this latter thesis. If it is maintained that a wicked priest (as has been said) operates this real presence of Christ by three words, we enter the church of the pope. Luther appeared sometimes to admit this doctrine, but he has often spoken in a more spiritual manner; and taking this great man in his best moments, we behold merely an essential unity and a secondary diversity in the two parties of the Reformation. Undoubtedly the Lord has left his Church outward seals of his grace; but he has not attached salvation to these signs. The essential point in the connection of the faithful with the Word, with the Holy Ghost, with the Head of the Church. This is the great truth which the Swiss Reformation proclaims, and which Lutheranism itself recognises. After the Marburg conference, the controversy became more moderate.

There was another advantage. The evangelical divines at Marburg marked with one accord their separation from the Papacy. Zwingle was not without fear (unfounded, no doubt) with regard to Luther: these fears were dispersed. "Now that we are agreed," said he, "the Papists will no longer hope that Luther will ever be one of them."<sup>1</sup> The Marburg articles were the first bulwark erected in common by the reformers against Rome.

It was not, then, in vain that, after the Protest of Spire, Philip of Hesse endeavoured, at Marburg, to bring together the friends of the Gospel. But, if the religious object was partially attained, the political object almost entirely failed. They could not arrive at a confederation of Switzerland and Germany. Nevertheless, Philip of Hesse and Zwingle, with a view to this, had numerous secret conversations, which made the Saxons uneasy, as they were not less opposed to Zwingle's politics than to his theology. "When you have reformed the peasant's cap," said Jonas to him, "you will also claim to reform the sable hat of princes."

The landgrave having collected all the doctors at his table on the last day, they shook hands in a friendly manner,<sup>2</sup> and each one thought of leaving the town.

On Tuesday the 5th October, Philip of Hesse quitted Mar-

<sup>1</sup> Pontifici non ultra possunt sperare Lutherum suum fore. (Zw. Opp., ii, 370.) The papists can no longer hope that Luther will be theirs.

<sup>2</sup> Die Hand ein-

ander fruntlich gebotten. Bul., ii, 236.

burg early, and in the afternoon of the same day Luther departed, accompanied by his colleagues; but he did not go forth as a conqueror. A spirit of dejection and alarm had taken possession of his mind.<sup>1</sup> He writhed in the dust, like a worm, according to his own expression. He fancied he should never see his wife and children again, and cried out that he, "the consoler of so many tortured souls, was now without any consolation!"<sup>2</sup>

This state might partly arise from Luther's want of brotherly feeling; but it had other causes also. Soliman had come to fulfil a promise made to King Ferdinand. The latter having demanded, in 1528, the surrender of Belgrade, the sultan had haughtily replied that he would bring the keys himself to Vienna. In fact, the Grand Turk, crossing the frontiers of Germany, had invaded countries "on which the hoofs of the Mussulman war-horses had never trod," and eight days before the conference at Marburg, he had covered with his innumerable tents the plain and the fertile hills in the midst of which rise the walls of Vienna. The struggle had begun under ground, the two parties having dug deep galleries beneath the ramparts. Three different times the Turkish mines were exploded; the walls were thrown down;<sup>3</sup> "the balls flew through the air like a flight of small birds," says a Turkish historian; and there was a horrible banquet, at which the genii of death joyously drained their glasses."<sup>4</sup>

Luther did not keep in the background. He had already written against the Turks, and now he published a *Battle-Sermon*. "Mahomet," said he, "exalts Christ as being without sin; but he denies that he was the true God; he is therefore His enemy. Alas! to this hour the world is such that it seems everywhere to rain disciples of Mahomet. Two men ought to oppose the Turks; the first is Christian, that is to say, Prayer; the second is Charles, that is to say, The sword." And in another place, "I know my dear Germans well, fat and well-fed swine as they are; no sooner is the danger removed than they think only of eating and sleeping. Wretched man! if thou dost not take up arms, the Turk will come; he will carry thee away into his Turkey; he will there sell thee like a dog; and thou shalt serve him night and day, under the rod and the cudgel, for a glass of water and a morsel of bread. Think on

<sup>1</sup> Ego vix et ægre domum reversus sum. L. Epp., iii, 520.

Angelo Satanae, ut desperarim me vivum et saluum visurum meos. (Ibid.) A messenger of Satan so vexing me that I despaired of being able in life and health to see my family.

<sup>2</sup> Ipsam urbem in tribus locis, suffoso solo et pulvere supposito disiecit et patefecit. Ibid., 518.

<sup>3</sup> Sic me vexante

<sup>4</sup> Dschelalsade, quoted by Ranke.

this; be converted, and implore the Lord not to give thee the Turk for thy schoolmaster." <sup>1</sup>

The two arms pointed out by Luther were, in reality, vigorously employed; and Soliman, perceiving at last that he was not the soul of the universe," as his poets had styled him, but that there was a strength in the world superior to his own, raised the siege of Vienna on the 16th October; and "the shadow of God over the two worlds," as he called himself, "disappeared and vanished in the Bosphorus."

But Luther imagined that, when retiring from before the walls of Vienna, "the Turk, or at least his god, who is the devil," had rushed upon him; and that it was this enemy of Christ and of Christ's servants that he was destined to combat and vanquish in his frightful agony.<sup>2</sup> There is an immediate reaction of the violated law upon him who violates it. Now Luther had transgressed the royal law, which is charity, and he suffered the penalty. At last he re-entered Wittemberg, and flung himself into the arms of his friends, "tormented by the angel of death."<sup>3</sup>

Let us not, however, overlook the essential qualities of a reformer that Luther manifested at Marburg. There are in God's work, as in a drama, different parts. What various characters we see among the Apostles and among the Reformers! It has been said that the same characters and the same parts were assigned to St. Peter and to Luther, at the time of the Formation and of the Reformation of the Church.<sup>4</sup> They were both in fact men of the initiative, who start forward quite alone, but around whom an army soon collects at the sight of the standard which they wave. But there was perhaps in the reformer a characteristic not existing to the same degree in the apostle: this was firmness.

As for Zwingli, he quitted Marburg in alarm at Luther's intolerance. "Lutheranism," wrote he to the landgrave, "will lie as heavy upon us as popery."<sup>5</sup> He reached Zurich on the 19th October. "The truth," said he to his friends, "has prevailed so manifestly, that if ever any one has been defeated before all the world, it is Luther, although he constantly exclaimed that he was invincible."<sup>6</sup> On his side, Luther spoke

<sup>1</sup> Heer predigt wider die Türken. L. Opp. (W.) xx, 2691.

<sup>2</sup> Forte ipsum Turcam partim in isto agone cogor ferre et vincere, saltem ejus Deum, diabolum. (L. Epp., iii, 520.) Perhaps partly in that agony I am freed to combat and vanquish the Turk himself, or at least his god—the devil.

<sup>3</sup> Angelus Satanæ, vel quisquis est diabolus mortis ita me fatigat. (Ibid., 515.) A messenger of Satan, or the devil of death, whoever he be, so annoys me.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Vinet.

<sup>5</sup> Das Lutherthum werde so schwer, als das Papsthum. Zw. Epp., p. 374.

<sup>6</sup> Lutherus impudens et contumax aperte est victus. (Ibid., p. 370.) Luther, impudent and stubborn, was openly overcome.



in a similar strain. "It is through fear of their fellow-citizens," added he, "that the Swiss, although vanquished, are unwilling to retract."<sup>1</sup>

If it should be asked on which side the victory really was, perhaps we ought to say that Luther assumed the air of a conqueror, but Zwingli was so in reality. The conference propagated through all Germany the doctrine of the Swiss, which had been little known there until then, and it was adopted by an immense number of persons. Among these were Laffards, first rector of St. Martin's school at Brunswick, Dionysius Melander, Justus Lening, Hartmann, Ibach, and many others. The landgrave himself, a short time before his death, declared that this conference had induced him to renounce the oral manducation of Christ.<sup>2</sup>

Still the dominant principle at this celebrated epoch was unity. The adversaries are the best judges. The Roman Catholics were exasperated that the Lutherans and Zwinglians had agreed on all the essential points of faith. "They have a fellow-feeling against the Catholic Church," said they, "as Herod and Pilate against Jesus Christ." The enthusiastic sects said the same,<sup>3</sup> and the extreme hierarchical as well as the extreme radical party deprecated alike the unity of Marburg.

Erelong a greater agitation eclipsed all these rumours, and events which threatened the whole evangelical body, proclaimed its great and intimate union with new force. The emperor, it was everywhere said, exasperated by the protest of Spire, had landed at Genoa with the pomp of a conqueror. After having sworn at Barcelona to reduce the heretics under the power of the pope, he was going to visit this pontiff, humbly to bend the knee before him; and he would rise only to cross the Alps and accomplish his terrible designs. "The Emperor Charles," said Luther, a few days after the landing of this prince, "has determined to show himself more cruel against us than the Turk himself, and he has already uttered the most horrible threats. Behold the hour of Christ's agony and weakness. Let us pray for all those who will soon have to endure captivity and death."<sup>4</sup>

Such was the news that then agitated all Germany. The grand question was, whether the Protest of Spire could be maintained against the power of the emperor and of the pope. This was seen in the year 1530.

<sup>1</sup> *Metuebant plebem suam ad quam non licuisset reverti.* Zw. Opp., ii, 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Rommels Anmerkungen*, p. 227-229.

<sup>3</sup> *Pontificis et catabaptistis multum displicuit consensus Marpurgi.* (Sculdet., p. 208.)

The agreement of Marburg greatly displeased the papists and catabaptists.

<sup>4</sup> *Carolus Cæsar multo atrocius minatur et sævire statuit in nos, quam Turca.* L. Epp., iii, 324.

## BOOK XIV.

THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.—1530.

### CHAPTER I.

Two striking Lessons—Charles V. in Italy—The German Envoys—Their Boldness—The Landgrave's Present—The Envoys under arrest—Their Release and Departure—Meeting of Charles and Clement—Gattinara's Proposition—Clement's Arms—War imminent—Luther's Objections—The Saviour's Coming—Charles's conciliatory Language—The Emperor's Motives.

THE Reformation was accomplished in the name of a spiritual principle. It had proclaimed for its teacher the Word of God; for salvation, Faith; for King, Jesus Christ; for arms, the Holy Ghost; and had by these very means rejected all worldly elements. Rome had been established by *the law of a carnal commandment*; the Reformation, by *the power of an endless life*.<sup>1</sup>

If there is any doctrine that distinguishes Christianity from every other religion, it is its spirituality. A heavenly life brought it down to man—such is its work; thus the opposition of the spirit of the Gospel to the spirit of the world, was the great fact which signalized the entrance of Christianity among the nations. But what its Founder had separated, had soon come together again; the Church had fallen into the arms of the world; and by this criminal union it had been reduced to the deplorable condition in which we find it at the era of the Reformation.

Thus one of the greatest tasks of the sixteenth century was to restore the spiritual element to its rights. The Gospel of the reformers had nothing to do with the world and with politics. While the Roman hierarchy had become a matter of diplomacy and a court intrigue, the Reformation was destined to exercise no other influence over princes and people than that which proceeds from the Gospel of peace.

If the Reformation, having attained a certain point, became untrue to its nature, began to parley and temporize with the

<sup>1</sup> Hebrews, vii, 16.

world, and cease thus to follow up the spiritual principle that it had so loudly proclaimed, it was faithless to God and to itself.

Henceforward its decline was at hand.

It is impossible for a society to prosper if it be unfaithful to the principles it lays down. Having abandoned what constituted its life, it can find naught but death.

It was God's will that this great truth should be inscribed on the very threshold of the temple He was then raising in the world; and a striking contrast was to make this truth stand gloriously prominent.

One portion of the reform was to seek the alliance of the world, and in this alliance find a destruction full of desolation.

Another portion, looking up to God, was haughtily to reject the arm of the flesh, and by this very act of faith secure a noble victory.

If three centuries have gone astray, it is because they were unable to comprehend so holy and so solemn a lesson.

It was in the beginning of September 1529 that Charles V., the victor by battles or by treaties over the pope and the King of France, landed at Genoa. The shouts of the Spaniards had saluted him as he quitted the Iberian peninsula; but the dejected eyes, the bended heads, the silent lips of the Italians given over to his hands, alone welcomed him to the foot of the Apennines. Every thing led to the belief that Charles would indemnify himself on them for the apparent generosity with which he had treated the pope.

They were deceived. Instead of those barbarous chiefs of the Goths and Huns,—instead of those proud and fierce emperors, who more than once had crossed the Alps and rushed upon Italy, sword in hand and with cries of vengeance, the Italians saw among them a young and graceful prince, with pale features, a delicate frame, and weak voice, of winning manners, having more the air of a courtier than of a warrior, scrupulously performing all the duties of the Romish religion, and leading in his train no terrible cohorts of German barbarians, but a brilliant retinue of Spanish grandees, who condescendingly paraded the pride of their race and the splendour of their nation. This prince, the victor of Europe, spoke only of peace and amnesty; and even the Duke of Ferrara, who of all the Italian princes had most cause of fear, having at Modena placed the keys of the city in his hands, heard from his friendly lips the most unexpected encouragements.



Whence did this strange conduct proceed? Charles had shown plainly enough, at the time of the captivity of Francis I., that generosity towards his enemies was not his dominant virtue. It was not long before this mystery was explained.

Almost at the same time with Charles there arrived in Italy, by way of Lyons and Genoa, three German burgesses, whose whole equipage consisted of six horses.<sup>1</sup> These were John Ehinger, burgomaster of Memmingen, who carried his head high, scattered money around him, and who was not remarkable for great sobriety; Michael Caden, syndic of Nuremberg, a worthy, pious, and brave man, but detested by the Count of Nassau, the most influential of Charles's ministers; and, lastly, Alexis Frauentraut, secretary to the Margrave of Brandenburg, who, having married a nun, was in very bad odour among the Roman Catholics. Such were the three men whom the Protestant princes, assembled at Nuremberg, commissioned to bear to the emperor the famous Protest of Spires. They had purposely chosen these deputies from a middle station, under the impression that they would incur less danger.<sup>2</sup> To carry such a message to Charles V. was, to say the truth, a task that few persons cared to execute. Accordingly a pension had been secured to the widows of these envoys in case of misfortune.

Charles was on his way from Genoa to Bologna, and staying at Piacenza, when the three Protestant deputies overtook him. These plain Germans presented a singular contrast in the midst of that Spanish pomp and Romish fervour by which the young prince was surrounded. Cardinal Gattinara, the emperor's chancellor, who sincerely desired a reform of the Church, procured them an audience of Charles V. for the 22d of September; but they were recommended to be sparing in their words, for there was nothing the emperor so much disliked as a Protestant sermon.

The deputies were not checked by these intimations; and, after handing the protest to Charles, Frauentraut began to speak: "It is to the Supreme Judge that each one of us must render an account," said he, "and not to creatures who turn at every wind. It is better to fall into the most cruel necessity, than to incur the anger of God. Our nation will obey no decrees that are based on any other foundation than the Holy Scriptures."<sup>3</sup>

Such was the proud tone held by these German citizens to

<sup>1</sup> Legatis attribuerunt equos sex. (Seckend., ii, 134.) They assigned six horses to the deputies. <sup>2</sup> Ut essent tutiores. Ibid., 133. <sup>3</sup> Neque suarum esse virium aut officii, ut eos ad impossibilia et noxia adigant. (Ibid., 134.) It was neither in their power nor their duty to compel them to things impossible and noxious.

the emperor of the west. Charles said not a word—it would have been paying them too much honour; but he charged one of his secretaries to announce an answer at some future time.

There was no hurry to send back these paltry ambassadors. In vain did they renew their solicitations daily. Gattinara treated them with kindness, but Nassau sent them away with bitter words. A workman, the armourer to the court, having to visit Augsburg to purchase arms, begged the Count of Nassau to despatch the Protestant deputies. “You may tell them,” replied the minister of Charles V., “that we will terminate their business in order that you may have travelling companions. But the armourer, having found other company, they were compelled to wait.<sup>1</sup>

These envoys endeavoured at least to make a good use of their time. “Take this book,” said the landgrave to Caden at the very moment of departure, giving him a French work bound in velvet, and richly ornamented, “and deliver it to the emperor.”<sup>2</sup> It was a summary of the Christian Faith which the landgrave had received from Francis Lambert, and which had probably been written by that doctor. Caden sought an opportunity of presenting this treatise; and did so one day, as Charles was going publicly to mass. The emperor took the book, and passed it immediately to a Spanish bishop. The Spaniard began to read it,<sup>3</sup> and lighted upon that passage of Scripture in which Christ enjoins his apostles *not to exercise lordship*.<sup>4</sup> The author took advantage of it to maintain that the minister, charged with spiritual matters, should not interfere with those which are temporal. The papist prelate bit his lips, and Charles, who perceived it, having asked, “Well, what is the matter?” the bishop in confusion had recourse to a falsehood.<sup>5</sup> “This treatise,” replied he, “takes the sword from the christian magistrate, and grants it only to nations that are strangers to the faith.” Immediately there was a great uproar: the Spaniards above all were beside themselves. “The wretches that have endeavoured to mislead so young a prince,” said they, “deserve to be hung on the first tree by the wayside!” Charles swore, in fact, that the bearer should suffer the penalty of his audacity.

At length, on the 12th October, Alexander Schweiss, imperial secretary, transmitted the emperor's reply to the deputies. It said that the minority ought to submit to the decrees passed

<sup>1</sup> Horteleben, von den Ursachen des deutschen Kriegs, p. 50. <sup>2</sup> Libellum eleganter ornatum. Scultet., p. 253. <sup>3</sup> Cum obiter legisset. Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Luke, xxii. 26. <sup>5</sup> Falso et maligne relatum esset. Seckend., ii, 133.

in diet, and that if the Duke of Saxony and his allies were contumacious, means would not be wanting to compel them.<sup>1</sup>

Upon this Ehinger and Caden read aloud the appeal to the emperor drawn up at Spires, whilst Frauentraut, who had renounced his quality of deputy and assumed that of a notary,<sup>2</sup> took notes of what was passing. When the reading was finished, the deputies advanced towards Schweiss, and presented the appeal. The imperial secretary rejected the document with amazement; the deputies insisted; Schweiss continued firm. They then laid the appeal on the table. Schweiss was staggered; he took the paper, and carried it to the emperor.

After dinner, just as one of the deputies (Caden) had gone out, a tumult in the hotel announced some catastrophe. It was the imperial secretary who returned duly accompanied. "The emperor is exceedingly irritated against you on account of this appeal," said he to the Protestants; "and he forbids you, under pain of confiscation and death, to leave your hotel, to write to Germany, or to send any message whatsoever."<sup>3</sup> Thus Charles put ambassadors under arrest, as he would the officers of his guard, desirous in this manner of showing his contempt, and of frightening the princes.

Caden's servant slipped in alarm out of the hotel, and ran to his master. The latter, still considering himself free, wrote a hasty account of the whole business to the senate of Nuremberg, sent off his letters by express, and returned to share in the arrest of his colleagues.<sup>4</sup>

On the 23d of October, the emperor left Piacenza, carrying the three Germans with him. But on the 30th he released Ehinger and Frauentraut, who, mounting their horses in the middle of the night, rushed at full speed along a rout thronged with soldiers and robbers. "As for you," said Granvelle to Caden, "you will stay under pain of death. The emperor expects that the book you presented to him will be given to the pope."<sup>5</sup> Perhaps Charles thought it pleasant to show the Roman pontiff this prohibition issued against the ministers of God to mingle in the government of nations. But Caden, profiting by the confusion of the court, secretly procured a horse, and fled to Ferrara, thence to Venice, from which place he returned to Nuremberg.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sibi non defore media quibus ad id compellerentur. Seeckend., ii, 133.

<sup>2</sup> Tabellionis sive notarii officium. Ibid. <sup>3</sup> Sub capitis pena, ne pedem a diversario moveant. (Ibid.) Under pain of death not to stir a foot from the inn.

<sup>4</sup> A famulo certior factus, rem omnem senatui aperuit. Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ut idem scriptum exhibeat quoque Pontifici. Scultet., p. 254.

<sup>6</sup> Silentio conscendit aequum. Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Silentio conscendit



The more Charles appeared irritated against Germany, the greater moderation he showed towards the Italians; heavy pecuniary contributions were all that he required. It was beyond the Alps, in the centre of Christendom, by means of these very religious controversies, that he desired to establish his power. He pressed on, and required only two things: behind him,—peace; with him,—money.

On the 5th of November he entered Bologna. Everything was striking about him: the crowd of nobles, the splendour of the equipages, the haughtiness of the Spanish troops, the four thousand ducats that were scattered by handfuls among the people;<sup>1</sup> but above all, the majesty and magnificence of the young emperor. The two chiefs of Romish Christendom were about to meet. The pope quitted his palace with all his court; and Charles, at the head of an army which would have conquered the whole of Italy in a few days, affecting the humility of a child, fell on his knees, and kissed the pontiff's feet.

The emperor and the pope resided at Bologna in two adjoining palaces, separated by a single wall, through which a doorway had been opened, of which each had a key; and the young and politic emperor was often seen visiting the old and crafty pontiff, carrying papers in his hand.

Clement obtained Sforza's forgiveness, who appeared before the emperor sick and leaning on a staff. Venice also was forgiven: a million of crowns arranged these two matters. But Charles could not obtain from the pope the pardon of Florence. That illustrious city was sacrificed to the Medici, "considering," it was said, "that it was impossible for Christ's vicar to demand anything that is unjust."

The most important affair was the Reformation. Some represented to the emperor that, victor over all his enemies, he should carry matters with a high hand, and constrain the Protestants by force of arms.<sup>2</sup> Charles was more moderate; he preferred weakening the Protestants by the Papists, and then the Papists by the Protestants, and by this means raising his power above them both.

A wiser course was nevertheless proposed in a solemn conference. "The Church is torn in pieces," said Chancellor Gattinara. "You (Charles) are the head of the empire; you (the pope) the head of the Church. It is your duty to provide by common accord against unprecedented wants. Assemble the pious men of all nations, and let a free council, deduce from

<sup>1</sup> In vulgus sparsum aurum quatuor millia ducatorum. L. Epp., iii, 565.

<sup>2</sup> Armis cogandos. Seckend., ii, 112; Maimbourg, ii, 194.

the Word of God a scheme of doctrine such as may be received by every people."<sup>1</sup>

A thunderbolt falling at Clement's feet could not have startled him more. The offspring of an illegitimate union, and having obtained the papacy by means far from honourable, and squandered the treasures of the Church in an unjust war, this pontiff had a thousand personal motives for dreading an assembly of Christendom. "Large congregations," replied he, "serve only to introduce popular opinions. It is not by the decrees of councils, but with the edge of the sword, that we should decide controversies."<sup>2</sup>

As Gattinara still persisted: "What!" said the pope, angrily interrupting him, "you dare contradict me, and excite your master against me!" Charles rose up; all the assembly preserved profound silence, and the prince resuming his seat, seconded his chancellor's request. Clement was content to say that he would reflect upon it. He then began to work upon the young emperor in their private conferences, and Charles promised at last to constrain the heretics by violence, while the pope should summon all other princes to his aid.<sup>3</sup> "To overcome Germany by force, and then erase it from the surface of the earth, is the sole object of the Italians," they wrote from Venice to the elector.<sup>4</sup>

Such was the sinister news which, by spreading alarm among the Protestants, should also have united them. Unfortunately a contrary movement was then taking place. Luther and some of his friends had revised the Marburg articles in a sense exclusively Lutheran, and the ministers of the Elector of Saxony had presented them to the conference at Schwabach. The reformed deputies from Ulm and Strasburg had immediately withdrawn, and the conference was broken up.

But new conferences had ere long become necessary. The express that Caden had forwarded from Piacenza had reached Nuremberg. Every one in Germany understood that the arrest of the princes' deputies was a declaration of war. The elector was staggered, and ordered his chancellor to consult the theologians of Wittemberg.

<sup>1</sup> *Oratio de Congressu Bononiensi*, in *Melanthonis Orationum*, iv, 87, and *Cælestinus Hist. Concil.*, 1830, Augustæ, i, 10. Respectable authors, Walsh, Müller, and Beausobre, incorrectly quote at full length the speeches delivered at this conference. They are amplifications; but to deny that they have some historical foundation would be flying to the opposite extreme. <sup>2</sup> *Non concilii decretis, sed armis controversias dirimendas.* Scultet., p. 248; Maimbourg the Jesuit, ii, 177.

<sup>3</sup> *Pontifex ut cæteri Christiani principes, ipsos pro viribus juvent.* Guicciardini, xix, 908. <sup>4</sup> *Ut Germania vi et armis opprimatur funditus deleatur et eradicetur.* (Cælestin., i, 42.) That by force and arms Germany may be overthrown, utterly destroyed, and rooted up.

"We cannot on our conscience," replied Luther on the 18th November, "approve of the proposed alliance. We would rather die ten times than see our Gospel cause one drop of blood to be shed.<sup>1</sup> Our part is to be like lambs of the slaughter. The cross of Christ must be borne. Let your highness be without fear. We shall do more by our prayers than all our enemies by their boastings. Only let not your hands be stained with the blood of your brethren! If the emperor requires us to be given up to his tribunals, we are ready to appear. You cannot defend our faith: each one should believe at his own risk and peril."<sup>2</sup>

On the 29th November an evangelical congress was opened at Smalkald, and an unexpected event rendered this meeting still more important. Ehinger, Caden, and Frauentraut, who had escaped from the grasp of Charles V., appeared before them.<sup>3</sup> The landgrave had no further doubts of the success of his plan.

He was deceived. No agreement between contrary doctrines, no alliance between politics and religion—were Luther's two principles, and they still prevailed. It was agreed that those who felt disposed to sign the articles of Schwabach, and those only, should meet at Nuremberg on the 6th of January.

The horizon became hourly more threatening. The papists of Germany wrote one to another these few but significant words: "The Saviour is coming."<sup>4</sup> "Alas" exclaimed Luther, "what a pitiless saviour! He will devour them all, as well as us." In effect, two Italian bishops, authorized by Charles V., demanded in the pope's name all the gold and silver from the churches, and a third part of the ecclesiastical revenues: a proceeding which caused an immense sensation. "Let the pope go to the devil," replied a canon of Paderborn, a little too freely.<sup>5</sup> "Yes, yes!" archly replied Luther, "this is your saviour that is coming!" The people already began to talk of frightful omens. It was not only the living who were agitated: a child still in its mother's womb had uttered horrible shrieks.<sup>6</sup> "All is accomplished," said Luther; "the Turk has reached the highest degree of his power, the glory of the papacy is declining, and the world is splitting on every side."<sup>7</sup> The reformer, dreading lest the end of the world should arrive before he had translated all the Bible, published the prophecies

<sup>1</sup> Lieber zehn mal todt seyn. i Epp., iii, 526.

Ibid., 527.

<sup>3</sup> Advenerant et gesta referebant.

<sup>2</sup> Auf sein eigen Fahr glauben.

Seckend., ii, 140; Sleidan., i, 236.

<sup>4</sup> Invicem scriptillant, dicentes: Salvator venit. L. Epp., iii, 540.

<sup>5</sup> Dat de Duwel dem Bawst int Lief fare. Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Infans in utero, audiente tota

familia, bis vociferatus est. (Ibid.) A child in the womb, in hearing of the whole family, screamed twice.

<sup>7</sup> Dedication of Daniel to John Frederick. Ibid., 555.



of Daniel separately,—“a work,” said he, “for these latter times.” Historians tell us,” he added, “that Alexander the Great always placed Homer under his pillow: the prophet Daniel is worthy not only that kings and princes should lay him under their heads, but carry him in their hearts; for he will teach them that the government of nations proceeds from the power of God. We are balanced in the hand of the Lord, as a ship upon the sea, or a cloud in the sky.”<sup>1</sup>

Yet the frightful phantom that Philip of Hesse had not ceased to point out to his allies, and whose threatening jaws seemed already opening, suddenly vanished, and they discovered in its place the graceful image of the most amiable of princes.

On the 21st January, Charles had summoned all the states of the empire to Augsburg, and had endeavoured to employ the most conciliatory language. “Let us put an end to all discord,” he said, “let us renounce our antipathies, let us offer to our Saviour the sacrifice of all our errors, let us make it our business to comprehend and weigh with meekness the opinions of others. Let us annihilate all that has been said or done on both sides contrary to right, and let us seek after christian truth. Let us all fight under one and the same leader, Jesus Christ, and let us strive thus to meet in one communion, one church, and one unity.”<sup>2</sup>

What language! How was it that this prince, who hitherto had spoken only of the sword, should now speak only of peace? Some may say that the wise Gattinara had a share in it; that the act of convocation was drawn up under the impression of the terror caused by the Turkish invasion; that the emperor already saw with how little eagerness the Roman Catholics of Germany seconded his views; that he wished to intimidate the pope; that this language, so full of graciousness, was but a mask which Charles employed to deceive his enemies; that he wished to manage religion in true imperial fashion, like Theodosius and Constantine, and seek first to unite both parties by the influence of his wisdom and of his favours, reserving to himself, if kindness should fail, to employ force afterwards. It is possible that each of these motives may have exercised a certain influence on Charles, but the latter appears to us nearer the truth, and more conformable to the character of this prince.

If Charles, however, showed any inclination to mildness, the fanatical Ferdinand was at hand to bring him back. “I will

<sup>1</sup> Schwebt in seiner Macht, wie ein Schiff auf dem Meer, ja wie eine Wolke unter dem Himmel. L. Epp., iii, 555. <sup>2</sup> Wie wir alle unter einem Christo seyn und streiten. Forstenmann's Urkundenbuch, i, 1.

continue negotiating without coming to any conclusion," wrote he to his brother; "and should I even be reduced to that, do not fear; pretexts will not be wanting to chastise these rebels, and you will find men enough who will be happy to aid you in your revenge."<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER II.

The Coronation—The Emperor made a Deacon—The Romish Church and the State—Alarm of the Protestants—Luther advocates Passive Resistance—Bruck's noble Advice—Articles of Faith prepared—Luther's Strong Tower—Luther at Coburg—Charles at Innspruck—Two Parties at Court—Gattinara—The King of Denmark won over by Charles—Piety of the Elector—Wiles of the Romanists.

CHARLES, like Charlemagne in former times, and Napoleon in later days, desired to be crowned by the pope, and had at first thought of visiting Rome for that purpose; but Ferdinand's pressing letters compelled him to choose Bologna.<sup>2</sup> He appointed the 22d February for receiving the iron crown as king of Lombardy, and resolved to assume the golden crown, as emperor of the Romans, on the 24th of the same month—his birthday and the anniversary of the battle of Pavia, and which he thought was always fortunate to him.<sup>3</sup>

The offices of honour that belonged to the electors of the empire were given to strangers; in the coronation of the Emperor of Germany all was Spanish or Italian. The sceptre was carried by the Marquis of Montferrat, the sword by the Duke of Urbino, and the golden crown by the Duke of Savoy. One single German prince of little importance, the Count-palatine Philip, was present: he carried the orb. After these lords came the emperor himself between two cardinals; then the members of his council. All this procession defiled across a magnificent temporary bridge erected between the palace and the church. At the very moment the emperor drew near the church of San Petronio, where the coronation was to take place, the scaffolding cracked behind him and gave way: many of his train were wounded, and the multitude fled in alarm. Charles calmly turned back and smiled, not doubting that his lucky star had saved him.

At length Charles V. arrived in front of the throne on which Clement was seated. But before being made emperor, it was

<sup>1</sup> Bucholz Geschichte Ferdinands, iii, 432.

<sup>2</sup> Sopravvennero lettere di Germania che lo sollicitavano a transferirsi in quella provincia. Guicciardini, L. xx.

<sup>3</sup> Natali suo quem semper felicem habuit. Seckend., ii, 150.

necessary that he should be promoted to the sacred orders. The pope presented him with the surplice and the amice to make him a canon of St. Peter's and of St. John Lateranus, and the canons of these two churches immediately stripped him of his royal ornaments, and robed him with the sacerdotal garments. The pope went to the altar and began mass, the new canon drawing near to wait upon him. After the offertory, the imperial deacon presented the water to the pontiff; and then kneeling down between two cardinals, he communicated from the pope's hand. The emperor now returned to his throne, where the princes robed him with the imperial mantle brought from Constantinople, all sparkling with diamonds, and Charles humbly bent the knee before Clement VII.

The pontiff, having anointed him with oil and given him the sceptre, presented him with a naked sword, saying: "Make use of it in defence of the Church against the enemies of the faith!" Next taking the golden orb, studded with jewels, which the count-palatine held, he said: "Govern the world with piety and firmness!" Last came the Duke of Savoy, who carried the golden crown enriched with diamonds. The prince bent down, and Clement put the diadem on his head, saying: "Charles, emperor invincible, receive this crown which we place on your head, as a sign to all the earth of the authority that is conferred upon you."

The emperor then kissed the white cross embroidered on the pope's red slipper, and exclaimed: "I swear to be, with all my powers and resources, the perpetual defender of the pontifical dignity and of the Church of Rome."<sup>1</sup>

The two princes now took their seats under the same canopy, but on thrones of unequal height, the emperor's being half a foot lower than the pontiff's, and the cardinal-deacon proclaimed to the people "The invincible emperor, Defender of the Faith." For the next half-hour nothing was heard but the noise of musketry, trumpets, drums, and fifes, all the bells of the city, and the shouts of the multitude. Thus was proclaimed anew the close union of politics with religion. The mighty emperor, transformed to a Roman deacon and humbly serving mass, like a canon of St. Peter's, had typified and declared the indissoluble union of the Romish Church with the State. This is one of the essential doctrines of Popery, and

<sup>1</sup> *Omnibus viribus, ingenio, et facultatibus suis Pontificiæ dignitatis et Romanæ Ecclesiæ perpetuum fore defensorem.* (Cœlestin. Hist. Comit. Aug. 16.) That he would always, with all his mind, means, and might, be the defender of the dignity of the Pope and the Roman Church.



one of the most striking characteristics that distinguish it from the evangelical and the Christian Church.

Nevertheless, during the whole of the ceremony, the pope seemed ill at ease, and sighed as soon as men's eyes ceased to gaze on him. Accordingly, the French ambassador wrote to his court that these four months which the emperor and pope had spent together at Bologna, would bear fruit of which the King of France would assuredly have no cause to complain.<sup>1</sup>

Scarcely had Charles V. risen from before the altar of San Petronio, ere he turned his face towards Germany, and appeared on the Alps as the anointed of the Papacy. The letter of convocation, so indulgent and benign, seemed forgotten: all things were made new since the pope's blessings: there was but one thought in the imperial train, the necessity of rigorous measures; and the legate Campeggio ceased not to insinuate irritating words into Charles's ear. "At the first rumour of the storm that threatens them," said Granvelle, "we shall see the Protestants flying on every side, like timid doves upon which the Alpine eagle pounces."<sup>2</sup>

Great indeed was the alarm throughout the empire; already even the affrighted people, apprehensive of the greatest disasters, repeated everywhere that Luther and Melancthon were dead. "Alas!" said Melancthon, consumed by sorrow, when he heard these reports, "the rumour is but too true, for I die daily."<sup>3</sup> But Luther, on the contrary, boldly raising the eye of faith towards heaven, exclaimed: "Our enemies triumph, but ere long to perish." In truth the councils of the elector displayed an unprecedented boldness. "Let us collect our troops," said they; "let us march on the Tyrol, and close the passage of the Alps against the emperor."<sup>4</sup> Philip of Hesse uttered a cry of joy when he heard of this. The sword of Charles had aroused his indolent allies at last. Immediately fresh couriers from Ferdinand were sent to hasten the arrival of Charles, and all Germany was in expectation.

Before carrying out this gigantic design, the elector desired to consult Luther once more. The emperor in the midst of the electors was only the first among his equals; and independent princes were allowed to resist another prince, even if he were of higher rank than themselves. But Luther, dreading above all things the intervention of the secular arm in church affairs,

<sup>1</sup> Letter to M. L'Admiral, 25th February. Legrand, *Histoire du Divorce*, iii, 386.

<sup>2</sup> *Tanquam columbæ, adveniente aquila, dispergentur.* Rommel *Anmerkungen*, p. 236.

<sup>3</sup> *Ego famam de qua scribis intelligo nimis veram esse, morior enim quotidie.* Corp. Ref., ii, 122.

<sup>4</sup> *Cum copiis quas habitant per Tyroleensem ditionem incedenti occurrere et Alpium transitum impedire.* Seckend., ii, 150.

was led to reply on the 6th March in this extraordinary manner: "Our prince's subjects are also the emperor's subjects, and even more so than princes are. To protect by arms the emperor's subjects against the emperor, would be as if the burgomaster of Torgau wished to protect by force his citizens against the elector."

"What must be done, then?"—"Listen," replied Luther. "If the emperor desires to march against us, let no prince undertake our defence. God is faithful: he will not abandon us." All preparations for war were immediately suspended, the landgrave received a polite refusal, and the confederation was dissolved. It was the will of God that his cause should appear before the emperor without league and without soldiers, having faith alone for its shield.

Never perhaps has such boldness been witnessed in feeble and unarmed men; but never, although under an appearance of blindness, was there so much wisdom and understanding.

The question next discussed in the elector's council was, whether he should go to the diet. The majority of the councillors opposed it. "Is it not risking everything," said they, "to go and shut oneself up within the walls of a city with a powerful enemy?" Bruck and the prince-electoral were of a different opinion. Duty in their eyes was a better councillor than fear. "What!" said they, "would the emperor insist so much on the presence of the princes at Augsburg only to draw them into a snare? We cannot impute such perfidy to him." The landgrave, on the contrary, seconded the opinion of the majority. "Remember Piacenza," said he. "Some unforeseen circumstance may lead the emperor to take all his enemies in one cast of the net."

The chancellor stood firm. "Let the princes only comport themselves with courage," said he, "and God's cause is saved." The decision was in favour of the nobler plan.

This diet was to be a lay council, or at the very least a national convention.<sup>1</sup> The Protestants foresaw that a few unimportant concessions would be made to them at first, and then that they would be required to sacrifice their faith. It was therefore necessary to settle what were the essential articles of Christian truth, in order to know whether, by what means, and how far they might come to an understanding with their adversaries. The elector accordingly had letters sent on the 14th March to the four principal theologians of Witten-

<sup>1</sup> Cum hæc comitia pro concilio aut conventu nationali haberi videantur. Seckend. ii. 17. Letter to the Elector, Corp. Ref., ii, 26.

berg, setting them this task before all other business.<sup>1</sup> Thus, instead of collecting soldiers, this prince drew up articles: they were the best armament.

Luther, Jonas, and Melanethon (Pomeranus remaining at Wittenberg,) arrived at Torgau in Easter week, asking leave to deliver their articles in person to Charles the Fifth.<sup>2</sup> "God forbid!" replied the elector, "I also desire to confess my Lord."

John having then confided to Melanethon the definitive arrangement of the confession, and ordered general prayers to be offered up, began his journey on the 3d April, with one hundred and sixty horsemen, clad in rich scarlet cloaks embroidered with gold.

Every man was aware of the dangers that threatened the elector, and hence many in his escort marched with downcast eyes and sinking hearts. But Luther, full of faith, revived the courage of his friends, by composing and singing with his fine voice that beautiful hymn, since become so famous: *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gotte*, Our God is a strong tower.<sup>3</sup> Never did soul that knew his own weakness, but which, looking to God, despised every fear, find such noble accents.

With our own strength we nought can do,

Destruction yawns on every side:

He fights for us, our champion true,

Elect of God to be our guide.

What is his name? The anointed One,

The God of armies he;

Of earth and heaven the Lord alone—

With him, on field of battle won,

Abideth victory.

This hymn was sung during the diet, not only at Augsburg, but in all the churches of Saxony, and its energetic strains were often seen to revive and inspirit the most dejected minds.<sup>4</sup>

On Easter-eve the troop reached Coburg, and on the 23d April the elector resumed his journey; but at the very moment of departure Luther received an order to remain. "Some one has said, 'Hold your tongue, you have a harsh voice,'" wrote he to a friend.<sup>5</sup> He submitted, however, without hesitation.

<sup>1</sup> Omnibus sepositis aliis rebus. L. Epp., iii, 564.

<sup>2</sup> Different projects will be found in *Forstenmann's Urkundenbuch*, i, p. 63-108, and in the Corp. Ref., iv, p. 973, sqq. Those that were presented were doubtless the *Articuli non concedendi*, Articles not to be conceded. They treat of the communion in both kinds, of celibacy the mass, orders, the pope, convents, confession distinction of meats, and of the sacraments, Idid., 981.

<sup>3</sup> We have attempted a very feeble translation of the second stanza.

<sup>4</sup> Qui tristem etiam et abjectum animum erigere et exhilarare, et velut εὐφροσύνην possent. Scult., p. 270.

<sup>5</sup> Sed erat qui diceret: Tace tu,

habet malam vocem. L. Epp., iv, 2.



setting an example of that passive obedience which he so boldly advocated. The elector feared that Luther's presence would still further exasperate his adversaries, and drive Charles to extreme measures: the city of Augsburg had also written to him to that effect. But at the same time John was anxious to keep the reformer within reach, that he might be able to consult him. He was therefore left at Coburg, in the castle overlooking the town and the river Itz, in the upper story on the south side. It was from this place he wrote those numerous letters dated from the *region of birds*; and it was there that for many months he had to maintain with his old enemy of the Wartburg, Satan, a struggle full of darkness and of anguish.

On the second May the elector reached Augsburg; it had been expected that he would stay away, and to the great astonishment of all, he was the first at the rendezvous.<sup>1</sup> He immediately sent Dolzig, marshal of the court, to meet the emperor and to compliment him. On the 12th May Philip of Hesse, who had at last resolved on not separating himself from his ally, arrived with an escort of one hundred and ninety horsemen; and almost at the same time the emperor entered Innspruck, in the Tyrol, accompanied by his brother, the queens of Hungary and Bohemia, the ambassadors of France, England, and Portugal, Campeggio the papal legate, and other cardinals, with many princes and nobles of Germany, Spain, and Italy.

How to bring back the heretics to obedience to the Church was the great topic of conversation in this brilliant court among nobles and priests, ladies and soldiers, councillors and ambassadors. They, or Charles at least, were not for making them ascend the scaffold, but they wished to act in such a manner, that, untrue to their faith, they should bend the knee to the pope. Charles stopt at Innspruck to study the situation of Germany, and ensure the success of his schemes.

Scarcely was his arrival known ere a crowd of people, high and low, flocked round him on every side, and more than 270,000 crowns, previously raised in Italy, served to make the Germans understand the justice of Rome's cause. "All these heretics," was the cry, "will fall to the ground and crawl to the feet of the pope."<sup>2</sup>

Charles did not think so. He was, on the contrary, astonished to see what power the Reformation had gained. He momentarily even entertained the idea of leaving Augsburg

<sup>1</sup> *Mirantibus hominibus*. Seck, ii, 153. <sup>2</sup> *Zum kreutz kriechen werden*. Mathesius Pred., p. 91. The allusion is to the cross embroidered on the pope's slipper.

alone, and of going straight to Cologne, and there proclaiming his brother king of the Romans.<sup>1</sup> Thus, religious interests would have given way to dynastic interests, at least so ran the report. But Charles the Fifth did not stop at this idea. The question of the Reformation was there before him, increasing hourly in strength, and it could not be eluded.

Two parties divided the imperial court. The one, numerous and active, called upon the emperor to revive simply the edict of Worms, and, without hearing the Protestants, condemn their cause.<sup>2</sup> The legate was at the head of this party. "Do not hesitate," said he to Charles; "confiscate their property, establish the inquisition, and punish these obstinate heretics with fire and sword."<sup>3</sup> The Spaniards, who strongly seconded these exhortations, gave way to their accustomed debauchery, and many of them were arrested for seduction.<sup>4</sup> This was a sad specimen of the faith they wished to impose on Germany. Rome has always thought lightly of morality.

Gattinara, although sick, had painfully followed in Charles's train to neutralize the influence of the legate. A determined adversary of the Roman policy, he thought that the Protestants might render important services to Christendom. "There is nothing I desire so much," said he, "as to see the Elector of Saxony and his allies persevere courageously in the profession of the Gospel, and call for a free religious council. If they allow themselves to be checked by promises or threats, I hesitate myself, I stagger, and I doubt of the means of salvation."<sup>5</sup> The enlightened and honest members of the Papal Church (and of whom there is always a small number) necessarily sympathize with the Reformation.

Charles V., exposed to these contrary influences, desired to restore Germany to religious unity by his personal intervention: for a moment he thought himself on the eve of success.

Amongst the persons who crowded to Innsbruck was the unfortunate Christian, king of Denmark, Charles's brother-in-law. In vain had he proposed to his subjects undertaking a pilgrimage to Rome in expiation of the cruelties of which he was accused: his people had expelled him. Having repaired to Saxony, to his uncle the elector, he had there heard Luther,

<sup>1</sup> *Iter Coloniam versus decrevisse.* Epp. Zw., May 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Alii censent Cæsarem debere, edicto proposito, sine ulla cogitatione damnare causam nostram.* (Corp. Ref., ii, 57.) Some think that the emperor ought to issue the edict, and condemn our cause without any consideration.

<sup>3</sup> *Instructio data Cæsari dal Reverendissimo Campeggio.* Ranke, iii, 238.

<sup>4</sup> *Sich die Spanier zu Inspruck unflätig gehalten.* Corp. Ref., ii, 56.

<sup>5</sup> *Semper vacillaturum de vera et certa salutis adipiscendæ ratione.* (Seck, ii, 57.) That he would always vacillate as to the true and certain method of obtaining salvation.

and had embraced the evangelical doctrines, as far at least as external profession goes. This poor dethroned monarch could not resist the eloquence of the powerful ruler of two worlds, and Christian, won over by Charles the Fifth, publicly placed himself again under the sceptre of the Roman hierarchy. All the papal party uttered a shout of triumph. Nothing equals their credulity, and the importance they attach to such valueless accessions. "I cannot describe the emotion with which this news has filled me," wrote Clement VII. to Charles, his hand trembling with joy; "the brightness of your majesty's virtues begins at last to scatter the darkness: this example will lead to numberless conversions."

Things were in this state when Duke George of Saxony, Duke William of Bavaria, and the Elector Joachim of Brandenburg, the three German princes who were the greatest enemies to the Reformation, hastily arrived at Innspruck.

The tranquillity of the elector, whom they had seen at Augsburg, had alarmed them, for they knew not the source whence John derived his courage: they fancied he was meditating some perfidious design. "It is not without reason," said they to Charles, "that the elector John has repaired the first to Augsburg, and that he appeared there with a considerable train: he wishes to seize your person. Act then with energy, and allow us to offer your majesty a guard of six thousand horse."<sup>1</sup> Conference upon conference immediately took place. The Protestants were affrighted. "They are holding a diet at Innspruck," said Melancthon, "on the best means of having our heads."<sup>2</sup> But Gattinara prevailed on Charles to preserve his neutrality.

While this agitation prevailed in the Tyrol, the evangelical Christians, instead of mustering in arms, as they were accused, sent up their prayers to heaven, and the Protestant princes were preparing to render an account of their faith.

The Elector of Saxony held the first rank among them. Sincere, upright, and pure from his youth, early disgusted with the brilliant tourneys in which he had at first taken part, John of Saxony had joyfully hailed the day of the Reformation, and the Gospel light had gradually penetrated his serious and reflective mind. His great pleasure was to have the Holy Scriptures read to him during the latter hours of the day. It is true that, having arrived at an advanced age, the pious elector sometimes fell asleep, but he soon-awoke with a start, and re-

<sup>1</sup> Ut masculæ ageret, sex mille equitum, præsidium ei offerentes. Seck., ii, 156.

<sup>2</sup> Ibi habentur de nostris cervicibus comitia. (Corp. Ref., ii, 45.) They are there holding a diet on our heads.



peated the last passage aloud. Although moderate and a friend of peace, he yet possessed an energy that was powerfully aroused by the great interests of the faith. There is no prince in the sixteenth century, and none perhaps since the primitive times of the Church, who has done so much as John of Saxony for the cause of the Gospel. Accordingly it was against him that the first efforts of the Papists were directed.

In order to gain him over, they wished to put in operation very different tactics from those which had been previously employed. At Spires the evangelicals had met with angry looks in every quarter; at Augsburg, on the contrary, the Papists gave them a hearty welcome; they represented the distance that separated the two parties as very trifling, and in their private conversations made use of the mildest language, "seeking thus to entice the credulous Protestants to take the bait," says an historian.<sup>1</sup> The latter yielded with simplicity to these skilful manœuvres.

Charles the Fifth was convinced that the simple Germans would not be able to resist his star. "The king of Denmark has been converted," said his courtiers to him, "why should not the elector follow his example? Let us draw him into the imperial atmosphere." John was immediately invited to come and converse familiarly with the emperor at Innspruck, with an assurance that he might reckon on Charles's particular favour.

The prince-electoral, John Frederick, who on seeing the advances of the Papists had at first exclaimed: "We conduct our affairs with such awkwardness, that it is quite pitiable!" allowed himself to be caught by this stratagem. "The Papist princes," said he to his father, "exert every means of blackening our characters. Go to Innspruck in order to put a stop to these underhand practices; or if you are unwilling, send me in your place."

This time the prudent elector moderated his son's precipitancy, and replied to Charles's ministers, that it was not proper to treat of the affairs of the diet in any other place than that which the emperor had himself appointed, and begged in consequence, that his majesty would hasten his arrival. This was the first check that Charles met with.

<sup>1</sup> Seckendorf.

## CHAPTER III.

Augsburg—The Gospel preached—The Emperor's Message—The Sermons prohibited—Firmness of the Elector—The Elector's Reply—Preparation of the Confession—Luther's Sinai—His Son and his Father—Luther's Merriment—Luther's Diet at Coburg—Saxony, a Paradise below—To the Bishops—Travail of the Church—Charles—The Pope's Letter—Melancthon on Fasting—The Church, the Judge—The Landgrave's catholic Spirit.

MEANTIME Augsburg was filling more and more every day. Princes, bishops, deputies, gentlemen, cavaliers, soldiers in rich uniforms, entered by every gate, and thronged the streets, the public places, inns, churches, and palaces. All that was most magnificent in Germany was there about to be collected. The critical circumstances in which the empire and Christendom were placed, the presence of Charles V. and his kindly manners, the love of novelty, of grand shows, and of lively emotions, tore the Germans from their homes. All those who had great interests to discuss, without reckoning a crowd of idlers, flocked from the various provinces of the empire, and hastily made their way towards this illustrious city.<sup>1</sup>

In the midst of the crowd the elector and the landgrave were resolved to confess Jesus Christ, and to take advantage of this convocation in order to convert the empire. Scarcely had John arrived when he ordered one of his theologians to preach daily with open doors in the church of the Dominicans.<sup>2</sup> On Sunday the 8th May, the same was done in the church of St. Catherine; on the 13th, Philip of Hesse opened the gates of the cathedral, and his chaplain Snepff there proclaimed the Word of Salvation; and on the following Sunday (May 15) this prince ordered Cellarius, minister of Augsburg and a follower of Zwingle, to preach in the same temple. Somewhat later the landgrave firmly settled himself in the church of St. Ulric, and the elector in that of St. Catherine. These were the two positions taken up by these illustrious princes. Every day the Gospel was preached in these places to an immense and attentive crowd.<sup>3</sup>

The partisans of Rome were amazed. They expected to see criminals endeavouring to dissemble their faults, and they met with confessors of Christ with uplifted heads and words of power. Desirous of counterbalancing these sermons, the Bishop

<sup>1</sup> Omnes alliciebat. Cochleus, p. 191.  
in templum Dominicorum. Seck. Lat., p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> Rogantibus Augustanis publice

<sup>3</sup> Täglich in den kirchen, unverstört; dazu kommt sehr viel Volks. Corp. Ref ii, 53.

of Augsburg ordered his suffragan and his chaplain to ascend the pulpit. But the Romish priests understood better how to say mass than to preach the Gospel. "They shout, they bawl," said some. "They are stupid fellows," added all their hearers, shrugging their shoulders.<sup>1</sup>

The Romanists, ashamed of their own priests, began to grow angry,<sup>2</sup> and unable to hold their ground by preaching, had recourse to the secular power. "The priests are setting wondrous machines at work to gain Cæsar's mind," said Melancthon.<sup>3</sup> They succeeded, and Charles made known his displeasure at the hardihood of the princes. The friends of the pope then drew near the Protestants, and whispered into their ears, "that the emperor, victor over the King of France and the Roman Pontiff, would appear in Germany to crush all the Gospellers."<sup>4</sup> The anxious elector demanded the advice of his theologians.

Before the answer was ready, Charles's orders arrived, brought by two of his most influential ministers, the Counts of Nassau and of Nuenar. A more skilful choice could not have been made. These two nobles, although devoted to Charles, were favourable to the Gospel, which they professed not long after. The elector was therefore fully disposed to listen to their counsel.

On the 24th May, the two counts delivered their letters to John of Saxony, and declared to him the emperor's exceeding grief that religious controversies should disturb the good understanding which had for so many years united the houses of Saxony and Austria;<sup>5</sup> that he was astonished at seeing the elector oppose an edict (that of Worms) which had been unanimously passed by all the states of the empire; and that the alliances he had made tended to tear asunder the unity of Germany, and might inundate it with blood. They required at last that the elector would immediately put a stop to the evangelical preachings, and added, in a confidential tone, that they trembled at the thought of the immediate and deplorable consequences which would certainly follow the elector's refusal. "This," said they, "is only the expression of our own personal sentiments." It was a diplomatic manœuvre, the empe-

<sup>1</sup> *Clamant et vociferantur. Audires homines stupidissimos atque etiam sensu communicantes.* (Corp. Ref., ii, 86.) They shout, they bawl. You would hear men who are most stupid, and even devoid of common sense. <sup>2</sup> *Urebat hæc pontifices.* (Scultet., p. 271.) This stung the papists.

<sup>3</sup> *Οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς miri machinis oppugnant.* Corp. Ref., ii, 70.

<sup>4</sup> *Evangelicos omnes obtriturum.* Scultet., p. 269. <sup>5</sup> These instructions may be found in Celestin, i, 50, and Forstemann Urk., i, 220



ror having enjoined them to give utterance to a few threats, but solely as if proceeding from themselves.<sup>1</sup>

The elector was greatly agitated. "If his majesty forbids the preaching of the Gospel," exclaimed he, "I shall immediately return home."<sup>2</sup> He waited however for the advice of his theologians.

Luther's answer was ready first. "The emperor is our master," said he; "the town and all that is in it belong to him. If your highness should give orders at Torgau for this to be done, and for that to be left undone, the people ought not to resist. I should prefer endeavouring to change his majesty's decision by humble and respectful solicitation; but if he persists, might makes right; we have but done our duty."<sup>3</sup> Thus spoke the man who has often been represented as a rebel.

Melancthon and the others were nearly of the same opinion, except that they insisted more on the necessity of representing to the emperor, "that in their sermons nothing controversial was introduced, but they were content simply to teach the doctrine of Christ the Saviour."<sup>4</sup> Let us beware, above all," continued they, "of leaving the city. Let your highness with an intrepid heart confess in presence of his majesty by what wonderful ways you have attained to a right understanding of the truth,<sup>5</sup> and do not allow yourself to be alarmed at these thunder-claps that fall from the lips of our enemies." To confess the truth—such was the object to which, according to the Reformers, everything else should be subordinate.

Will the elector yield to this first demand of Charles, and thus begin, even before the emperor's arrival, that list of sacrifices, the end of which cannot be foreseen?

No one in Augsburg was firmer than John. In vain did the reformers represent that they were in the emperor's city, and only strangers:<sup>6</sup> the elector shook his head. "Melancthon in despair wrote to Luther: 'Alas! how untractable is our old man!'"<sup>7</sup> Nevertheless he again returned to the charge. Fortunately there was an intrepid man at the elector's right hand, the chancellor Bruck, who feeling convinced that policy, honour, and above all, duty, bound the friends of the Reformation to resist the menaces of Charles, said to the elector: "The

<sup>1</sup> *Quidquid duri Electori denuntiabant suo veluti nomine et injussi dicebant.* (Seck., ii, 156.) Anything harsh which they declared to the elector, they spoke as it were in their own name and without orders.

<sup>2</sup> Den nächsten heim zu reiten.

Corp. Ref., ii, 88. <sup>3</sup> L. Epp., iv, 18.

<sup>4</sup> Nullas materias disputabiles a nobis doceri. (Corp. Ref., ii, 72.) That no debateable matters are taught by us.

<sup>5</sup> *Quo modo plane inenarrabili atque mirifico.* Ibid., 74.

<sup>6</sup> In ejus urbe jam sumus hospites! Ibid., 46.

<sup>7</sup> Sed noster senex difficilis est. Ibid.

emperor's demand is but a worthy beginning to bring about the definitive abolition of the Gospel.<sup>1</sup> If we yield at present, they will crush us by and by. Let us therefore humbly beg his majesty to permit the continuance of the sermons." Thus, at that time, a statesman stood in the foremost rank of the confessors of Jesus Christ. This is one of the characteristic features of this great age, and it must not be forgotten, if we would understand its history aright.

On the 31st May, the elector sent his answer in writing to Charles's ministers. "It is not true," it bore, "that the edict of Worms was approved of by the six electors. How could the elector, my brother, and myself, by approving it, have opposed the everlasting word of Almighty God? Accordingly, succeeding diets have declared this edict impossible to be executed. As for the relations of friendship that I have formed, their only aim is to protect me against acts of violence. Let my accusers lay before the eyes of his majesty the alliances they have made; I am ready to produce mine, and the emperor shall decide between us.—Finally, as to the demand to suspend our preachings, nothing is proclaimed in them but the glorious truth of God, and never was it so necessary to us. We cannot therefore do without it!"<sup>2</sup>

This reply must necessarily hasten the arrival of Charles; and it was urgent they should be prepared to receive him. To proclaim their belief, and then be silent, was the whole plan of the protestant campaign. A Confession was therefore necessary. One man, of small stature, frail, timid, and in great alarm, was commissioned to prepare this instrument of war. Philip Melancthon worked at it night and day: he weighed every expression, softened it down, changed it, and then frequently returned to his first idea. He was wasting away his strength; his friends trembled lest he should die over his task; and Luther enjoined him, as early as the 12th of May, under pain of anathema, to take measures for the preservation of "his little body," and not "to commit suicide for the love of God."<sup>3</sup> "God is as usefully served by repose," added he, "and indeed man never serves him better than by keeping himself tranquil. It is for this reason God willed that the Sabbath should be so strictly observed."<sup>4</sup>

Notwithstanding these solicitations, Melancthon's application

<sup>1</sup> Ein fügsamer Anfang der Niederbrengung des Evangelii. (Corp. Ref., ii, 76.)

<sup>2</sup> Quo carere non possit. Seck., p. 156; Muller, Hist. Prot., p. 506.

<sup>3</sup> Utsub anathemate cogam te in regulas servandi corpusculi tui. L. Epp. iv, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Ideo enim Sabbatum voluit tam rigide præ cæteris servari. Ibid.

augmented, and he set about an exposition of the christian faith at once mild, moderate, and as little removed as possible from the doctrine of the Latin Church. At Coburg he had already put his hand to the task, and traced out in the first part the doctrines of the faith, according to the articles of Schwabach; and in the second, the abuses of the Church according to the articles of Torgau, making altogether quite a new work. At Augsburg he gave a more correct and elegant form to this Confession.<sup>1</sup>

The Apology, as it was then called, was completed on the 11th May; and the elector sent it to Luther, begging him to mark what ought to be changed. "I have said what I thought most useful," added Melancthon, who feared that his friend would find the Confession too weak; "for Eck ceases not to circulate against us the most diabolical calumnies, and I have endeavoured to oppose an antidote to his poisons."<sup>2</sup>

Luther replied to the elector on the 15th May: "I have read Master Philip's Apology; I like it well enough, and have no corrections to make. Besides, that would hardly suit me, for I cannot walk so meekly and so silently. May Christ our Lord grant that this work may produce much and great fruit."

Each day, however, the elector's councillors and theologians, in concert with Melancthon, improved the Confession, and endeavoured to render it such that the charmed diet should, in its own despite, hear it to the very end.<sup>3</sup>

While the struggle was thus preparing at Augsburg, Luther at Coburg, on the summit of the hill, "on his Sinai," as he called it, raised his hands like Moses towards heaven.<sup>4</sup> He was the real general of the spiritual war that was then waging; his letters ceased not to bear to the combatants the directions which they needed, and numerous pamphlets issuing from his stronghold, like discharges of musketry, spread confusion in the enemy's camp.

The place where he had been left was, by its solitude, favourable to study and to meditation.<sup>5</sup> "I shall make a Zion of this Sinai," said he on the 22d April, "and I shall build here three tabernacles; one to the Psalms, another to the Prophets, and a third — to Esop!" This last word may well startle us. The association belongs neither to the language

<sup>1</sup> More rhetorically. Feci aliquando *ρητορικώτερον* quam Coburgæ scripseram. Corp. Ref., ii, 40.

<sup>2</sup> Quia Eckius addidit *διαβολικωτάτας διαβολάς* contra nos. Ibid., 45.

<sup>3</sup> In Apologia quotidie multa mutamus. (Ibid., 60.) We daily make many changes in the Apology.

<sup>4</sup> Mathesius Predigten, p. 92.

<sup>5</sup> Longe amænissimus et studiis commodissimus. L. Epp., iv, 2.



nor the spirit of the Apostles. It is true that Esop was not to be his principal study: the fables were soon laid aside, and truth alone engaged Luther. "I shall weep, I shall pray, I shall never be silent," wrote he, "until I know that my cry has been heard in heaven."<sup>1</sup>

Besides, by way of relaxation, he had something better than Esop; he had those domestic joys whose precious treasures the Reformation had opened to the ministers of the Word. It was at this time he wrote that charming letter to his infant son, in which he describes a delightful garden where children dressed in gold are sporting about, picking up apples, pears, cherries, and plums; they sing, dance, and enjoy themselves, and ride pretty little horses, with golden bridles and silver saddles.<sup>2</sup>

But the reformer was soon drawn away from these pleasing images. About this time he learnt that his father had gently fallen asleep in the faith which is in Jesus Christ. "Alas!" exclaimed he, shedding tears of filial love, "it is by the sweat of his brow that he made me what I am."<sup>3</sup> Other trials assailed him; and to bodily pains were added the phantoms of his imagination. One night in particular he saw three torches pass rapidly before his eyes, and at the same moment heard claps of thunder in his head, which he ascribed to the devil. His servant ran in at the moment he fainted, and after having restored him to animation, read to him the Epistle to the Galatians. Luther, who had fallen asleep, said as he awoke: "Come, and despite of the devil let us sing the Psalm, *Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, O Lord!*" They both sang the hymn. While Luther was thus tormented by these internal noises, he translated the prophet Jeremiah, and yet he often deplored his idleness.

He soon devoted himself to other studies, and poured out the floods of his irony on the mundane practices of courts. He saw Venice, the pope, and the King of France, giving their hands to Charles V. to crush the Gospel. Then, alone in his chamber in the old castle, he burst into irresistible laughter. "Mr. *Par-ma-foy* (it was thus he designated Francis I.), *In-nomine-Domini* (the pope), and the republic of Venice, pledge their goods and their bodies to the emperor. . . . *Sanctissimum fœdus*. A most holy alliance truly! This league between these four powers belongs to the chapter *Non-credimus*. Venice, the pope,

<sup>1</sup> Orabo igitur et plorabo, non quieturus donec, &c. L. Epp., iv, 2.

<sup>2</sup> This letter, which is a masterpiece of its kind, may be found in Luther's Epp., iv, 41, and also in Riddle's "Luther and his Times," p. 268.

<sup>3</sup> Per ejus sudores aluit et finxit qualis sum. (Epp., iv, 33.) By his sweat he brought me up and made me what I am.

and France become *imperialists*! . . . But these are three persons in one substance, filled with unspeakable hatred against the emperor. Mr. *Par-ma-foy* cannot forget his defeat at Pavia; Mr. *In-nomine-Domini* is, 1st, an Italian, which is already too much; 2d, a Florentine, which is worse; 3d, a bastard—that is to say a child of the devil; 4th, he will never forget the disgrace of the sack of Rome. As for the Venetians: they are Venetians: that is quite enough; and they have good reason to avenge themselves on the posterity of Maximilian. All this belongs to the chapter *Firmiter-credimus*. But God will help the pious Charles, who is a sheep among wolves. Amen.”<sup>1</sup> The ex-monk of Erfurth had a surer political foresight than many diplomatists of his age.

Impatient at seeing the diet put off from day to day, Luther formed his resolution, and ended by convoking it even at Coburg. “We are already in full assembly,” wrote he on the 28th April and the 9th May. “You might here see kings, dukes, and other grandees, deliberating on the affairs of their kingdom, and with indefatigable voice publishing their dogmas and decrees in the air. They dwell not in those caverns which you decorate with the name of palaces: the heavens are their canopy; the leafy trees form a floor of a thousand colours, and their walls are the ends of the earth. They have a horror of all the unmeaning luxury of silk and gold; they ask neither courses nor armour, and have all the same clothing and the same colour. I have not seen or heard their emperor; but if I can understand them, they have determined this year to make a pitiless war upon—the most excellent fruits of the earth, —Ah! my dear friends,” said he to his colleagues,<sup>2</sup> to whom he was writing, “these are the sophists, the papists, who are assembled before me from all quarters of the world to make me hear their sermons and their cries.” These two letters, dated from the “*empire of ravens and crows*,” finish in the following mournful strain, which shows us the reformer descending into himself after this play of his imagination: “Enough of jesting!—jesting which is, however, sometimes necessary to dispel the gloomy thoughts that overwhelm me.”<sup>3</sup>

Luther soon returned to real life, and thrilled with joy at beholding the fruits that the Reformation was already bearing, and which were for him a more powerful “apology” than even the Confession of Melanethon. “Is there in the whole world a

<sup>1</sup> To Gasp. of Teutleben, 19th June. L. Epp., iv, 37.  
messmates or table-companions. Ibid., 7.

militia irruentes cogitationes repelleret. Ibid., 14.

<sup>2</sup> An seine Tischgesellen,

<sup>3</sup> Sed serio et necessario joco qui

single country to be compared to your highness's states," wrote he to the elector, "and which possesses preachers of so pure a doctrine, or pastors so fitted to bring about the reign of peace? Where do we see, as in Saxony, boys and girls well instructed in the Holy Scriptures and in the Catechism, increasing in wisdom and in stature, praying, believing, talking of God and of Christ better than has been done hitherto by all the universities, convents, and chapters of Christendom?"<sup>1</sup>—  
 "My dear Duke John, says the Lord to you, I commend this paradise to thee, the most beautiful that exists in the world, that thou mayst be its gardener." And then he added; "Alas! the madness of the papist princes changes this paradise of God into a dirty slough, and corrupting the youth, daily peoples with real devils their states, their tables, and their palaces."

Luther, not content with encouraging his prince, desired also to frighten his adversaries. It was with this intent that he wrote at that time an address to the members of the clergy assembled at Augsburg. A crowd of thoughts, like lansquenets armed cap-a-pié, "rushed in to fatigue and bewilder him;"<sup>2</sup> and in fact there is no want of barbed words in the discourse he addresses to the bishops. "In short," said he to them in conclusion, "we know and you know that we have the Word of God, and that you have it not. O pope! if I live I shall be a pestilence to thee; and if I die, I shall be thy death?"<sup>3</sup>

Thus was Luther present at Augsburg, although invisible; and he effected more by his words and by prayers than Agricola, Brentz, or Melancthon. These were the days of travail for the Gospel truth. It was about to appear in the world with a might, destined to eclipse all that had been done since the time of St. Paul; but Luther only announced and manifested the things that God was effecting: he did not execute them himself. He was, as regards the events of the Church, what Socrates was to philosophy: "I imitate my mother (she was a midwife)," this philosopher was in the habit of saying; "she does not travail herself, but she aids others." Luther—and he never ceased repeating it—has created nothing; but he has brought to light the precious seed, hidden for ages in the bosom of the Church. The man of God is not he who seeks to form his age according to his own peculiar ideas, but he who, dis-

<sup>1</sup> Es wächst jetzt daher die zart Jugend von Knäblin un Maidlin. L. Epp., iv, 21.

<sup>2</sup> Ut plurimos Lansknechtos, prorsus vi repellere cogar, qui insalutati non cessant obstrepere. (Ibid., 10.) That I am forced violently to repel the very many lansquenets who, uninvited, cease not to din me.

<sup>3</sup> Pestis eram vivus, moriens ero mors tua, papa. (L. Opp., xx, 164.) O pope! living I was your plague, dying I shall be your death.



tinely perceiving God's truth, such as it is found in his Word, and as it is hidden in his Church, brings it to his contemporaries with courage and decision.

Never had these qualities been more necessary, for matters were taking an alarming aspect. On the 4th June died Chancellor Gattinara, who was to Charles the Fifth "what Ulpian was to Alexander Severus," says Melancthon, and with him all the human hopes of the Protestants vanished. "It is God," Luther had said, "who has raised up for us a Naaman in the court of the King of Syria." In truth Gattinara alone resisted the pope. When Charles brought to him the objections of Rome: "Remember," said the chancellor, "that you are master!" Henceforward everything seemed to take a new direction. The pope required that Charles should be satisfied with being his "licitor," as Luther says, to carry out his judgments against the heretics.<sup>1</sup> Eck, whose name (according to Melancthon) was no bad imitation of the cry of Luther's crows, heaped one upon another<sup>2</sup> a multitude of pretended heretical propositions, extracted from the reformer's writings. They amounted to *four hundred and four*, and yet he made excuse that, being taken unawares, he was forced to restrict himself to so small a number, and he called loudly for a disputation with the Lutherans. They retorted on these propositions by a number of ironical and biting theses on "wine, Venus, and baths, against John Eck;" and the poor doctor became the general laughing-stock.

But others went to work more skilfully than he. Cochlcæus, who became chaplain to Duke George of Saxony in 1527, begged an interview with Melancthon, "for," added he, "I cannot converse with your married ministers."<sup>3</sup> Melancthon, who was looked upon with an evil eye at Augsburg, and who had complained of being more solitary there than Luther in his castle,<sup>4</sup> was touched by this courtesy, and was still more fully penetrated with the idea that things should be ordered in the mildest manner possible.

The Romish priests and laymen made a great uproar, because on fast days meat was usually eaten at the elector's court. Melancthon advised his prince to restrict the liberty of his attendants in this respect. "This disorder," said he, "far from leading the simple-minded to the Gospel, scandalizes

<sup>1</sup> Tantum licitorem suum in hæreticos, Epp., iv, 10. conclusionum congegissit. Corp. Ref., p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> Magnum acervum  
<sup>3</sup> Cum uxoris presbyteris tuis  
privatim colloqui non intendimus, (Ibid., p. 82.) We intend not to confer privately  
with your wived presbyters.

<sup>4</sup> Nos non minus sumus monachi quam vos in  
illa arce vestra. (Ibid., p. 46.) We are not less monks than you are in that castle of  
yours.

them." He added, in his ill-humour: "A fine holiness truly, to make it a matter of conscience to fast, and yet to be night and day given up to wine and folly!"<sup>1</sup> The elector did not yield to Melancthon's advice; it would have been a mark of weakness of which his adversaries would have known how to take advantage.

On the 31st May, the Saxon Confession was at length communicated to the other Protestant states, who required that it should be presented in common in the name of them all.<sup>2</sup> But at the same time they desired to make their reservations with regard to the influence of the state. "We appeal to a council," said Melancthon; "we will not receive the emperor as our judge; the ecclesiastical constitutions themselves forbid him to pronounce in spiritual matters."<sup>3</sup> Moses declares that it is not the civil magistrate who decides, but the sons of Levi. St. Paul also says (1 Cor., xiv), '*let the others judge*,' which cannot be understood except of an entire christian assembly; and the Saviour himself gives us this commandment: '*Tell it unto the Church*.' We pledge, therefore, our obedience to the emperor in all civil matters; but as for the Word of God, we demand liberty."

All were agreed on this point; but the dissent came from another quarter. The Lutherans feared to compromise their cause if they went hand in hand with the Zwinglians. "This is Lutheran madness," replied Bucer: "it will perish of its own weight."<sup>4</sup> But, far from allowing this madness "to perish," the reformed augmented the disunion by exaggerated complaints. "In Saxony they are beginning to sing Latin hymns again," said they; "the sacred vestments are resumed, and oblations are called for anew."<sup>5</sup> We would rather be led to the slaughter, than be Christians after that fashion."

The afflicted landgrave, says Bucer, was "between the hammer and the anvil;" and his allies caused him more uneasiness than his enemies.<sup>6</sup> He applied to Rhegius, to Brentz, to Melancthon, declaring that it was his most earnest wish to see concord prevail among all the evangelical doctors. "If these fatal doctrines are not opposed," replied Melancthon, "there will be rents in the Church that will last to the end of the

<sup>1</sup> Und dennoch Tag und Nacht voll und toll seyn. Corp. Ref., ii, p. 79.

gemein in aller Fürsten und Städte Nāmen. Ibid., ii, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Die constitutiones canonicæ den Kaysern verbieten zu richten und sprechen in geistlichen sachen. Ibid., p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> De Lutheranis furoribus . . . sua ipsi mole ruent. Zw. Epp., ii,

492. <sup>4</sup> Hinc Latinæ resumuntur cantiones, repetuntur sanctæ vestes. (Ibid., p. 457.) Hence Latin chants are resumed and sacred vestments are again called for.

<sup>5</sup> Cattus inter sacrum et saxum stat, et de sociis magis quam hostibus sollicitus est. Zw. Epp., ii, 457.

world. Do not the Zwinglians boast of their full coffers, of having soldiers prepared, and of foreign nations disposed to aid them? Do they not talk of sharing among them the rights and the property of the bishops, and of proclaiming liberty.— Good God! shall we not think of posterity, which, if we do not repress these guilty seditions, will be at once without throne and without altar?"<sup>1</sup>—"No, no! we are one," replied this generous prince, who was so much in advance of his age; "we all confess the same Christ, we all profess that we must eat Jesus Christ, by faith, in the eucharist. Let us unite." All was unavailing. The time in which true catholicity was to replace this sectarian spirit, of which Rome is the most perfect expression, had not yet arrived.

## CHAPTER VI.

Agitation in Augsburg—Violence of the Imperialists—Charles at Munich—Charles's Arrival—The Nuncio's Blessing—The imperial Procession—Charles's Appearance—Enters Augsburg—Te Deum—The Benediction—Charles desires the Sermons to be discontinued—Brandenburg offers his head—The Emperor's Request for Corpus Christi—Refusal of the Princes—Agitation of Charles—The Princes oppose Tradition—Procession of Corpus Christi—Exasperation of Charles.

IN proportion as the emperor drew near Augsburg, the anxieties of the Protestants continued increasing. The burghers of this imperial city expected to see it become the theatre of strange events. Accordingly they said that if the elector, the landgrave, and other friends of the Reformation were not in the midst of them, they would all desert it.<sup>2</sup> "A great destruction threatens us," was repeated on every side.<sup>3</sup> One of Charles's haughty expressions above all disquieted the Protestants. "What do these electors want with me?" he had said impatiently; "I shall do what I please!"<sup>4</sup> Thus arbitrary rule was the imperial law destined to prevail in the diet.

To thus agitation of men's minds was added the agitation of the streets, or rather one led to the other. Masons and locksmiths were at work in all the public places and crossings, laboriously fastening barriers and chains to the walls, that might be closed or stretched at the first cry of alarm.<sup>5</sup> At the same time about eight hundred foot and horse soldiers were seen

<sup>1</sup> Keine Kirche und kein Regiment. Corp. Ref., ii, 95.

und andere Lutherische nit hie wären. Ibid., 89.

grande exitium. Ibid., 92.

Ibid., 88.

<sup>2</sup> Wo Sachsen, Hessen,

<sup>3</sup> Misatur nobis Satan

wie es ihm eben wäre

Ibid., 66.

<sup>5</sup> Neu aufgerichtete Ketten und Stöck. Ibid., 66.



patrolling the streets, dressed in velvet and silk,<sup>1</sup> whom the magistrates had enrolled in order to receive the emperor with magnificence.

Matters were in this state, and it was about the middle of May, when a number of insolent Spanish quartermasters arrived, who, looking with contemptuous eyes on these wretched burghers, entered their houses, conducted themselves with violence, and even rudely tore down the arms of some of the princes.<sup>2</sup> The magistrates having delegated councillors to treat with them, the Spaniards made an impudent reply. "Alas!" said the citizens, "if the servants are so, what will their masters be?" The ministers of Charles were grieved at their impertinence, and sent a German quartermaster, who employed the forms of German politeness to make them forget this Spanish haughtiness.

That did not last long, and they soon felt more serious alarm. The Council of Augsburg were asked what was the meaning of these chains and soldiers, and they were ordered, in the emperor's name, to take down the one and disband the other. The magistrates of the city answered in alarm, "For more than ten years past we have intended putting up these chains;<sup>3</sup> and as for the soldiers, our object is simply to pay due honour to his majesty." After many parleys it was agreed to dismiss the troops, and that the imperial commanders should select afresh a thousand men, who should make oath to the emperor, but be paid by the city of Augsburg.

The imperial quartermasters then resumed all their insolence; and no longer giving themselves the trouble of entering the houses and the shops, they tore down the signboards of the Augsburg citizens, and wrote in their place how many men and horses the latter would be required to lodge.<sup>4</sup>

Such were the preludes to the work of conciliation that Charles V. had announced, and that he was so slow in beginning. Accordingly his delay, attributed by some to the crowds of people who surrounded him with their acclamations; by others to the solicitations of the priests, who opposed his entry into Augsburg, until he had imposed silence on the ministers; and by others, finally, to the lessons the pope had given him in the arts of policy and stratagem,<sup>5</sup> still more estranged the elector and his allies.

<sup>1</sup> Mit sammet und seide auf's kostlichst ausgestrichen. Corp. Ref., ii, 66.

<sup>2</sup> Den junegn Fürsten zu Neuburg ihre wappen abgerissen. Ibid., 55.

<sup>3</sup> Vor zehn Jahren in Sinn gehalt. Ibid., 66.

<sup>4</sup> Gehen nicht mehr in die Häuser und

schrieben an die Thür. Ibid., 89.

<sup>5</sup> Cæsarem instructum arte pontificia

querere causas morte. L. Epp, iv, 31.

At last Charles, having quitted Innspruck two days after Gattinara's death, arrived at Munich on the 10th June. His reception was magnificent. About two miles from the town a temporary fortress had been erected, around which a sham-fight took place. Soldiers mounted to the assault, mines were exploded; discharges of artillery, clouds of smoke, the clash of arms, the shouts of the combatants, delighted the eyes and ears of the emperor;<sup>1</sup> within the city, theatres had been raised in the open air, in which the *Jewish Esther*, the *Persian Cambyzes*, and other pieces not less famous, were represented; and the whole, combined with splendid fire-works, formed the welcome given by the adherents of the pope to him whom they styled their saviour.

Charles was not far distant from Augsburg. As early as the 11th June, every day and every hour, members of the imperial household, carriages, waggons, and baggage entered the city, to the sound of the clacking whip and of the horn;<sup>2</sup> and the burghers in amazement gazed with dejected eyes on all this insolent train, that fell upon their city like a flight of locusts.<sup>3</sup>

At five o'clock in the morning of the 15th June,<sup>4</sup> the elector, the princes, and their councillors, assembled at the town-hall, and ere long arrived the imperial commissaries, with orders for them to go out and meet Charles. At three in the afternoon the princes and deputies quitted the city, and, having reached a little bridge across the river Lech, they were halted and waited for the emperor. The eyes of every member of the brilliant assemblage, thus stopping on the smiling banks of an alpine torrent, were directed along the road to Munich. At length, after waiting two or three hours, clouds of dust, and a loud noise announced the emperor. Two thousand of the imperial guard marched first; and as soon as Charles had come to within fifty paces of the river, the electors and princes alighted. Their sons, who had advanced beyond the bridge, perceiving the emperor preparing to do the same, ran to him and begged him to remain on horseback:<sup>5</sup> but Charles dismounted without hesitation,<sup>6</sup> and approaching the princes with an amiable smile, cordially shook hands with them. Albert of Mentz, in his quality of arch-chancellor of the empire, now welcomed the emperor, and the Count-palatine Frederick replied in behalf of Charles.

<sup>1</sup> Das hat Kais. Maj. wohl gefallen. Forstemann, Urkunden, i, 246. <sup>2</sup> Alle stund die Wagen, der Tross und viel gesinds nach einander herein. Corp. Ref., ii, 90.

<sup>3</sup> Finden aber wenig Freuden, feuer. Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Zu morgens, um

fünf Uhr. F. Urkunden, i, 262. <sup>5</sup> Ab Electorum filiis qui procurrerant rogatus. Seck., ii, 101.

<sup>6</sup> Mox ab equis descenderunt. Cuchleus

While this was passing, three individuals remained apart on a little elevation;<sup>1</sup> these were the Roman legate, proudly seated on a mule, glittering with purple, and accompanied by two other cardinals, the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Bishop of Trent. The Nuncio, beholding all these great personages on the road, raised his hands, and gave them his blessing. Immediately the emperor, the king, and the princes who submitted to the pope, fell on their knees; the Spaniards, Italians, Netherlanders, and Germans in their train imitated their movements, casting however a side-glance on the Protestants, who, in the midst of this humbly prostrate crowd, alone remained standing.<sup>2</sup> Charles did not appear to notice this, but he doubtless understood what it meant. The Elector of Brandenburg then delivered a Latin speech to the legate. He had been selected because he spoke this language better than the princes of the Church; and accordingly, Charles, when praising his eloquence, slyly put in a word about the negligence of the prelates.<sup>3</sup> The emperor now prepared to remount his horse; the Prince-electoral of Saxony, and the young princes of Luneburg, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and Anhalt, rushed towards him to aid him in getting into his saddle: one held the bridle, another the stirrup, and all were charmed at the magnificent appearance of their powerful sovereign.<sup>4</sup> The procession began to move on.

First came two companies of lansquenets, commanded by Simon Seitz, a citizen of Augsburg, who had made the campaign of Italy, and was returning home laden with gold.<sup>5</sup> Next advanced the households of the six electors, composed of princes, counts, councillors, gentlemen, and soldiers; the household of the Dukes of Bavaria had slipped into their ranks, and the four hundred and fifty horsemen that composed it marched five abreast, covered with bright cuirasses, and wearing red doublets, while over their heads floated handsome many-coloured plumes. Bavaria was already in this age the main support of Rome in Germany.

Immediately after came the households of the emperor and of his brother in striking contrast with this warlike show. They were composed of Turkish, Polish, Arabian, and other led horses; then followed a multitude of young pages, clad in yellow or red velvet, with Spanish, Bohemian, and Austrian nobles in robes of silk and velvet;<sup>6</sup> among these the Bohemians had the

Auf ein Ort gerückt. F. Urkunden, i, 256.

(Seck., ii, 101.) A first specimen of firmness.

accusaret. Ibid.

F. Urkunden, i, 258.

i, 258.

<sup>2</sup> Primum constantiæ specimen.

<sup>3</sup> Prelatorum autem negligentiam

accusaret. Ibid. <sup>4</sup> Conscendentem juniores principes adjuverunt. Ibid. and

F. Urkunden, i, 258. <sup>5</sup> Bekleitet von gold. Lit. clothed with gold. F. Urkunden,

i, 258. <sup>6</sup> Viel sammete unde seiden Röcke. L. Opp., xx, 201.



most martial air, and gracefully rode their superb and prancing coursers. Last the trumpeters, drummers, heralds, grooms, footmen, and the legate's cross-bearers, announced the approach of the princes.

In fact these powerful lords, whose contentions had so often filled Germany with confusion and war, now advanced riding peacefully side by side. After the princes appeared the electors; and the Elector of Saxony, according to custom, carried the naked and glittering imperial sword immediately before the emperor.<sup>1</sup>

Last came the prince, on whom all eyes were fixed.<sup>2</sup> Thirty years of age, of distinguished port and pleasing features, robed in golden garments that glittered all over with precious stones,<sup>3</sup> wearing a small Spanish hat on the crown of his head,<sup>4</sup> mounted on a beautiful Polish hackney of the most brilliant whiteness, riding beneath a rich canopy of red, white, and green damask borne by six senators of Augsburg, and casting around him looks in which gentleness was mingled with gravity, Charles excited the liveliest enthusiasm, and every one exclaimed that he was the handsomest man in the empire, as well as the mightiest prince in the world.

He had at first desired to place his brother and the legate at his side; but the Elector of Mentz, attended by two hundred guards arrayed in silk, had claimed the Emperor's right hand; and the Elector of Cologne, with a hundred well-armed attendants, had taken his station on the left. King Ferdinand and the legate came next; to whom succeeded the cardinals, ambassadors, and prelates, among whom was remarked the haughty Bishop of Osma, the emperor's confessor. The imperial cavalry and the troops of Augsburg closed the procession.

Never, according to the historians, had anything so magnificent been seen in the empire;<sup>5</sup> but they advanced slowly, and it was between eight and nine o'clock in the evening before they reached the gates of Augsburg.<sup>6</sup> Here they met the burgo-master and councillors, who prostrated themselves before Charles, and at the same time the cannon from the ramparts, the bells from all the steeples in full peel, the noise of trumpets and kettle-drums, and the joyful acclamations of the people, re-echoed with loud din. Stadion, bishop of Augsburg, and his clergy robed in white, struck up the *Advenisti desirabilis*; and

<sup>1</sup> Noster princeps de more prætulit ensem. Corp. Ref., ii, 118.

<sup>2</sup> Omnium

oculos in se convertit. Seck., ii, 160.

<sup>3</sup> Totus gemmis coruscabat. Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ein klein Spanisch Hütlein. F. Urkunden, i, 260.

<sup>5</sup> Antea in imperio non

erat visa. Seck., ii, 160.

<sup>6</sup> Ingressus est in urbem intra octavam et nonam.

.bid., 114.

six canons, advancing with a magnificent canopy, prepared to conduct the emperor to the cathedral, when Charles's horse, startled at this unusual sight, suddenly reared,<sup>1</sup> and the emperor had some difficulty in mastering him. At length Charles entered the minster, which was ornamented with garlands and flowers, and suddenly illuminated by a thousand torches.

The emperor went up to the altar, and falling on his knees, raised his hands towards heaven.<sup>2</sup> During the *Te Deum*, the Protestants observed with anxiety that Charles kept conversing in a low tone with the Archbishop of Mentz; that he bent his ear to the legate who approached to speak to him, and nodded in a friendly manner to Duke George. All this appeared to them of evil omen; but at the moment when the priests sang the *Te ergo quæsumus*, Charles breaking off his conversations, suddenly rose, and one of the acolytes running to him with a gold-embroidered cushion, the emperor put it aside, and knelt on the bare stones of the church. All the assembly knelt with him; the elector and the landgrave alone remained standing. Duke George, astonished at such boldness, cast a threatening glance at his cousin. The Margrave of Brandenburg, carried away by the crowd, had fallen on his knees; but having seen his two allies standing, he hastily rose up again.

The Cardinal-archbishop of Salzburg then proceeded to pronounce the benediction; but Campeggio, impatient at having as yet taken no part in the ceremony, hastened to the altar, and rudely thrusting the archbishop aside, said sharply to him:<sup>3</sup> "This office belongs to me and not to you." The other gave way, the emperor bent down, and the landgrave, with difficulty concealing a smile, hid himself behind a candelabrum. The bells now rang out anew, the procession recommenced its march, and the princes conducted the emperor to the palatinate (the name given to the bishop's palace), which had been prepared for him. The crowd now dispersed: it was after ten at night.

The hour was come in which the partizans of the papacy flattered themselves with the prospect of rendering the Protestants untrue to their faith. The arrival of the emperor, the procession of the holy sacrament that was preparing, the late hour,—all had been calculated beforehand; "the nocturns of treason were about to begin," said Spalatin.

A few minutes of general conversation took place in the emperor's apartments; the princes of the Romish party were then

<sup>1</sup> Da entsetzt sich K. M. Hengst für solchem Himel. F. Urkunden, i, 261.

<sup>2</sup> Ihr hand aufgehbt. Ibid.  
Seck., ii, 161.

<sup>3</sup> Cardinalem legatus castigatum abegit.

allowed to retire; but Charles had given a sign to the Elector of Saxony, to the Landgrave of Hesse, to George, margrave of Brandenburg, to the Prince of Anhalt, and to the Duke of Luneburg, to follow him into his private chamber.<sup>1</sup> His brother Ferdinand, who was to serve as interpreter, alone went in with them. Charles thought that so long as the Protestant princes were before the world, they would not yield; but that in a private and friendly interview, he might obtain all he desired of them.

"His majesty requests you to discontinue the sermon," said Ferdinand. On hearing these words the two elder princes (the elector and the margrave) turned pale and did not speak;<sup>2</sup> there was a long silence.

At last the landgrave said: "We entreat your majesty to withdraw your request, for our ministers preach only the pure Word of God, as did the ancient doctors of the Church, St. Augustine, St. Hilary, and so many others. Of this your majesty may easily convince yourself. We cannot deprive ourselves of the food of the Word of God, and deny his Gospel."<sup>3</sup>

Ferdinand, resuming the conversation in French<sup>4</sup> (for it was in this language that he conversed with his brother), informed the emperor of the landgrave's answer. Nothing was more displeasing to Charles than these citations of Hilary and Augustine; the colour mounted to his cheeks, and he was nearly giving way to his anger.<sup>5</sup> "His majesty," said Ferdinand in a more positive tone, "cannot desist from his demand" — "Your conscience," quickly replied the landgrave, "has no right to command ours."<sup>6</sup> As Ferdinand still persisted, the margrave, who had been silent until then, could contain himself no longer; and without caring for interpreters, stretched out his neck towards Charles, exclaiming in deep emotion: "Rather than allow the Word of the Lord to be taken from me, rather than deny my God, I would kneel down before your majesty and have my head cut off!" As he uttered these simple and magnanimous words, says a contemporary,<sup>7</sup> the prince accompanied them with a significant gesture, and let his hands fall on his neck like the headsman's axe. The ex-

<sup>1</sup> Ad conclave suum. Corp. Ref., pp. 106, 114.

höchsten entsetzt. (Ibid.)

<sup>2</sup> Se non posse cibo verbi Dei carere, nec sana conscientia Evangelium negare. (Ibid., 115.) That they cannot want the food of the Word of God, nor with a sound conscience deny the Gospel.

<sup>3</sup> In Französischer Sprache. (Ibid., 107.)

<sup>4</sup> Sich darob etwas angeröt und erhitzt. (Ibid., 115.)

<sup>5</sup> K. M. gewissen sey aber kein Herr und meyster über ihr gewissen. (Ibid.)

<sup>6</sup> Ut simpliciter, ita magnanimiter, says Brentz. (Ibid.) As magnanimously as simply.



citement of the princes was at its height: had it been necessary, they would all four have instantly walked to the scaffold. Charles was moved by it; surprised and agitated, he hastily cried out in his bad German, making a show of checking the landgrave: "Dear prince, not the head! not the head!" But he had scarcely uttered these few words when he checked himself.

These were the only words that Charles pronounced before the princes during all the diet. His ignorance of the German language, and sometimes also the etiquette of the Escorial, compelled him to speak only by the mouth of his brother or of the count-palatine. As he was in the habit of consecrating four hours daily to divine worship, the people said: "He talks more with God than with men." This habitual silence was not favourable to his plans. They required activity and eloquence; but instead of that the Germans saw in the dumb countenance of their youthful emperor, a mere puppet, nodding his head and winking his eyes. Charles sometimes felt very keenly the faults of this position: "To be able to speak German," said he, "I would willingly sacrifice any other language, even were it Spanish or French, and more than that, one of my states."<sup>1</sup>

Ferdinand saw that it was useless to insist on the cessation of these meetings; but he had another arrow in his quiver. The next day was the festival of *Corpus Christi*, and by a custom that had never as yet been infringed, all the princes and deputies present at the diet were expected to take part in the procession. Would the Protestants refuse this act of courtesy at the very opening of a diet to which each one came in a conciliatory spirit? Have they not declared that the body and blood of Christ are really in the Host? Do they not boast of their opposition to Zwingle, and can they stand aloof, without being tainted with heresy? Now, if they share in the pomp that surrounds "the Lord's body;" if they mingle with that crowd of clergy, glittering in luxury and swelling with pride, who carry about the God whom they have created; if they are present when the people bow down; will they not irrevocably compromise their faith? The machine is well prepared; its movements cannot fail; there is no more doubt! The craft of the Italians is about to triumph over the simplicity of these German boors!

Ferdinand therefore resumes, and making a weapon of the very refusal that he had just met with: "Since the emperor,"

<sup>1</sup> Es wäre Spanisch oder Französisch und dazu eines Landes minder. Corp. Ref., ii, 114.

said he, "cannot obtain from you the suspension of your assemblies, he begs at least that you will accompany him to-morrow, according to custom, in the procession of the Holy Sacrament. Do so, if not from regard to him, at least for the honour of Almighty God."<sup>1</sup>

The princes were still more irritated and alarmed. "Christ," said they, "did not institute his sacrament to be worshipped." Charles persevered in his demand, and the Protestants in their refusal.<sup>2</sup> Upon this the emperor declared that he would not accept their excuse, that he would give them time for reflection, and that they must be prepared to reply early on the morrow.

They separated in the greatest agitation. The prince-electoral, who had waited for his father in the first hall along with other lords, sought, at the moment the princes issued from the emperor's chamber, to read on their countenance what had taken place. Judging from the emotion depicted on their features that the struggle had been severe, he thought that his father was incurring the greatest dangers, and accordingly, grasping him by the hand, dragged him to the staircase of the palace, exclaiming in affright, as if Charles's satellites were already at his heels, "Come, come quickly!"

Charles, who had expected no such resistance, was in truth confounded, and the legate endeavoured to exasperate him still more."<sup>3</sup> Agitated, filled with anger and vexation, and uttering the most terrible threats,<sup>4</sup> the young emperor paced hastily to and fro the halls of his palace; and unable to wait for the answer until the morrow, he sent in the middle of the night to demand the elector's final decision. "At present we require sleep," replied the latter; "to-morrow we will let you know our determination."<sup>5</sup> As for the landgrave, he could not rest any more than Charles. Scarcely had he returned home, when he sent his chancellor to the Nuremberg deputies, and had them awoke to make them acquainted with what had taken place.<sup>6</sup>

At the same time Charles's demand was laid before the theologians, and Spalatin, taking the pen, drew up their opinion during the night. "The sacrament," it bore, "was not instituted to be worshipped, as the Jews worshipped the brazen image."<sup>7</sup> We are here to confess the truth, and not for the confirmation of abuses. Let us therefore stay away!" This

<sup>1</sup> Et saltem in honorem Dei illud facerent. Corp. Ref., ii, 116.  
Cæsar in postulatione, persisterunt illi in recusatione. Ibid., 115.

Legati Romanensium captivi. Ibid., 116.

<sup>2</sup> Persistit  
<sup>3</sup> A sævitia

jactatæ sævissimæ Cæsaris indignationes. Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Hinc secutæ sunt gravissimæ minæ,  
<sup>5</sup> Quite sibi opus esse dicens,

responsum in diem alterum distulit. Seck., ii, 162.

<sup>6</sup> Hat nächten uns aufwecken lassen. Corp. Ref., ii, 106.  
<sup>7</sup> Wie die Juden die Schlange haben angebethet. Ibid., 111.

opinion confirmed the evangelical princes in their determination; and the day of the 16th June began.

The elector of Saxony, feeling indisposed during the night commissioned his son to represent him; and at seven o'clock the princes and councillors repaired on horseback to the emperor's palace.<sup>1</sup>

The Margrave of Brandenburg was their spokesman. "You know," said he to Charles, "how, at the risk of our lives, my ancestors and myself have supported your august house. But, in the things of God, the commands of God himself oblige me to put aside all commandment of man. We are told that death awaits those who shall persevere in the sound doctrine: I am ready to suffer it." He then presented the declaration of the evangelical princes to the emperor. "We will not countenance by our presence," said they, "these impious human traditions, which are opposed to the word of God. We declare, on the contrary, without hesitation, and with one accord, that we must expel them from the Church, lest those of its members that are still sound should be infected by this deadly poison."<sup>2</sup> "If you will not accompany his majesty for the love of God," said Ferdinand, "do so at least for the love of the emperor, and as vassals of the empire."<sup>3</sup> His majesty commands you." "An act of worship is in question," replied the princes, "our conscience forbids it." Then Ferdinand and Charles having conversed together in a low tone: "His majesty desires to see," said the king, "whether you will obey him or not."<sup>4</sup> At the same time the emperor and his brother quitted the room; but the princes, instead of following him as Charles had hoped, returned full of joy to their palaces.

The procession did not begin till noon. Immediately behind the canopy under which the elector of Mentz carried the host, came the emperor alone, with a devout air, bearing a taper in his hand, his head bare and shorn like a priest's, although the noon-day sun darted on him its most ardent rays.<sup>5</sup> By exposing himself to these fatigues, Charles desired to profess aloud his faith in what constitutes the essence of Roman-catholicism. In proportion as the spirit and the life had escaped from the primitive churches, they had striven to replace it by forms, shows, and ceremonies. The essential cause of the Romish

<sup>1</sup> Heute zu sieben Uhren sind gemeldete Fürsten. Corp. Ref., iii, 107.  
i, 82.

<sup>3</sup> Ut vassalli et principes imperii. Cochleus, p. 192.

sehen, ob sie I. M. gehorhsam leisten oder nicht. Corp. Ref., ii, 108.

<sup>2</sup> Cælestin.

<sup>4</sup> Sie wolle

<sup>1</sup> Cleri-  
caliter, detonso capillo. Zw. Epp., ii, 471. Nudo capite sub meridiani solis ardoribus.  
Pallavicini, i, 228.



worship is found in that decline of charity and faith which catholic Christians of the first ages have often deplored; and the history of Rome is summed up in this expression of St. Paul, *Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof.*<sup>1</sup> But as the power was then beginning to revive in the Church, the form began also to decline. Barely a hundred citizens of Augsburg had joined in the procession of the 16th June. It was no longer the pomp of former times: the christian people had learned anew to love and to believe.

Charles, however, under an air of devotion concealed a wounded heart. The legate was less able to command himself, and said aloud that this obstinacy of the princes would be the cause of great mischief to the pope.<sup>2</sup> When the procession was over (it had lasted an hour), Charles could no longer master his extreme irritation; and he had scarcely returned to his palace, when he declared that he would give the protestant princes a safe-conduct, and that on the very next day these obstinate and rebellious men should quit Augsburg;<sup>3</sup> the diet would then take such resolutions as were required for the safety of the Church and of the Empire. It was no doubt the legate who had given Charles this idea, which, if executed, would infallibly have led to a religious war. But some of the princes of the Roman party, desirous of preserving peace, succeeded, though not without difficulty, in getting the emperor to withdraw his threatening order.<sup>4</sup>

## CHAPTER V.

The Sermons prohibited—Compromise proposed and accepted—The Herald—Curiosity of the Citizens—The New Preachers—The Medley of Popery—Luther encourages the Princes—Veni Spiritus—Mass of the Holy Ghost—The Sermon—Opening of the Diet—The Elector's Prayer—Insidious Plan of the Romanists—Valdez and Melancthon—No Public Discussion—Evangelical Firmness prevails.

CHARLES, being defeated on the subject of the procession, resolved to take his revenge on the assemblies, for nothing galled him like these sermons. The crowd ceased not to fill the vast church of the Franciscans, where a Zwinglian minister of lively and penetrating eloquence was preaching on the Book of Joshua.<sup>5</sup> He placed the kings of Canaan and the children of

<sup>1</sup> 2 Timothy, iii, 5. <sup>2</sup> Sarpi, Council of Trent, i, 99. <sup>3</sup> Ut mox altera die, cum salvo-conductu, Lutherani abirent domum. Cochl., p. 193. <sup>4</sup> Pacis et concordiae avidi, supplicarunt ejus majestati ut sedata ira. Ibid. <sup>5</sup> Maximus populi concursus amplissima æde. Ibid.

Israel before them: his congregation heard them speak and saw them act, and every one recognized in the kings of Canaan the emperor and the ultra-montane princes, and in the people of God, the adherents of the Reformation. In consequence, his hearers quitted the church enthusiastic in their faith, and filled with the desire of seeing the abominations of the idolaters fall to the ground. On the 16th June, the Protestants deliberated on Charles's demand, and it was rejected by the majority. "It is only a scarecrow," said they, "the Papists only desire to see if the nail shakes in the wall, and if they can start the hare from the thicket."

The next morning (17th June) before breakfast, the princes replied to the emperor. "To forbid our ministers to preach purely the holy Gospel would be rebellion against God, who wills not that his Word be bound. Poor sinners that we are we have need of this Divine Word to surmount our troubles.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, his majesty has declared, that in this diet each doctrine should be examined with impartiality. Now, to order us henceforward to suspend the sermons would be to condemn ours beforehand."

Charles immediately convoked the other temporal and spiritual princes, who arrived at mid-day at the palatine palace, and remained sitting until the evening;<sup>2</sup> the discussion was exceedingly animated. "This very morning," said some of the speakers, "the Protestant princes, as they quitted the emperor, had sermons delivered in public."<sup>3</sup> Exasperated at this new affront, Charles with difficulty contained himself. Some of the princes, however, entreated him to accept their mediation, to which he consented: but the Protestants were immovable. Did these heretics, whom they imagined to reduce so easily, appear in Augsburg only to humiliate Charles? The honour of the chief of the empire must be saved at any cost. "Let us ourselves renounce our preachers," said the princes; "the Protestants will not then persist in keeping theirs!"

The committee accordingly proposed that the emperor should set aside both Papist and Lutheran preachers, and should nominate a few chaplains, with authority to announce the pure Word of God, without attacking either of the two parties.<sup>4</sup> "They shall be neutral men," said they to the Protestants; neither Faber nor his partisans shall be admit-

<sup>1</sup> Nec se illo animæ nutrimento carere. Cælestinus, Hist. Comit., i, 88; Forst. Urkunden, i, 283.

<sup>2</sup> Cæsar a meridie. Seck., 165. Den gangen Tag. Corp. Ref. ii, 113.

<sup>3</sup> Eo ipso die conciones continuate. Seckend., p. 165.

<sup>4</sup> Cæsare

omnes tam papistarum quam evangelicorum conciones. Corp. Ref., ii, 116.

ted."—"But they will condemn our doctrine."—"By no means. The preacher shall do nothing but read the text of the Gospels, Epistles, and a general confession of sins." The evangelical states required time to reflect upon it.

"We must accept it," said Melancthon; "for if our obstinacy should lead the emperor to refuse hearing our confession, the evil would be greater still."

"We are called to Augsburg," said Agricola, "to give an account of our doctrine, and not to preach."<sup>2</sup>

"There is no little disorder in the city," remarked Spalatin. "The sacramentarians and enthusiasts preach here as well as we: we must get out of this confusion."

"What do the papists propose?" said other theologians; "to read the Gospels and Epistles without explanation. But is not that a victory? What! we protest against the interpretations of the Church; and lo! priests who are to read the Word of God without their notes and commentaries, that is to say, transforming themselves into protestant ministers!" O! admirable wisdom of the courtiers!" exclaimed Melancthon, smiling.<sup>3</sup>

To these motives were added the opinions of the lawyers. As the emperor ought to be considered the rightful magistrate of an imperial city, so long as he made it his residence, all jurisdiction in Augsburg really belonged to him.

"Well, then," said the protestant princes, "we agree to silence our preachers, in the hope that we shall hear nothing offensive to our consciences. If it were otherwise, we should feel ourselves constrained to repel so serious an insult.<sup>4</sup> Besides," added the elector, as he withdrew, "we expect that if at any time we desire to hear one of our chaplains in our own palace, we shall be free to do so."<sup>5</sup>

They hastened to the emperor, who desired nothing better than to come to an understanding with the Protestants on this subject, and who ratified everything.

This was Saturday. An imperial herald was immediately sent out, who, parading the streets of the city at seven in the evening to the sound of trumpets,<sup>6</sup> made the following proclamation:—"O yes, O yes!" Thus ordains his imperial

<sup>1</sup> Qui tantum recitent Evangelium et epistolam γραμματῶς. (Corp. Ref., ii, 119.) Who shall only read the Gospel and Epistles verbatim. <sup>2</sup> Non sumus parochi Augustanorum, added he. (Ibid.) We are not parishioners of Augsburg.

<sup>3</sup> Vide miram sapientiam Aulicorum. Ibid. <sup>4</sup> Ut de remediis propulsandæ injuriæ cogitent. (Seck., ii, 105.) To think of the means of repelling insult.

<sup>5</sup> Ob je einer einen Prediger in seiner Herberg für sich predigen liess. Corp. Ref., ii, 113. <sup>6</sup> Per tubicines et heraldum. Sturmius, Zw. Epp., p. 466.

<sup>7</sup> Hört, Hört. Corp. Ref., ii, 124.



majesty, our most gracious lord: no one shall be allowed to preach in Augsburg except by his majesty's nomination, under penalty of incurring the displeasure and punishment of his majesty.

A thousand different remarks were exchanged in the houses of the citizens of Augsburg. "We were very impatient," said they, "to see the preachers appointed by the emperor, and who will preach, (O! unprecedented wonder!) neither against the evangelical doctrine nor against the doctrine of the pope!"<sup>1</sup> "We must expect," added another, "to behold some *Telegraph* or some chimera with the head of a lion, a goat's body, and a dragon's tail."<sup>2</sup> The Spaniards appeared well satisfied with this agreement, for many of them had never heard a single sermon in their lives; it was not the custom in Spain; but Zwingle's friends were filled with indignation and alarm.<sup>3</sup>

At length Sunday the 19th June arrived; every one hastened to the churches, and the people who filled them, with eyes fixed on the priest, and with attentive ears,<sup>4</sup> prepared to listen to what these new and strange preachers would say.<sup>5</sup> It was generally believed that their task would be to make an evangelico-papistical discourse; and they were very impatient to hear this marvel. But

"The mountain in labour gave birth to a mouse."

The preacher first read the common prayer; he then added the Gospel of the day, finished with a general confession of sins, and dismissed his congregation. People looked at one another in surprise: "Verily," said they, "here is a preacher that is neither Gospeller nor Papist, but strictly textual."<sup>6</sup> At last all burst into laughter; "and truly," adds Brentz, "there was reason enough."<sup>7</sup> In some churches, however, the chaplains, after reading the Gospel, added a few puerile words, void of Christianity and of consolation, and in no way founded on the holy Scripture.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Omnes hunc avidissime expectant. Corp. Ref., ii, 116.

<sup>2</sup> Chimæram aut Tragelaphum aliquem expectamus. (Ibid.) The *Tragelaph* is a fabulous animal partaking of the nature of a goat and a stag. Representations of it were common on drinking-bowls and goblets among the ancient Greeks.

<sup>3</sup> Multos deterreat. Sturm to Zwingle, Epp., p. 466.

<sup>4</sup> Arrectis auribus. Corp. Ref., ii, 116.

<sup>5</sup> Quid novi novus concionator allaturus sit. (Ibid., 117.) What novelty the new preacher would adduce.

<sup>6</sup> Sic habes concionatorem neque evangelicum neque papisticum, sed nudum textualem. (Ibid.) Thus you have a preacher neither evangelical nor papistical, but barely textual.

<sup>7</sup> Rident omnes, et certe res valde ridicula est. (Ibid.) All laugh; and certainly the thing is very ridiculous.

<sup>8</sup> Paucula quædam, eaque puerilia et inepta, nec Christiane, absque fundamento verbi Divini et consolatione. (Seck., ii, 165.) Some few things, and these puerile and foolish, not in a christian manner, without foundation in the Word of God, and without consolation.

After the so-called sermon, they proceeded to the mass. That in the cathedral was particularly noisy. The emperor was not present, for he was accustomed to sleep until nine or ten o'clock,<sup>1</sup> and a late mass was performed for him; but Ferdinand and many of the princes were present. The pealing notes of the organ, the resounding voices of the choir, echoed through the minster, and a numerous and motley crowd, rushing in at all the doors, filled the aisles of the temple. One might have said that every nation in the world had agreed to meet in the cathedral of Augsburg. Here were Frenchmen, there Spaniards, Moors in one place, Moriscos in another, on one side Italians, on the other Turks, and even, says Brentz, those who are called Stratiots.<sup>2</sup> This crowd was no bad representation of the medley of popery.

One priest alone, a fervent Romanist, dared to offer an apology for the mass in the church of the Holy Cross, Charles, wishing to maintain his authority, had him thrown into the Grayfriars' prison, whence they contrived to let him escape. As for the evangelical pastors of Augsburg, almost all left the city to hear the Gospel elsewhere. The protestant princes were anxious to secure for their churches the assistance of such distinguished men. Discouragement and alarm followed close upon this step, and even the firmest were moved. The elector was inconsolable at the privation imposed upon him by the emperor. "Our Lord God," said he, heaving a deep sigh, "has received an order to be silent at the Diet of Augsburg."<sup>3</sup> From that time forward Luther lost the good opinion he had previously entertained of Charles, and foreboded the stormiest future. "See what will be the end of all this," said he. "The emperor, who has ordered the elector to renounce the assemblies, will afterwards command him to renounce the doctrine; the diet will enter upon its paroxysm, and nothing will remain for us but to rely upon the arm of the Lord." Then giving way to all his indignation, he added: "The papists, abandoned to devils, are transported with rage; and to live they must drink blood. They wish to give themselves an air of justice, by giving us one of obstinacy. At Augsburg you have not to deal with men, but with the very gates of hell." Melancthon himself saw his hopes vanish. "All except the emperor," said he, "hate us with the most

<sup>1</sup> Dormire solet usque ad nonam aut decimam. Corp. Ref., ii, 127.

<sup>2</sup> Ibi videas hic Gallos, hic Hispanos, hic Ethiopes, illic etiam Ethiopissas, hic Italos, illic etiam Turcas, aut quos vocant Stratiotas. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Hac ratione, Deo ejusque verbo silentium est impositum. (Seck., ii, 165.) For this reason silence was imposed on God and his Word.

<sup>4</sup> Ut nisi sanguinem biberint, vivere non possint. Ibid.

violent hatred." The danger is great, very great,<sup>1</sup> . . . Pray to Christ that he may save us!" But Luther, however full of sorrow he might be, far from being cast down, raised his head and endeavoured to reanimate the courage of his brethren. "Be assured and doubt not," wrote he to them, "that you are the confessors of Jesus Christ, and the ambassadors of the Great King."<sup>2</sup>

They had need of these thoughts, for their adversaries, elated by this first success, neglected nothing that might destroy the Protestants, and taking another step forward, proposed forcing them to be present at the Romish ceremonies.<sup>3</sup> "The Elector of Saxony," said the legate to Charles, "ought in virtue of his office of grand-marshal of the empire to carry the sword before you in all the ceremonies of the diet. Order him therefore to perform his duty at the mass of the Holy Ghost, which is to open the sittings." The emperor did so immediately, and the elector, uneasy at this message, called together his theologians. If he refused, his dignity would be taken away; and if he obeyed, he would trample his faith under foot (thought he), and would do dishonour to the Gospel.

But the Lutheran divines removed the scruples of their prince. "It is for a ceremony of the empire," said they, "as grand-marshal, and not as a Christian, that you are summoned; the Word of God itself, in the history of Naaman, authorises you to comply with this invitation."<sup>4</sup> The friends of Zwingli did not think so; their walk was more decided than that of Wittenberg. "The martyrs allowed themselves to be put to death," said they, "rather than burn a grain of incense before the idols." Even some of the Protestants, hearing that the *Veni Spiritus* was to be sung, said, wagging their heads: "We are very much afraid that the chariot of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, having been taken away by the papists, the Holy Ghost, despite their mass, will never reach Augsburg."<sup>5</sup> Neither these fears nor these objections were listened to.

On Monday the 20th June, the emperor and his brother, with the electors and princes of the empire, having entered the

<sup>1</sup> Magnum omnino periculum est. Corp. Ref., ii, 118. <sup>2</sup> Ea fides vivificabit et consolabitur vos, quia Magni Regis estis legati. (L. Epp., v, 59.) That faith will quicken and console you, because you are the ambassadors of the Great King.

<sup>3</sup> Sarpi, Hist. Council of Trent, book i, 99. <sup>4</sup> 2 Kings, v, 18. Exemplo Naamanis. Seck., ii, 167; Sarpi, p. 99. <sup>5</sup> Ne ablato Spiritus vehiculo, quod est verbum Dei, Spiritus Sanctus ad Augustam præ pedum imbecillitate pervenire non possit. (Corp. Ref., ii, 116.) Lest having cast away the chariot of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, the Holy Spirit may not be able, from weakness of feet, to arrive at Augsburg.



cathedral, took their seats on the right side of the choir ; on the left were placed the legate, the archbishops, and bishops ; in the middle were the ambassadors. Without the choir, in a gallery that overlooked it, were ranged the landgrave and other Protestants, who preferred being at a distance from the host.<sup>1</sup> The elector, bearing the sword, remained upright near the altar at the moment of the adoration. The acolytes, having closed the gates of the choir immediately after,<sup>2</sup> Vincent Pompinello, archbishop of Salerno, preached the sermon. He commenced with the Turks and their ravages, and then, by an unexpected turn, began suddenly to exalt the Turks even above the Germans. "The Turks," said he, "have but one prince whom they obey ; but the Germans have many who obey no one. The Turks live under one sole law, one only custom, one only religion ; but among the Germans there are some who are always wishing for new laws, new customs, new religions. They tear the seamless coat of Christ ; they abolish by devilish inspirations the sacred doctrines established by unanimous consent, and substitute for them, alas ! buffoonery and obscenity.<sup>3</sup> Magnanimous emperor, powerful king !" said he, turning towards Charles and his brother, "sharpen your swords, wield them against these perfidious disturbers of religion, and thus bring them back into the fold of the Church."<sup>4</sup> There is no peace for Germany so long as the sword shall not have entirely eradicated this heresy.<sup>5</sup> O St. Peter and St. Paul ! I call upon you ; upon you, St. Peter, in order that you may open the stony hearts of these princes with your keys ; and upon you, St. Paul, that if they show themselves too rebellious, you may come with your sword, and cut in pieces this unexampled hardness.

This discourse, intermingled with panegyrics of Aristides, Themistocles, Scipio, Cato, the Curtii and Scævola, being concluded, the emperor and princes arose to make their offerings. Pappenheim returned the sword to the elector, who had intrusted it to him ; and the grand-marshal, as well as the margrave, went to the offertory, but with a smile, as it is reported.<sup>6</sup> This fact is but little in harmony with the character of these princes.

<sup>1</sup> Abstinendo ab adoratione hostiæ. (Seck., ii, 119.) By abstaining from adoration of the host. <sup>2</sup> Erant enim chori fores clausæ, nec quisquam orationi interfuit. (Corp. Ref., ii, 120.) For the gates of the choir were closed, and no one was present at the discourse.

<sup>3</sup> Diabolica persuasione eliminant, et ad scurrilia ac impudica quæque deducunt. Pallavicini, Hist. Trid. C., i, 23. <sup>4</sup> Exacuant gladios quos in perversos illos perturbatores. Corp. Ref., ii, 120.

<sup>5</sup> Nisi eradicata funditus per gladium hæresi illa. Ibid. <sup>6</sup> Protestantés etiã ad offerendum

At length they quitted the cathedral. No one, except the friends of the nuncio, was pleased with the sermon. Even the Archbishop of Mentz was offended at it. "What does he mean," exclaimed he, "by calling on St. Paul to cut the Germans with his sword?" Nothing but a few inarticulate sounds had been heard in the nave; the Protestants eagerly questioned those of their party who had been present in the choir. "The more these priests inflame people's minds, and the more they urge their princes to bloody wars," said Brentz at that time, "the more we must hinder ours from giving way to violence."<sup>1</sup> Thus spoke a minister of the Gospel of peace after the sermon of the priests of Rome.

After the mass of the Holy Ghost, the emperor entered his carriage,<sup>2</sup> and having reached the town-hall, where the sittings of the diet were to take place, took his seat on a throne covered with cloth of gold, while his brother placed himself on a bench in front of him; then all around them were ranged the electors, forty-two sovereign princes, the deputies from the cities, the bishops, and ambassadors, forming indeed that illustrious assembly which Luther, six weeks before, had imagined he saw sitting in the air.<sup>3</sup>

The count-palatine read the imperial proposition. It referred to two points; the war against the Turks, and the religious controversy. "Sacrificing my private injuries and interests to the common good," said the emperor, "I have quitted my hereditary kingdoms, to pass, not without great danger, into Italy, and from thence to Germany. I have heard with sorrow of the divisions that have broken out here, and which, striking not only at the imperial majesty, but still more at the commandments of Almighty God, must engender pillage, conflagration, war, and death."<sup>4</sup> At one o'clock the emperor, accompanied by all the princes, returned to his palace.

On the same day the elector gathered around him all his co-religionists, whom the emperor's speech had greatly excited, and exhorted them not to be turned aside by any threats from a cause which was that of God himself.<sup>5</sup> All seemed penetrated with this expression of Scripture: "Speak the word, and it shall not stand; for God is with us."<sup>6</sup>

*munuscula in altari, ut moris erat, accessisse, sed cum risu.* (Spalat. Seck., ii, 167.) The Protestants also drew near to offer gifts on the altar, as the custom was, but with laughter.

<sup>1</sup> *Ut nostros principes ab importuna violentia retineamus.* Corp. Ref., ii, 120.

<sup>2</sup> *Imperator cum omnibus in curiam vectus est.* Sturm to Zw. Epp., ii, 430.

<sup>3</sup> *Ex volucrum monedularumque regno.* L. Epp., iv, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Nicht anders dann zu Raub, Brandt, und Krieg. F. Urkunden, i, 307.

<sup>5</sup> Cohortatus est ad intrepidam causæ Dei assentionem. Seck., ii, 103.

<sup>6</sup> Isaiah, viii, 10.

The elector had a heavy burden to bear. Not only had he to walk at the head of the princes, but he had further to defend himself against the enervating influence of Melancthon. Throughout the whole of the diet this prince offers to our notice no mere abstraction of the state, but the noblest individuality. Early on Tuesday morning, feeling the necessity of that invisible strength which, according to a beautiful figure in the Holy Scriptures, causes us to ride upon the high places of the earth; and seeing, as was usual, his domestics, his councillors, and his son assembled around him, John begged them affectionately to withdraw.<sup>1</sup> He knew that it was only by kneeling humbly before God that he could stand with courage before Charles. Alone in his chamber, he opened and read the Psalms: then falling on his knees, he offered up the most fervent prayer to God;<sup>2</sup> next, wishing to confirm himself in the immovable fidelity that he had just vowed to the Lord, he went to his desk, and there committed his resolutions to writing. Dolzig and Melancthon afterwards saw these lines, and were filled with admiration as they read them.

Being thus tempered anew in heavenly thoughts, John took up the imperial proposition, and meditated over it, then, having called in his son and the chancellor Bruck, and Melancthon shortly after, they all agreed that the deliberations of the diet ought to commence with the affairs of religion; and his allies, who were consulted, concurred in this advice.

The legate had conceived a plan diametrically opposed to this. He desired to stifle the religious question, and for this end required that the princes should examine it in a secret committee.<sup>4</sup> The evangelical Christians entertained no doubt that if the truth was proclaimed in the great council of the nation, it would gain the victory; but the more they desired a public confession, the more it was dreaded by the pope's friends. The latter wished to take their adversaries by silence, without confession, without discussion, as a city is taken by famine without fighting and without a storm: to gag the Reformation, and thus reduce it to powerlessness and death, were their tactics. To have silenced the preachers was not enough: the princes must be silenced also. They wished to shut up the Reformation as in a dungeon, and there leave it to die, thinking

<sup>1</sup> Mane remotis omnibus consiliariis et ministris. Seck., ii, 169.

ardentissimis a Deo successum negotii petisset. Ibid.

atione legisse dicuntur. Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Precibus  
<sup>3</sup> Quæ cum admiratione legisse dicuntur. Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Si acturi sunt secreto et inter sese, nulla publica disputatione vel audientia. (L. Epp., iv, 43.) If they would act secretly and among themselves, without any public discussion or audience.



they would thus get rid of it more surely than by leading it to the scaffold.

This plan was well conceived: it now remained to be put in execution, and for that purpose it was necessary to persuade the Protestants that such a method would be the surest for them. The person selected for this intrigue was Alphonso Valdez, secretary to Charles V., a Spanish gentleman, a worthy individual, and who afterwards showed a leaning towards the Reformation. Policy often makes use of good men for the most perfidious designs. It was decided that Valdez should address the most timid of the Protestants—Melancthon.

On the 16th or 17th of June, immediately after the arrival of Charles, Valdez begged Melancthon to call on him. "The Spaniards," said he, "imagine that the Lutherans teach impious doctrines on the Holy Trinity, on Jesus Christ, on the blessed Mother of God.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, they think they do a more meritorious work in killing a Lutheran than in slaying a Turk."

"I know it," replied Melancthon, "and I have not yet been able to succeed in making your fellow-countrymen abandon that idea."

"But what, pray, do the Lutherans desire?"

"The Lutheran question is not so complicated and so unseemly as his majesty fancies. We do not attack the Catholic Church, as is commonly believed;<sup>2</sup> and the whole controversy is reducible to these three points. The two kinds in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the marriage of pastors, and the abolition of private masses. If we could agree on these articles, it would be easy to come to an understanding on the others."

"Well, I will report this to his majesty."

Charles V. was charmed at this communication. "Go," said he to Valdez, "and impart these things to the legate, and ask Master Philip to transmit to you in writing a short exposition of what they believe and what they deny."

Valdez hastened to Campeggio. "What you relate pleases me tolerably," said the latter. "As for the two kinds in the sacrament, and the marriage of priests, there will be the means of accommodation;<sup>3</sup> but we cannot consent to the abolition of private masses." This would have been in fact cutting off one of the greatest revenues of the Church.

<sup>1</sup> Hispanis persuasum esse Lutheranos impie de Sanctissima Trinitate. Ex relatione Spalati in Seck., ii, 165.

<sup>2</sup> Non adeo per eos Ecclesiam Catholicam oppugnari, quam vulgo putaretur. (Ibid., 100.) That the Catholic Church was not so assailed by them as was commonly supposed.

<sup>3</sup> Mit beider Gestalt sacraments oder des Pfaffen und Mönch Ehe. Corp. Ref., ii, 123.

On Saturday, June 18, Valdez saw Melancthon again. "The emperor begs of you a moderate and concise exposition," said he, "and he is persuaded that it will be more advantageous to treat of this matter briefly and privately,<sup>1</sup> avoiding all public hearing and prolix discussion, which would only engender anger and division."—"Well," said Melancthon, "I will reflect upon it."

Melancthon was almost won over; a secret conference agreed better with his disposition. Had he not often repeated that peace should be sought after above all things? Thus every thing induced the legate to hope that a public struggle would be avoided, and that he might be content, as it were, to send mutes against the Reform, and strangle it in a dungeon.<sup>2</sup>

Fortunately the chancellor and the Elector Frederick did not think fit to entertain the propositions with which Charles had commissioned the worthy Valdez. The resolution of these lay members of the Church saved it from the false step its doctors were about to take; and the wiles of the Italians failed against evangelical firmness. Melancthon was only permitted to lay the Confession before the Spaniard, that he might look into it, and in despite of the moderation employed in it, Valdez exclaimed: "These words are too bitter, and your adversaries will never put up with them!"<sup>3</sup> Thus finished the legate's manœuvre.

## CHAPTER VI.

The Elector's Zeal—The Signing of the Confession—Courage of the Princes—Melancthon's Weakness—The Legate's Speech—Delays—The Confession in Danger—The Protestants are firm—Melancthon's Despondency—Luther's Prayer and Anxiety—Luther's Texts—His Letter to Melancthon—Faith.

CHARLES, compelled to resign himself to a public sitting ordered on Wednesday, 22d June, that the elector and his allies should have their Confession ready for the ensuing Friday. The Roman party were also invited to present a confession of faith; but they excused themselves, saying that they were satisfied with the Edict of Worms.

The emperor's order took the Protestants by surprise, for the negotiations between Valdez and Melancthon had prevented

<sup>1</sup> Die Sache in einer Enge und Stille vorzu nehmen. Corp. Ref., ii, 123.

<sup>2</sup> Cælestin, Hist. Comit. August., p. 193. Intelligo hoc *totus æquissimus* moliri, ut omnino nihil agatur de negotiis ecclesiasticis. (Ibid., 57.) I understood the aim of the prelates to be, that nothing at all be done concerning ecclesiastical matters.

<sup>3</sup> Ac plane putarit *πικρότερον* esse quam ut ferre possent adversarii. Ibid., 140.

the latter from putting the finishing stroke to the Confession. It was not copied out fair; and the conclusions, as well as the exordium, were not definitively drawn up. In consequence of this, the Protestants begged the Archbishop of Mentz to obtain for them the delay of a day; but their petition was refused.<sup>1</sup> They therefore laboured incessantly, even during the night, to correct and transcribe the Confession.

On Thursday, 23d June, all the Protestant princes, deputies, councillors, and theologians met early at the elector's. The Confession was read in German, and all gave their adhesion to it, except the landgrave and the Strasburgers, who required a change in the article on the sacrament.<sup>2</sup> The princes rejected their demand.

The Elector of Saxony was already preparing to sign it, when Melancthon stopped him: he feared giving too political a colouring to this religious business. In his idea it was the Church that should appear, and not the State. "It is for the theologians and ministers to propose these things," said he;<sup>3</sup> "let us reserve for other matters the authority of the mighty ones of the earth."—"God forbid that you should exclude me," replied the elector; "I am resolved to do what is right without troubling myself about my Crown. I desire to confess the Lord. My electoral hat and my ermine are not so precious to me as the cross of Jesus Christ. I shall leave on earth these marks of my greatness; but my Master's cross will accompany me to heaven."

How resist such christian language! Melancthon gave way.

The elector then approached, signed, and handed the pen to the landgrave, who at first made some objections; however the enemy was at the door; was this a time for disunion? At last he signed, but with a declaration that the doctrine of the Eucharist did not please him.<sup>4</sup>

The margrave and Luneburg having joyfully subscribed their names, Anhalt took the pen in his turn, and said, "I have tilted more than once to please others; now, if the honour of my Lord Jesus Christ requires it, I am ready to saddle my horse, to leave my goods and life behind; and rush into eternity, towards an everlasting crown." Then, having signed,

<sup>1</sup> Dasselbige abgeschlagen. Corp. Ref., ii, 127. <sup>2</sup> Argentinenses ambierunt aliquid ut excepto articulo sacramenti susciperentur. (Ibid., 155.) The Strasburgers made some attempt to get the article of the sacrament excepted.

<sup>3</sup> Non principum nomine ediscedentium, qui theologi vocantur. (Camer., p. 120.) To be put forth, not in the name of the princes, but of the teachers, who are termed theologians.

<sup>4</sup> Landgravius subscribit nobiscum, sed tamen dicit sibi, de sacramento, a nostris non satisfieri. (Corp. Ref., ii, 155.) The landgrave subscribes with us, but yet says to himself that concerning the sacrament our views are not satisfactory to him.



this youthful prince said, turning to the theologians, "I would rather renounce my subjects and my states, rather quit the country of my fathers staff in hand, rather gain my bread by cleaning the shoes of the foreigner, than receive any other doctrine than that which is contained in this Confession." Nuremberg and Reutlingen alone of the cities subscribed their signatures;<sup>1</sup> and all resolved on demanding of the emperor that the Confession should be read publicly.<sup>2</sup>

The courage of the princes surprised every one. Rome had crushed the members of the Church, and had reduced them to a herd of slaves, whom she dragged silent and humiliated behind her: the Reformation enfranchised them, and with their rights it restored to them their duties. The priest no longer enjoyed the monopoly of religion; each head of a family again became priest in his own house, and all the members of the Church of God were thenceforward called to the rank of confessors. The laymen are nothing, or almost nothing, in the sect of Rome, but they are the essential portion of the Church of Jesus Christ. Wherever the priestly spirit is established, the Church dies; wherever laymen, as these Augsburg princes, understand their duty and their immediate dependence on Christ, the Church lives.

The evangelical theologians were moved by the devotedness of the princes. "When I consider their firmness in the confession of the Gospel," said Brentz, "the colour mounts to my cheeks. What a disgrace that we, who are only beggars beside them, are so afraid of confessing Christ!"<sup>3</sup> Brentz was then thinking of certain towns, particularly of Halle, of which he was pastor, but no doubt also of the theologians.

The latter, in truth, without being deficient in devotedness, were sometimes wanting in courage. Melancthon was in constant agitation; he ran to and fro, slipping in everywhere (says Cochlæus in his *Philippics*), visiting not only the houses and mansions of private persons, but also insinuating himself into the palaces of cardinals and princes, nay, even into the court of the emperor; and, whether at table or in conversation, he spared no means of persuading every person, that nothing was more easy than to restore peace between the two parties.<sup>4</sup>

One day he was with the archbishop of Salzburg, who in a long discourse gave an eloquent description of the troubles pro-

<sup>1</sup> *Confessioni tantum subscripserunt Nuremberga et Reutlingen.* (Corp. Ref., ii, 155.)

<sup>2</sup> *Decretum est ut publicæ recitandæ concessio ab Imperatore peteretur.*

*Seck., ii, 169.*

<sup>3</sup> *Rubore suffundor non mediocri, quod nos, præ illis mendici, &c.*

*Corp. Ref., ii, 125.*

<sup>4</sup> *Curabat hinc inde, perreptans ac penetrans.* *Cochl. Phil., 4, in Apol.*

duced, as he said, by the Reformation, and ended with a peroration "written in blood," as Melancthon characterized it.<sup>1</sup> Philip in agony had ventured during the conversation to slip in the word conscience. "Conscience!" hastily interrupted the archbishop, "Conscience!—What does that mean? I tell you plainly that the emperor will not allow confusion to be thus brought upon the empire."—Had I been in Melancthon's place," said Luther, "I should have immediately replied to the archbishop: And our Emperor, ours, will not tolerate such blasphemy."—"Alas," said Melancthon, "they are all as full of assurance as if there was no God."<sup>2</sup>

Another day Melancthon was with Campeggio, and conjured him to persevere in the moderate sentiments he appeared to entertain. And at another time, as it would seem, he was with the emperor himself.<sup>3</sup> Alas! said the alarmed Zwinglians, "after having qualified one-half of the Gospel, Melancthon is sacrificing the other."<sup>4</sup>

The wiles of the Ultramontanists were added to Philip's dejection, in order to arrest the courageous proceedings of the princes. Friday, 24th June, was the day fixed for reading the Confession, but measures were taken to prevent it. The sitting of the diet did not begin till three in the afternoon; the legate was then announced; Charles went to meet him as far as the top of the grand staircase, and Campeggio, taking his seat in front of the emperor, in King Ferdinand's place, delivered a harangue in Ciceronian style. "Never," said he, "has St. Peter's bark been so violently tossed by such various waves, whirlwinds, and abysses."<sup>5</sup> The Holy Father has learnt these things with pain, and desires to drag the Church from these frightful gulfs. For the love of Jesus Christ, for the safety of your country and for your own, O mighty Prince! get rid of these errors, deliver Germany, and save Christendom!"

After a temperate reply from Albert of Mentz, the legate quitted the town-hall, and the evangelical princes stood up; but a fresh obstacle had been provided. Deputies from Austria, Carinthia, and Carniola, first received a hearing.<sup>6</sup>

Much time had thus elapsed. The evangelical princes, however, rose up again, and the Chancellor Brück said: "It is

<sup>1</sup> Addebat Epilogum plane sanguine scriptum. Corp. Ref., ii, 126.

<sup>2</sup> Securi sunt quasi nullus sit Deus. Ibid., 156.

<sup>3</sup> Melancthon a Cesare, Salisburgensi et Campegio vocatus est. Zw. Epp., ii, 473.

<sup>4</sup> Ut cum mitigarit tam multa cedat et reliqua. (Ibid.) That since he has softened so many matters he may yield the rest also.

<sup>5</sup> Neque unquam tam variis sectarum turbinibus navicula Petri fluctuaverit. Seck., ii, 169.

<sup>6</sup> Oratio valde lugubris et miserabilis contra Turcas. (Corp. Ref., ii, 154.) The discourse was very lugubrious and whining against the Turks.

pretended that new doctrines not based on Scripture, that heresies and schisms, are spread among the people by us. Considering that such accusations compromise not only our good name, but also the safety of our souls,<sup>1</sup> we beg his majesty will have the goodness to hear what are the doctrines we profess."

The emperor, no doubt, by arrangement with the legate, made reply that it was too late; besides, that this reading would be useless; and that the princes should be satisfied with putting in their Confession in writing. Thus the mine, so skilfully prepared, worked admirably; the Confession, once handed to the emperor, would be thrown aside, and the Reformation would be forced to retire, without the papists having even condescended to hear it, without defence, and overwhelmed with contumely.

The protestant princes, uneasy and agitated, insisted. "Our honour is at stake," said they; "our souls are endangered."<sup>2</sup> We are accused publicly; publicly we ought to answer." Charles was shaken; Ferdinand leant towards him, and whispered a few words in his ear:<sup>3</sup> the emperor refused a second time.

Upon this the elector and princes, in still greater alarm, said for the third time, with emotion and earnestness:<sup>4</sup> "For the love of God, let us read our Confession! No person is insulted in it." Thus were seen, on the one hand, a few faithful men, desiring with loud cries to confess their faith; and on the other, the great emperor of the west, surrounded by a crowd of cardinals, prelates, and princes, endeavouring to stifle the manifestation of the truth.<sup>5</sup> It was a serious, violent, and decisive struggle, in which the holiest interests were discussed!

At last Charles appeared to yield: "His Majesty grants your request," was the reply to the princes; but as it is now too late, he begs you to transmit him your written Confession, and to-morrow, at two o'clock, the diet will be prepared to hear it read at the Palatine Palace."

The princes were struck by these words, which, seeming to grant them everything, in reality granted nothing. In the first place, it was not in a public sitting at the town-hall, but privately in his own palace, that the emperor was willing to

<sup>1</sup> Verum etiam ad animæ dispendium aut salutem æternam. Seck., ii, 189.

<sup>2</sup> Ihre Seele, Ehre und Glimpf belunget. Corp. Ref., ii, 128.

<sup>3</sup> Vidrant enim eum subinde aliquid illi in aurem insusurrare. (Seck., ii, 169.) For they had seen him ever and anon whisper something into his ear.

<sup>4</sup> Zum dritten mal heftig angehalten. Corp. Ref., ii, 128.

<sup>5</sup> Circumsistebant Cæsarem magno numero cardinales et prælati ecclesiastici. Seck., ii, 169.



hear them;<sup>1</sup> then they had no doubt that if the Confession left their hands it was all over with the public reading. They therefore remained firm. "The work has been done in great haste," said they, and it was the truth; "pray leave it with us to-night, that we may revise it." The emperor was obliged to yield, and the Protestants returned to their hotels full of joy; while the legate and his friends, perceiving that the Confession was inevitable, saw the morrow approach with continually increasing anxiety.

Among those who prepared to confess the evangelical truth, was one, however, whose heart was filled with sadness:—it was Melancthon. Placed between two fires, he saw the reformed, and many even of his own friends, reproach his weakness; while the opposite party detested what they called his hypocrisy. His friend Camerarius, who visited Augsburg about this time, often found him plunged in thought, uttering deep sighs, and shedding bitter tears.<sup>2</sup> Brentz, moved with compassion, coming to the unhappy Philip, would sit down by his side and weep with him;<sup>3</sup> and Jonas endeavoured to console him in another manner, by exhorting him to take the book of Psalms, and cry to God with all his heart, making use of David's words rather than of his own.

One day intelligence arrived which formed a general topic of conversation in Augsburg, and which, by spreading terror among the partisans of the pope, gave a momentary relief to Melancthon. It was said that a mule in Rome had given birth to a colt with crane's feet. "This prodigy," said Melancthon thoughtfully, "announces that Rome is near its end;"<sup>4</sup> perhaps because the crane is a bird of passage, and that the pope's mule thus gave signs of departure. Melancthon had immediately written to Luther, who replied that he was exceedingly rejoiced that God had given the pope so striking a sign of his approaching fall.<sup>5</sup> It is good to recall to memory these puerilities of the age of the reformers, that we may better understand the high range of these men of God in matters of faith.

These idle Roman stories did not long console Melancthon. On the eve of the 25th of June, he was present in imagination

<sup>1</sup> Non quidem publice in prætorio, sed privatim in palatio suo. Corp. Ref., ii, 124.

<sup>2</sup> Non modo suspirantem sed profundentem lacrymas conspexi. Camer., p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> Brentius assidebat hæc scribenti, una lacrymans. Corp. Ref., ii, 126.

<sup>4</sup> Romæ quædam mula peperit, et partus habuit pedes gruis. Vides significari exitum Romæ per schismata. (Ibid., p. 126.) A certain mule produced at Rome, and the progeny had the feet of a crane. You see that the destruction of Rome, by schisms, is signified.

<sup>5</sup> Gaudeo papæ signum datum in mula puerpera, ut citius pereat. L. Epp., iv, 4.

at the reading of that Confession which he had drawn up, which was about to be proclaimed before the world, and in which one word too many or too few might decide on the approbation or the hatred of the princes, on the safety or ruin of the Reformation and of the empire. He could bear up no longer, and the feeble Atlas, crushed under the burden of the world upon his shoulders, gave utterance to a cry of anguish. "All my time here is spent in tears and mourning," wrote he to Vitus Diedrich, Luther's secretary in the castle of Coburg;<sup>1</sup> and on the morrow he wrote to Luther himself: "My dwelling is in perpetual tears.<sup>2</sup> My consternation is indescribable.<sup>3</sup> O my father! I do not wish my words to exaggerate my sorrows; but without your consolations, it is impossible for me to enjoy here the least peace."

Nothing in fact presented so strong a contrast to Melancthon's distrust and dejection, as the faith, calmness, and exultation of Luther. It was of advantage to him that he was not then in the midst of the Augsburg vortex, and to be able from his stronghold to set his foot with tranquillity upon the rock of God's promises. He was sensible himself of the value of this peaceful hermitage, as he called it.<sup>4</sup> "I cannot sufficiently admire," said Vitus Diedrich, "the firmness, cheerfulness, and faith of this man, so astonishing in such cruel times."

Luther, besides his constant reading of the Word of God,<sup>5</sup> did not pass a day without devoting three hours at least to prayer, and they were hours selected from those the most favourable to study.<sup>6</sup> One day, as Diedrich approached the reformer's chamber, he heard his voice,<sup>7</sup> and remained motionless, holding his breath, a few steps from the door. Luther was praying, and his prayer (said the secretary) was full of adoration, fear, and hope, as when one speaks to a friend or to a father.<sup>8</sup> "I know that thou art our Father and our God," said the reformer alone in his chamber, "and that thou wilt scatter the persecutors of thy children, for thou art thyself endangered with us. All this matter is thine, and it is only by thy constraint that we have put our hands to it. Defend us then, O Father!" The secretary, motionless as a statue, in the long gallery of the castle, lost not one of the words that the

<sup>1</sup> Hic consumitur omne mihi tempus in lacrymis et luctu. Corp. Ref., ii, 126.

<sup>2</sup> Versamur hic in miserimis curis et plane perpetuis lacrymis. Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> Mira consternatio animorum nostrorum. Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ex eremo tacita. L. Epp. iv, 51. It is thus he dates his letter.

<sup>5</sup> Assidue autem illa diligentiore verbi Dei tractatione alit. Corp. Ref., ii, 159.

<sup>6</sup> Nullus abit dies, quin ut minimum tres horas easque studiis optimis in orationibus ponat. Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Semel mihi contigit ut orantem eum audirem. (Ibid.) It once happened to me to hear him praying.

<sup>8</sup> Tanta spe et fide ut cum patre et amico colloqui sentiat. Ibid.

clear and resounding voice of Luther bore to his ears.<sup>1</sup> The reformer was earnest with God, and called upon him with such unction to accomplish his promises, that Diedrich felt his heart glow within him.<sup>2</sup> "Oh! exclaimed he, as he retired, "How could not these prayers but prevail in the desperate struggle at Augsburg!"

Luther might also have allowed himself to be overcome with fear, for he was left in complete ignorance of what was taking place in the diet. A Wittemberg messenger, who should have brought him forests of letters (according to his own expression), having presented himself: "Do you bring any letters?" asked Luther. "No!" "How are those gentlemen?" "Well!" Luther, grieved at such silence, returned and shut himself up in his chamber.

Ere long there appeared a courier on horseback carrying despatches from the elector to Torgau; "Do you bring me any letter?" asked Luther, "No!" "How are those gentlemen?" continued he, fearfully. "Well!" "This is strange," thought the reformer. A waggon having left Coburg laden with flour (for they were almost in want of provisions at Augsburg), Luther impatiently awaited the return of the driver; but he returned empty. Luther then began to revolve the gloomiest thoughts in his mind, not doubting that they were concealing some misfortune from him.<sup>3</sup> At last another individual, Jobst Nymptzen, having arrived from Augsburg, Luther rushed anew towards him, with his usual question: "Do you bring me any letters? He waited trembling for the reply. "No!" "And how are those gentlemen?" "Well!" The reformer withdrew, a prey to anger and to fear.

Then Luther opened his Bible, and to console himself for the silence of men, conversed with God. There were some passages of Scripture in particular that he read continually. We point them out below.<sup>4</sup> He did more; he wrote with his own hand many declarations of Scripture over the doors and windows, and on the walls of the castle. In one place were these words from the 118th Psalm: *I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord.* In another, those of the 12th

<sup>1</sup> Tum orantem clara voce, procul stans, audivi. Corp. Ref., ii, 159.

<sup>2</sup> Ardebat mihi quoque animus singulari quodam impetu. Ibid. <sup>3</sup> Hic cepi cogitare tristitia, suspirans, vos aliquid mali me celare velle. L. Epp., iv, 60.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Tim., iii, 12; Philip., ii, 12, 18; John, x, 17, 18; Matth., xvi, 18; Psalm xli, 1, 2; 1 John, iv, 4; Psalm iv, 23; xxvii, 14; John, xvi, 33; Luke, xvii, 5; Psalm xxxii, 11; cxlv, 18, 19; xci, 14, 15; Sirach, ii, 11; 1 Maccab., ii, 61; Matth., vi, 31; 1 Peter, v, 6, 7; Matth., x, 28; Rom., iv and vi; Heb. v and xi; 1 Sam., iv, 18; xxxi, 4-8; ii, 30; 2 Tim., ii, 17-19; i, 12; Eph., iii, 20, 21. Among these passages will be observed two verses taken from the Apocrypha, but whose equivalents might easily be found in the Word of God.



chapter of Proverbs: *The way of the wicked seduceth them; and over his bed, this passage from the 4th Psalm: I will lay me down in peace and sleep; for thou, O Lord, only makest me dwell in safety.* Never perhaps did man so environ himself with the promises of the Lord, or so dwell in the atmosphere of his Word and live by his breath, as Luther at Coburg.

At length letters came. "If the times in which we live were not opposed to it, I should have imagined some revenge," wrote Luther to Jonas, "but prayer checked my anger, and anger checked my prayer."<sup>1</sup> I am delighted at that tranquil mind which God gives our prince. As for Melancthon, it is his philosophy that tortures him, and nothing else. For our cause is in the very hands of Him who can say with unspeakable dignity: *No one shall pluck it out of my hands.* I would not have it in our hands, and it would not be desirable that it were so.<sup>2</sup> I have had many things in my hands, and I have lost them all; but whatever I have been able to place in God's, I still possess."

On learning that Melancthon's anguish still continued, Luther wrote to him; and these are the words that should be preserved:—

"Grace and peace in Christ! in Christ, I say, and not in the world, Amen. I hate with exceeding hatred those extreme cares which consume me. If the cause is unjust, abandon it; if the cause is just, why should we belie the promises of Him who commands us to sleep without fear? Can the devil do more than kill us? Christ will not be wanting to the work of justice and of truth. He lives; he reigns; what fear, then, can we have? God is powerful to upraise his cause if it is overthrown, to make it proceed if it remains motionless, and if we are not worthy of it, he will do it by others.

"I have received your Apology,<sup>3</sup> and I cannot understand what you mean, when you ask what we must concede to the papists. We have already conceded too much. Night and day I meditate on this affair, turning it over and over, diligently searching the Scriptures, and the conviction of the truth of our doctrine every day becomes stronger in my mind. With the help of God I will not permit a single letter of all that we have said to be torn from us.

"The issue of this affair torments you, because you cannot

<sup>1</sup> *Sed orandi tempus non sinebat irasci, et ira non sinebat orare.* (L. Epp., iv, 46.) The time for prayer did not allow me to be angry, and anger did not allow me to pray.

<sup>2</sup> *Nec vellem, nec consultum esset, in nostra manu esse.* Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> The Confession revised and corrected.

understand it. But if you could, I would not have the least share in it. God has put it in a 'common place,' that you will not find either in your rhetoric or in your philosophy: that place is called Faith.<sup>1</sup> It is that in which subsist all things that we can neither understand nor see. Whoever wishes to touch them, as you do, will have tears for his whole reward.

"If Christ is not with us, where is he in the whole universe? If we are not the Church, where, I pray, is the Church? Is it the Dukes of Bavaria, is it Ferdinand, is it the pope, is it the Turk, who is the Church? If we have not the Word of God, who is it that possesses it?"

"Only we must have faith, lest the cause of faith should be found to be without faith."<sup>2</sup>

"If we fall, Christ falls with us, that is to say, the Master of the world. I would rather fall with Christ, than remain standing with Cæsar."

Thus wrote Luther. The faith which animated him flowed from him like torrents of living water. He was indefatigable: in a single day he wrote to Melancthon, Spalatin, Brentz, Agricola, and John Frederick, and they were letters full of life. He was not alone in praying, speaking, and believing. At the same moment, the evangelical Christians exhorted one another every where to prayer.<sup>3</sup> Such was the arsenal in which the weapons were forged that the confessors of Christ wielded before the Diet of Augsburg.

## CHAPTER VII.

The 25th June 1530—The Palatine Chapel—Recollections and Contrast—The Confession—Prologue—Justification—The Church—Free Will and Works—Faith—Interest of the Hearers—The Princes become Preachers—The Confession—Abuses—Church and State—The two Governments—Epilogue—Argumentation—Prudence—Church and State—The Sword—Moderate Tone of the Confession—Its Defects—A new Baptism.

At length the 25th June arrived. This was destined to be the greatest day of the Reformation, and one of the most glorious in the history of Christianity and of mankind.

As the chapel of the Palatine Palace, where the emperor had resolved to hear the Confession, could contain only about two

<sup>1</sup> Deus posuit eam in locum quendam communem, quem in tua rhetorica non habes nec in philosophia tua; is vocatur fides. L. Epp., iv, 53.

<sup>2</sup> Tantum est opus fide, ne causa fidei sit sine fide. Ibid., 61.

<sup>3</sup> Wittembergæ scribunt, tam diligenter ibi Ecclesiam orare. (Ibid., 69.) They write from Wittemberg that the Church there prays so diligently.

hundred persons,<sup>1</sup> before three o'clock a great crowd was to be seen surrounding the building and thronging the court, hoping by this means to catch a few words; and many having gained entrance to the chapel, all were turned out except those who were, at least, councillors to the princes.

Charles took his seat on the throne. The electors or their representatives were on his right and left hand; after them, the other princes and states of the empire. The legate had refused to appear in this solemnity, lest he should seem by his presence to authorize the reading of the Confession.<sup>2</sup>

Then stood up John the elector of Saxony, with his son John Frederick, Philip landgrave of Hesse, the Margrave George of Brandenburg, Wolfgang prince of Anhalt, Ernest duke of Brunswick-Luneburg, and his brother Francis, and last of all the deputies of Nuremberg and Reutlingen. Their air was animated and their features radiant with joy.<sup>3</sup> The apologies of the early Christians, of Tertullian and Justin Martyr, hardly reached in writing the sovereigns to whom they were addressed. But now, to hear the new apology of resuscitated Christianity, behold that puissant emperor, whose sceptre, stretching far beyond the Columns of Hercules, reaches the utmost limits of the world, his brother the King of the Romans, with electors, princes, prelates, deputies, ambassadors, all of whom desire to destroy the Gospel, but who are constrained by an invincible power to listen, and, by that very listening, to honour the Confession!

One thought was involuntarily present in the minds of the spectators,—the recollection of the Diet of Worms.<sup>4</sup> Only nine years before, a poor monk stood alone for this same cause in a hall of the town-house at Worms, in presence of the empire. And now in his stead behold the foremost of the electors, princes, and cities! What a victory is declared by this simple fact! No doubt Charles himself cannot escape from this recollection.

The emperor, seeing the Protestants stand up, motioned them to sit down; and then the two chancellors of the elector, Bruck and Bayer, advanced to the middle of the chapel, and stood before the throne, holding in their hands, the former the Latin and the other the German copy of the Confession. The emperor required the Latin copy to be read.<sup>5</sup> "We are Germans,"

<sup>1</sup> Capiebat forsan ducentos. Jonas, Corp. Ref., ii, 157.  
cil Trent, i, 101.

<sup>2</sup> Laeto et alacri animo et vultu. Scultet., i, 273.

<sup>3</sup> Ante  
decennium in conventu Wormatensi. Corp. Ref., ii, 153.

<sup>4</sup> Sarpi, Hist. Coun-

<sup>5</sup> Ante

<sup>6</sup> Cæsar Latinum

prelegi volebat. Seckl., ii, 170.



said the Elector of Saxony, "and on German soil; I hope therefore your majesty will allow us to speak German." If the Confession had been read in Latin, a language unknown to most of the princes, the general effect would have been lost. This was another means of shutting the mouth of the Gospel. The emperor complied with the elector's demand.

Bayer then began to read the evangelical Confession, slowly, seriously, distinctly, with a clear, strong, and sonorous voice, which re-echoed under the arched roof of the chapel, and carried even to the outside this great testimony paid to the truth.<sup>1</sup>

"Most serene, most mighty, and invincible emperor and most gracious lord," said he, "we who appear in your presence, declare ourselves ready to confer amicably with you on the fittest means of restoring one sole, true, and same faith, since it is for one sole and same Christ that we fight.<sup>2</sup> And in case that these religious dissensions cannot be settled amicably, we then offer to your majesty to explain our cause in a general, free, and Christian council."<sup>3</sup>

This prologue being ended, Bayer confessed the Holy Trinity, conformably with the Nicene Council,<sup>4</sup> original and hereditary sin, "which bringeth eternal death to all who are not born again,"<sup>5</sup> and the incarnation of the Son, "very God and very man,"<sup>6</sup>

"We teach, moreover," continued he, "that we cannot be justified before God by our own strength, our merits, or our works; but that we are justified freely for Christ's sake through faith,<sup>7</sup> when we believe that our sins are forgiven in virtue of Christ, who by his death has made satisfaction for our sins: this faith is the righteousness that God imputeth to the sinner.

"But we teach, at the same time, that this faith ought to bear good fruits, and that we must do all the good works commanded by God, for the love of God, and not by their means to gain the grace of God."

The Protestants next declared their faith in the Christian Church, "which is," said they, "the assembly of all true believers and all the saints,"<sup>8</sup> in the midst of whom there are,

<sup>1</sup> Qui clare, distincte, tarde et voce adeo grandi et sonora eam pronunciavit. Scultet., p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> Ad unam veram concordem religionem, sicut omnes sub uno Christo sumus et militamus. (Confessio, Præfatio. Urkund., i, 474.) To one true harmonious religion, as we all are and serve under one Christ.

<sup>3</sup> Causam dicturos in tali generali, libero, et Christiano concilio. Ibid., 479.

<sup>4</sup> Et tamen tres sunt personæ ejusdem essentie. Ibid., 682.

<sup>5</sup> Vitium originis, afferens æternam mortem his qui non renascuntur. Ibid., 483.

<sup>6</sup> Unus Christus, vere Deus, et vere homo. Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Quod homines non possint justificari coram Deo, propriis viribus, meritis, aut operibus, sed gratis, propter Christum, per fidem. Confessio, Præfatio. Urkund., i, 484.

<sup>8</sup> Congregatio sanctorum et vere credentium, Ibid., 487.

nevertheless, in this life, many false Christians, hypocrites even, and manifest sinners; and, they added, “that it is sufficient for the real unity of the Church that they agree on the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments, without the rites and ceremonies instituted by men being everywhere the same.”<sup>1</sup> They proclaimed the necessity of baptism, and declared “that the body and blood of Christ are really present and administered in the Lord’s Supper to those who partake of it.”<sup>2</sup>

The chancellor then successively confessed the faith of the evangelical Christians touching confession, penance, the nature of the sacraments, the government of the Church, ecclesiastical ordinances, political government, and the last judgment. “As regards free will,” continued he, “we confess that man’s will has a certain liberty of accomplishing civil justice, and of loving the things that reason comprehends; that man can do the good that is within the sphere of nature—plough his fields, eat, drink, have a friend, put on a coat, build a house, take a wife, feed cattle, exercise a calling; as also he can, of his own movement, do evil, kneel before an idol, and commit murder. But we maintain that without the Holy Ghost he cannot do what is righteous in the sight of God.”

Then, returning to the grand doctrine of the Reformation, and recalling to mind that the doctors of the pope “have never ceased impelling the faithful to puerile and useless works, as the custom of chaplets, invocations of saints, monastic vows, processions, fasts, feast-days, brotherhoods,” the Protestants added, that as for themselves, while urging the practice of truly christian works, of which little had been said before their time,<sup>3</sup> “they taught that man is justified by faith alone; not by that faith which is a simple knowledge of the history, and which wicked men and even devils possess, but by faith, believes not only the history, but also the effect of the history,<sup>4</sup> which believes that through Christ we obtain grace; which sees that in Christ we have a merciful Father; which knows this God; which calls upon him; in a word, which is not without God, as the heathen are.”

“Such,” said Bayer, “is a summary of the doctrine professed in our churches, by which it may be seen that this doctrine is by no means opposed to Scripture, to the universal Church,

<sup>1</sup> Ad veram unitatem Ecclesiæ, satis est consentire de doctrina Evangelii et administratione, sacramentorum, nec necesse est, &c. Confessio, Præfatio. Urkund., i, 486.

<sup>2</sup> Quod corpus et sanguis Christi, vere adsint et distribuuntur vescentibus in cœna Domini. F. Urkund., i, 488.

<sup>3</sup> De quibus rebus olim parum docebant concionatores; tatum puerilia et non necessaria opera urgebant. Ibid., 495. On which subjects preachers formerly taught little; they only urged puerile and not necessary works.

<sup>4</sup> Non tantum historiæ noticiam, sed fidem quæ credit non tantum historiam, sed etiam effectum historiæ. Ibid., 498.

nor even to the Romish Church, such as the doctors describe it to us;<sup>1</sup> and since it is so, to reject us as heretics is an offence against unity and charity."

Here terminated the first part of the Confession, the aim of which was to explain the evangelical doctrine. The chancellor read with so distinct a voice, that the crowd, which was unable to enter the hall, and which filled the court and all the approaches of the episcopal palace, did not lose a word.<sup>2</sup> This reading produced the most marvellous effect on the princes who thronged the chapel. Jonas watched every change in their countenances,<sup>3</sup> and there beheld interest, astonishment, and even approbation depicted by turns. "The adversaries imagine they have done a wonderful thing by forbidding the preaching of the Gospel," wrote Luther to the elector; "and they do not see, poor creatures! that by the reading of the Confession in the presence of the diet, there has been more preaching than in the sermons of ten doctors. Exquisite subtlety! admirable expedient! Master Agricola and the other ministers are reduced to silence; but in their place appear the Elector of Saxony and the other princes and lords, who preach before his imperial majesty and the members of the whole empire, freely, to their beard, and before their noses. Yes, Christ is in the diet, and he does not keep silence: *the Word of God cannot be bound*. They forbid it in the pulpit, and are forced to hear it in the palace; poor ministers cannot announce it, and great princes proclaim it; the servants are forbidden to listen to it, and their masters are compelled to hear it; they will have nothing to do with it during the whole course of the diet, and they are forced to submit to hear more in one day than is heard ordinarily in a whole year . . . . When all else is silent, the very stones cry out, as says our Lord Jesus Christ."<sup>4</sup>

That part of the Confession destined to point out errors and abuses still remained. Bayer continued: he explained and demonstrated the doctrine of the two kinds; he attacked the compulsory celibacy of priests, maintained that the Lord's Supper had been changed into a regular fair, in which it was merely a question of buying and selling, and that it had been re-established in its primitive purity by the Reformation, and was celebrated in the evangelical churches with entirely new devotion

<sup>1</sup> Nihil inesse quod discrepat a Scripturis vel ab Ecclesia Catholica, vel ab Ecclesia Romana, quatenus ex Scripturis nota est. (F. Urkund, i, 501.) That there is nothing in it at variance with Scripture or the Catholic Church, or the Church of Rome, as known from writers.

<sup>2</sup> Verum etiam in area inferiori et vicinis locis exaudiri potuerit. Scultet., p. 274.

<sup>3</sup> Jonas scribit vidisse se vultus omnium de quo mihi spondet narrationem coram. (L. Epp., iv, 71.) Jonas writes that he saw all their books, and promises me an account of it in person.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 82.



and gravity. He declared that the sacrament was administered to no one who had not first made confession of his faults, and he quoted this expression of Chrysostom: "Confess thyself to God the Lord, thy real Judge; tell thy sin, not with the tongue but in thy conscience and in thy heart."

Bayer next came to the precepts on the distinction of meats and other Roman usages. "Celebrate such a festival" said he; "repeat such a prayer, or keep such a fast; be dressed in such a manner, and so many other ordinances of men—this is what is now styled a spiritual and christian life; while the good works prescribed by God, as those of a father of a family who toils to support his wife, his sons, and his daughters—of a mother who brings children into the world, and takes care of them—of a prince or of a magistrate who governs his subjects, are looked upon as secular things, and of an imperfect nature." As for monastic vows in particular, he represented that, as the pope could give a dispensation from them, those vows ought therefore to be abolished.

The last article of the Confession treated of the authority of the bishops: powerful princes crowned with the episcopal mitre were there; the Archbishop of Mentz, Cologne, Salzburg, and Bremen, with the Bishops of Bamberg, Wurzburg, Eichstadt, Worms, Spire, Strasburg, Augsburg, Constance, Coire, Passau, Liege, Trent, Brixen, and of Lebus and Ratzburg, fixed their eyes on the humble confessor. He fearlessly continued, and energetically protesting against that confusion of Church and State which had characterized the Middle Ages, he called for the distinction and independence of the two Societies.

"Many," said he, "have unskilfully confounded the episcopal and the temporal power; and from this confusion have resulted great wars, revolts, and seditions.<sup>1</sup> It is for this reason, and to reassure men's consciences, that we find ourselves constrained to establish the difference, which exists between the power of the Church and the power of the sword.<sup>2</sup>

"We therefore teach that the power of the keys or of the bishops is conformably with the Word of the Lord, a commandment emanating from God, to preach the Gospel, to remit or retain sins, and to administer the Sacraments. This power has reference only to eternal goods, is exercised only by the minister of the Word and does not trouble itself with political administration. The political, administration on the other

<sup>1</sup> Nonnulli incommode commiscuerant potestatem ecclesiasticam et potestatem gladii; et ex hac confusione, &c. (Urkund. Confes. Augs., i, 539.) Some have inconveniently confounded ecclesiastical power and the power of the sword, and this confusion, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Coacti sunt ostendere discrimen ecclesiasticæ potestatis et gladii.

hand, is busied with every thing else but the Gospel. The magistrate protects, not souls, but bodies and temporal possessions. He defends them against all attacks from without, and, by making use of the sword and of punishment, compels men to observe civil justice and peace.<sup>1</sup>

“For this reason we must take particular care not to mingle the power of the Church with the power of the State.<sup>2</sup> The power of the Church ought never to invade an office that is foreign to it; for Christ himself said: *My kingdom is not of this world.* And again: *Who made me a judge over you?* St. Paul said to the Philippians: *Our citizenship is in heaven.*<sup>3</sup> And to the Corinthians: *The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God.*

“It is thus that we distinguish the two governments and the two powers, and that we honour both as the most excellent gifts that God has given here on earth.

“The duty of the bishops is therefore to preach the Gospel, to forgive sins, and to exclude from the Christian Church all who rebel against the Lord, but without human power, and solely by the word of God.<sup>4</sup> If the bishops act thus, the churches ought to be obedient to them, according to this declaration of Christ: *Whoever heareth you heareth me.*

“But if the bishops teach anything that is contrary to the Gospel, then the churches have an order from God which forbids them to obey (Matt., vii, 15; Galatians, i, 8; 2 Cor., xiii, 8, 10). And St. Augustine himself, in his letter against Pertilian, writes: ‘We must not obey the catholic bishops, if they go astray, and teach anything contrary to the canonical Scriptures of God.’<sup>5</sup>

After some remarks on the ordinances and traditions of the Church, Bayer came to the epilogue of the Confession.

“It is not from hatred that we have spoken,” added he, “nor to insult any one; but we have explained the doctrines that we maintain to be essential, in order that it may be understood that we admit of neither dogma nor ceremony which is

<sup>1</sup> Politica administratio versatur enim circa alias res quam Evangelium; magistratus defendit non mentes sed corpora—et coercet homines gladio. Urkund. Confes. Augs., i, 541.) Civil government is employed about other things than the Gospel: the magistrate defends not minds but bodies, and coerces men by the sword.

<sup>2</sup> Non igitur commiscendæ sunt potestates ecclesiasticæ et civiles. Ibid. <sup>3</sup> Greek, Phil., iii, 20. πολιτειμα Scott and Henry Comment.

<sup>4</sup> Excludere a communione Ecclesia, sine vi humana sed verbo. (Urkund. Confes. Augs., i, 544.) To exclude from the communion of the Church without human force, but by the Word.

<sup>5</sup> Nec catholicis episcopis consentiendum est, sicuti forte falluntur aut contra canonicas Dei scripturas aliquid sentiunt. (Ibid., 544.) Nor are we to consent to the Catholic bishops, as they are perhaps mistaken and have some opinion contrary to the canonical Scriptures of God.

contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and to the usage of the universal Church."

Bayer then ceased to read. He had spoken for two hours: the silence and serious attention of the assembly were not once disturbed.<sup>1</sup>

This Confession of Augsburg will ever remain one of the masterpieces of the human mind enlightened by the Spirit of God.

The language that had been adopted, while it was perfectly natural, was the result of a profound study of character. These princes, these warriors, these politicians who were sitting in the Palatine Palace, entirely ignorant as they were of divinity, easily understood the Protestant doctrine; for it was not explained to them in the style of the schools, but in that of everyday life, and with a simplicity and clearness that rendered all misunderstanding impossible.

At the same time the power of argumentation was so much the more remarkable, as it was the more concealed. At one time Melancthon (for it was really he who spoke through the mouth of Bayer) was content to quote a single passage of Scripture or of the Fathers in favour of the doctrine he maintained; and at another he proved his thesis so much the more strongly, that he appeared only to be declaring it. With a single stroke he pointed out the sad consequences that would follow the rejection of the faith he professed, or with one word showed its importance for the prosperity of the Church; so that, while listening to him, the most violent enemies were obliged to acknowledge to themselves that there was really something to say in favour of the new sect.

To this force of reasoning the apology added a prudence no less remarkable. Melancthon, while declining with firmness the errors attributed to his party, did not even appear to feel the injustice of these erroneous imputations; and while pointing out those of Popery, he did not say expressly they were those of his adversaries; thus carefully avoiding every thing that might irritate their minds. In this he showed himself wise as a serpent and harmless as a dove.

But the most admirable thing of all is the fidelity with which the Confession explains the doctrines most essential to salvation. Rome is accustomed to represent the reformers as the creators of the Protestant doctrines; but it is not in the sixteenth century that we must look for the days of that creation. A bright track of light, of which Wickliffe and Augustine mark the most salient points, carries us back to the apostolic

<sup>1</sup> Mit grosser Stille und Ernst. Brück's Apologie, p. 59.



age: it was then that shone in all their brilliancy the creative days of evangelical truth. Yet it is true (and if this is what Rome means, we fully concur in the idea), never since the time of St. Paul had the Christian doctrine appeared with so much beauty, depth, and life, as in the days of the Reformation.

Among these doctrines, that of the Church, which had been so long disfigured, appeared at this time in all its native purity. With what wisdom, in particular, the confessors of Augsburg protest against that confusion of religion and politics which, since the deplorable epoch of Constantine, had changed the kingdom of God into an earthly and carnal institution! Undoubtedly what the Confession stigmatizes with the greatest energy is the intrusion of the Church into man to combat it. The evil of the three centuries which have passed away since then, is to have subjected the Church to the State; and we may believe that Luther and Melancthon would have found against this disorder thunders no less powerful. What they attack in a general sense, is the confusion of the two societies; what they demand, is their independence, I do not say their separation, for separation of Church and State was quite unknown to the Reformers. If the Augsburg confessors were unwilling that things from above should monopolize those of the earth, they would have been still less willing for things of earth to oppress those from heaven.

There is a particular application of this principle, which the Confession points out. It wills the bishops should reprimand those who obey wickedness, "but without human power, and solely by the Word of God." It therefore rejects the use of the sword in the chastisement of heretics. This we see is a primitive principle, fundamental and essential to the Reformation, as the contrary doctrine is a primitive principle, fundamental and essential to the Papacy. If among Protestants we find some writing, or even some example opposed to this, it is but an isolated fact, which cannot invalidate the official principles of the reform—it is one of those exceptions which always serve to confirm the rule.

Finally, the Augsburg Confession does not usurp the rights of the Word of God; it desires to be its handmaid and not its rival; it does not found, it does not regulate the faith, but simply professes it. "Our churches teach," it says; and it will be remembered that Luther considered it only as a sermon preached by princes and kings. Had it desired more, as has since been maintained, by that very circumstance it would have been nullified.

Was, however, the Confession able to follow in all things the exact path of truth? We may be permitted to doubt it.

It professes not to separate from the teaching of the Catholic Church, and even from that of the Romish Church—by which is no doubt signified the ancient Roman Church—and rejects the popish particularism which for about eight centuries, imprisoned men's consciences. The Confession, however, seems overlaid with superstitious fears when there is any question of deviating from the views entertained by some of the Fathers of the Church, of breaking the toils of the hierarchy, and of acting as regards Rome, without blamable forbearance. This, at least, is what its author, Melancthon, professes. “We do not put forward any dogma,” said he, “which is not founded on the Gospel or on the teaching of the Catholic Church; we are prepared to concede everything that is necessary for the episcopal dignity;<sup>1</sup> and, provided the bishops do not condemn the Gospel, we preserve all the rites that appear indifferent to us. In a word, there is no burden that we reject, if we can bear it without guilt.”<sup>2</sup>

Many will think, no doubt, that a little more independence would have been proper in this matter, and that it would have been better to have passed over the ages that have followed the times of the apostles, and have frankly put in practice the grand principle which the Reformation had proclaimed: “There is for articles of faith no other foundation than the Word of God.”<sup>3</sup>

Melancthon's moderation has been admired; and, in truth, while pointing out the abuses of Rome, he was silent on what is most revolting in them, on their disgraceful origin, their scandalous consequences, and is content to show that they are in contradiction to the Scripture. But he does more, he is silent on the divine right claimed by the pope, on the number of the sacraments, and on several other points. His great business is to justify the renovated, and not to attack the deformed, Church. “Peace, peace!” was his cry. But if, instead of all this circumspection, the Reformation had advanced with courage, had wholly unveiled the Word of God, and had made an energetic appeal to the sympathies of reform then spread in men's hearts, would it not have taken a stronger and more honourable position, and would it not have secured more extensive conquests?

<sup>1</sup> Concessuros omnia quæ ad dignitatem Episcoporum stabiliendam pertinent (Corp. Ref., ii, 431.) That they would concede every thing which tends to establish the dignity of the bishops.

<sup>2</sup> Nullum detractavimus onus, quod sine scelere suspici posset. (Ibid.) We have declared no burden which could be borne without sin.

<sup>3</sup> Solum verbum Dei condit articulos fidei. *The Word of God alone founds articles of faith.*

The interest that Charles the Fifth showed in listening to the Confession seems doubtful. According to some, he endeavoured to understand that foreign language;<sup>1</sup> according to others, he fell asleep.<sup>2</sup> It is easy to reconcile these contradictory testimonies.

When the reading was finished, Chancellor Bruck, with the two copies in his hand, advanced towards the emperor's secretary and presented them to him. Charles the Fifth, who was wide awake at this moment, himself took the two Confessions, handed the German copy, considered as official, to the Elector of Mentz, and kept the Latin one for himself.<sup>3</sup> He then made reply to the Elector of Saxony and to his allies, that he had graciously heard their Confession;<sup>4</sup> but as this affair was one of extreme importance, he required time to deliberate upon it.

The joy with which the Protestants were filled shone in their eyes.<sup>5</sup> God had been with them; and they saw that the striking act which had so recently been accomplished imposed on them the obligation of confessing the truth with immovable perseverance. "I am overjoyed," wrote Luther, "that I have lived until this hour, in which Christ has been publicly exalted by such illustrious confessors and in so glorious an assembly."<sup>6</sup> The whole evangelical church, excited and renovated by this public confession of its representatives, was then more intimately united to its Divine Chief, and baptised with a new baptism. "Since the apostolic age," said they (these are the words of a contemporary), "there has never been a greater work or a more magnificent confession."<sup>7</sup>

The emperor, having descended from his throne, approached the Protestant princes, and begged them in a low tone not to publish the Confession;<sup>8</sup> they acceded to his request, and every one withdrew.

<sup>1</sup> Satis attentus erat Cæsar. Jonas in Corp. Ref., ii, 184.

<sup>2</sup> Cum nostra

confessio legeretur, obdormivit. Brentius in Corp. Ref., ii, 245.

<sup>3</sup> The Latin

copy, deposited in the archives of the imperial house, should be found at Brussels; and the German copy, sent afterwards to the Council of Trent, ought to be in the Vatican.

<sup>4</sup> Gnediglich vernahmen. F. Urkund., ii, 3.

<sup>5</sup> Cum incre-

ditabili protestantium gaudio. Seck., ii, 170.

<sup>6</sup> Mihi vehementer placet vixisse

in hanc horam. (L. Epp., iv, 71.) I am exceedingly glad that I have lived to this hour.

<sup>7</sup> Grösser und höher Werk. Mæthesius. Hist., p. 93-98.

<sup>8</sup> In still

angeredet und gebethen. Corp. Ref., ii, 143.



## CHAPTER VIII.

Effect on the Romanists—Luther demands religious Liberty—His dominant Idea—Song of Triumph—Ingenuous Confessions—Hopes of the Protestants—Failure of the Popish Intrigues—The Emperor's Council—Violent Discussions—A Refutation proposed—Its Authors—Rome and the Civil Power—Perils of the Confessors—Melancthon's Minimum—The Emperor's Sister—Melancthon's Fall—Luther opposes Concession—The Legate repels Melancthon—The Pope's Decision—Question—Melancthon's School-matters—Answer.

THE Romanists had expected nothing like this. Instead of a hateful controversy, they had heard a striking confession of Jesus Christ; the most hostile minds were consequently disarmed. "We would not for a great deal," was the remark on every side, "have missed being present at this reading."<sup>1</sup> The effect was so prompt, that for an instant the cause was thought to be definitely gained. The bishops themselves imposed silence on the sophisms and clamours of the Fabers and the Ecks.<sup>2</sup> "All that the Lutherans have said is true," exclaimed the Bishop of Augsburg; "we cannot deny it."<sup>3</sup>—"Well, doctor," said the Duke of Bavaria to Eck, in a reproachful tone, "you had given me a very different idea of this doctrine and of this affair."<sup>4</sup> This was the general cry; accordingly the sophists, as they called them, were embarrassed. "But, after all," said the Duke of Bavaria to them, "can you refute by sound reasons the Confession made by the elector and his allies?"—"With the writings of the apostles and prophets—no!" replied Eck; "but with those of the Fathers and of the councils—yes!"<sup>5</sup> "I understand," quickly replied the duke; "I understand. The Lutherans, according to you, are in Scripture; and we are outside."

The Archbishop Hermann, elector of Cologne, the Count-palatine Frederick, Duke Erick of Brunswick-Luneburg, Duke Henry of Mecklenburg, and the Dukes of Pomerania, were gained over to the truth; and Hermann sought ere long to establish it in his electorate.

The impression produced in other countries by the Confession was perhaps still greater. Charles sent copies to all the courts; it was translated into French, Italian,<sup>6</sup> and even into

<sup>1</sup> Bricks Geschichte der Handl. in den Sachen des Glaubens zu Augsburg. Förstermann Archiv., p. 50. <sup>2</sup> Multi episcopi ad pacem sunt inclinati. L. Epp., iv, 70.

<sup>3</sup> Illa quæ recitata sunt, vera pura veritas; non possumus inficari. (Corp. Ref., ii, 151.) Those things which have been read are true, are pure truth; we cannot deny it.

<sup>4</sup> So habman Im vor nicht gesagt. Mathes. Hist., p. 99.

und Aposteln schriften——nicht. Mathes. Hist. p. 99.

<sup>5</sup> Mit Propheten

<sup>6</sup> Cæsar sibi fecit

Spanish and Portuguese; it circulated through all Europe, and thus accomplished what Luther had said: "Our Confession will penetrate into every court, and the sound thereof will spread through the whole earth."<sup>1</sup> It destroyed the prejudices that had been entertained, gave Europe a sounder idea of the Reformation, and prepared the most distant countries to receive the seeds of the Gospel.

Then Luther's voice began to be heard again. He saw that it was a decisive moment, and that he ought now to give the impulse that would gain religious liberty. He boldly demanded this liberty of the Roman-catholic princes of the diet;<sup>2</sup> and at the same time endeavoured to make his friends quit Augsburg. Jesus Christ had been boldly confessed. Instead of that long series of quarrels and discussions which was about to become connected with this courageous act, Luther would have wished for a striking rupture, even should he seal with his blood the testimony rendered to the Gospel. The stake, in his idea, would have been the real catastrophe of this tragedy. "I absolve you from this diet, in the name of the Lord,"<sup>3</sup> wrote he to his friends. "Now home, return home, again I say home! Would to God that I were the sacrifice offered to this new council, as John Huss at Constance!"<sup>4</sup>

But Luther did not expect so glorious a conclusion: he compared the diet to a drama. First, there had been the exposition, then the prologue, afterwards the action, and now he waited for the tragic catastrophe, according to some, but which in his opinion, would be merely comic.<sup>5</sup> Every thing, he thought, would be sacrificed to political peace, and dogmas would be set aside. This proceeding, which, even in our own days, would be in the eyes of the world the height of wisdom, was in Luther's eyes the height of folly.

He was especially alarmed at the thought of Charles's intervention. To withdraw the Church from all secular influence, and the governments from all clerical influence, was then one of the dominant ideas of the great reformer. "You see," wrote he to Melancthon, "that they oppose to our cause the same argument as at Worms, to wit, still and for ever the judgment of the emperor. Thus Satan is always harping on

nostram confessionem reddi Italica et Gallica lingua. (Corp. Ref., ii, 155. The French translation will be found in *Forstemann's Urkunden*, i, 357.—*Articles principaux de la foy*. The emperor caused our Confession to be translated for him into French and Italian. <sup>1</sup> Perrumpet in omnes aulas Principum et Regum. L. Epp., iv, 96. <sup>2</sup> Epistle to the Elector of Mentz. Ibid., 74. <sup>3</sup> Igitur absolvo vos in nomine Domini ab isto conventu. Ibid., 96. <sup>4</sup> Vellem ego sacrificium esse hujus novissimi concilii, sicut Johannes Huss Contantin. (Ibid., 110. I could wish to be the sacrifice of this latest council, like John Huss at Constance.

<sup>5</sup> Sed catastrophem illi tragicam, nos comicam expectamus. Ibid., 85.

the same string, and that emaciated strength<sup>1</sup> of the civil power is the only one which this myriad-wiled spirit is able to find against Jesus Christ." But Luther took courage, and boldly raised his head. "Christ is coming," continued he; "he is coming, sitting at the right hand. . . . Of whom? not of the emperor, or we should long ago have been lost, but of God himself: let us fear nothing. Christ is the King of kings and the Lord of lords. If he loses this title at Augsburg, he must also lose it in all the earth, and in all the heavens."

Thus a song of triumph was, on the part of the confessors of Augsburg, the first movement that followed this courageous act, unique doubtless in the annals of the Church. Some of their adversaries at first shared in their triumph, and the others were silent; but a powerful reaction took place ere long.

On the following morning, Charles having risen in ill-humour and tired for want of sleep, the first of his ministers who appeared in the imperial apartments was the count-palatine, as wearied and embarrassed as his master. "We must yield something," said he to Charles; "and I would remind your majesty that the Emperor Maximilian was willing to grant the two kinds in the Eucharist, the marriage of priests, and liberty with respect to the fasts." Charles the Fifth eagerly seized at this proposition as a means of safety. But Granvelle and Campeggio soon arrived, who induced him to withdraw it.

Rome, bewildered for a moment by the blow that had struck her, rose up again with energy. "I stay with the mother," exclaimed the bishop of Wartzburg, meaning by it the Church of Rome; "the mother, the mother!" "My lord," wittily replied Brentz, "pray, do not, for the mother, forget either the Father or the Son!"—"Well! I grant it," replied the Archbishop of Salzburg to one of his friends, "I also should desire the communion in both kinds, the marriage of priests, the reformation of the mass, and liberty as regards food and other traditions, . . . . But that it should be a monk, a poor monk, who presumes to reform us all, is what we cannot tolerate."<sup>2</sup>—"I should have no objection," said another bishop, "for Divine Worship to be celebrated everywhere as it is at Wittenberg; but we can never consent that this new doctrine should issue from such a corner."<sup>3</sup> And Melancthon, insisting with the Archbishop of Salzburg on the necessity of

<sup>1</sup> Sic Satan chorda semper oberrat eadem, et mille-artifex ille non habet contra Christum, nisi unum illud elumbe robur. L. Epp. iv, 100.

monachus debeat nos reformare omnes. Corp. Ref., ii, 155.

<sup>2</sup> Sed quod unus

und Winkel. L. Opp., xx, 307.

<sup>3</sup> Aus dem Loch



a reform of the clergy : " Well ! and how can you wish to reform us ?" said the latter abruptly : " we priests have always been good for nothing." This is one of the most ingenuous confessions that the Reformation has torn from the priests. Every day fanatical monks and doctors, brimful of sophisms, were seen arriving at Augsburg, who endeavoured to inflame the hatred of the emperor and of the princes.<sup>1</sup> " If we formerly had friends," said Melancthon on the morrow of the Confession, " now we possess them no longer. We are here alone, abandoned by all, and contending against measureless dangers."<sup>2</sup>

Charles, impelled by these contrary parties, affected a great indifference. But without permitting it to be seen, he endeavoured, meanwhile, to examine this affair thoroughly. " Let there not a word be wanting," he had said to his secretary, when requiring from him a French translation of the Confession. " He does not allow anything to be observed," whispered the Protestants one to another, convinced that Charles was gained; " for if it were known, he would lose his Spanish states: let us maintain the most profound secrecy." But the emperor's courtiers, who perceived these strange hopes, smiled and shook their heads. " If you have money," said Schepper, one of the secretaries of state, to Jonas and Melancthon, " it will be easy for you to buy from the Italians whatever religion you please ;<sup>3</sup> but if your purse is empty, your cause is lost." Then assuming a more serious tone : " It is impossible," said he, " for the emperor, surrounded as he is by bishops and cardinals, to approve of any other religion than that of the pope."

This was soon evident. On the day after the Confession (Sunday, 26th June), before the breakfast hour,<sup>4</sup> all the deputations from the imperial cities were collected in the emperor's antechamber. Charles, desirous of bringing back the states of the empire to unity, began with the weakest. " Some of the cities," said the count-palatine, " have not adhered to the last Diet of Spire : the emperor calls upon them to submit to it."

Strasburg, Nuremberg, Constance, Ulm, Reutlingen, Heilbronn, Memmingen, Lindau, Kempten, Windsheim, Isny, and Weissemburg, which were thus summoned to renounce the famous protest, thought the moment curiously chosen. They asked for time.

The position was complicated: discord had been thrown in

<sup>1</sup> Quotidie confluent huc sophistæ ac monachi. Corp. Ref., ii, 141.  
soli ac deserti. Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Nos hic soli ac deserti. Ibid.  
<sup>3</sup> Nos, si pecuniam haberemus, facile religionem quam vellemus emturos ab Italis. Ibid., 156.

<sup>4</sup> Heute vor dem morgenessen. Ibid., 143.

the midst of the cities, and intrigue was labouring daily to increase it.<sup>1</sup> It was not only between the popish and the evangelical cities that disagreement existed; but also between the Zwinglian and the Lutheran cities, and even among the latter, those which had not adhered to the Confession of Augsburg manifested great ill-humour towards the deputies of Reutlingen and Nuremberg. This proceeding of Charles the Fifth was therefore skilfully calculated; for it was based on the old axiom, *Divide et impera*.

But the enthusiasm of faith overcame all these stratagems, and on the next day (27th June), the deputies from the cities transmitted a reply to the emperor, in which they declared that they could not adhere to the *Recess* of Spires “without disobeying God, and without compromising the salvation of their souls.”<sup>2</sup>

Charles, who desired to observe a just medium, more from policy than from equity, wavered between so many contrary convictions. Desirous nevertheless of essaying his meditating influence, he convoked the states faithful to Rome, on Sunday, 26th June, shortly after his conference with the cities.

All the princes were present: even the pope's legate and the most influential Roman divines appeared at this council, to the great scandal of the Protestants. “What reply should be made to the Confession?” was the question set by Charles the Fifth to the senate that surrounded him.<sup>3</sup>

Three different opinions were proposed. “Let us beware,” said the men of the papacy, “of discussing our adversaries' reasons, and let us be content with executing the edict of Worms against the Lutherans, and with constraining them by arms.”<sup>4</sup>—“Let us submit the Confession to the examination of impartial judges,” said the men of the empire, “and refer the final decision to the emperor. Is not even the reading of the Confession an appeal of the Protestants to the imperial power?” Others, in the last place (and these were the men of tradition and of ecclesiastical doctrine), were desirous of commissioning certain doctors to compose a refutation, which should be read to the Protestants and ratified by Charles.

The debate was very animated; the mild and the violent, the politic and the fanatical, took a decided course in the assembly. George of Saxony and Joachim of Brandenburg showed themselves the most inveterate, and surpassed in this

<sup>1</sup> Es sind unter uns Städ:en, viel practica und Seltsames wesens. Corp. Ref., ii, 151.

<sup>2</sup> Ohne Verletzung der gewissen gegen Gott. P. Urkund., ii, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Adversarii nostri jam deliberant quid velint respondere. Corp. Ref., ii, 26th June.

<sup>4</sup> Non audendam esse vi non audiendam causam. (Ibid., 151.) We must do the thing by force, not hear the cause.

respect even the ecclesiastical princes.<sup>1</sup> "A certain clown, whom you know well, is pushing them all from behind,"<sup>2</sup> wrote Melancthon to Luther; "and certain hypocritical theologians hold the torch and lead the whole band." This clown was doubtless Duke George. Even the princes of Bavaria, whom the Confession had staggered at first, immediately rallied round the chiefs of the Roman party. The Elector of Mentz, the Bishop of Augsburg, the Duke of Brunswick, showed themselves the least unfavourable to the evangelical cause. "I can by no means advise his majesty to employ force," said Albert. "If his majesty should constrain their consciences, and should afterwards quit the empire, the first victims sacrificed would be the priests; and who knows whether, in the midst of these discords, the Turks would not suddenly fall upon us?" But this somewhat interested wisdom of the archbishop did not find many supporters, and the men of war immediately plunged into the discussion with their harsh voices. "If there is any fighting against the Lutherans," said Count Felix of Werdenburg, "I gratuitously offer my sword, and I swear never to return it to its scabbard until it has overthrown the stronghold of Luther." This nobleman died suddenly a few days after, from the consequences of his intemperance. Then the moderate men again interfered: "The Lutherans attack no one article of the faith," said the Bishop of Augsburg; let us come to an arrangement with them; and to obtain peace, let us concede to them the sacrament in both kinds and the marriage of priests. "I would even yield more, if it were necessary." Upon this loud cries arose: "He is a Lutheran," they exclaimed, "and you will see that he is fully prepared to sacrifice even the private masses!"—"The masses! we must not even think of it," remarked some with an ironical smile; "Rome will never give them up, for it is they which maintain her cardinals and her courtiers, with their luxury and their kitchens."<sup>3</sup> The Archbishop of Salzburg and the Elector of Brandenburg replied with great violence to the motion of the Bishop of Augsburg. "The Lutherans," said they abruptly, "have laid before us a Confession written with black ink on white paper. Well; if I were emperor, I would answer them with *red ink*.<sup>4</sup>"—"Sirs," quickly replied the Bishop of Augsburg, "take care then that the red letters do not fly in your

<sup>1</sup> Hi sunt duces, et quidem acerrimi alterius partis. Corp. Ref., ii, 154.

<sup>2</sup> Omnes unus gubernat rusticus. (Ibid., 26th June, 176.) One rustic governs all.

<sup>3</sup> Cardinal, Charsusianen, Pracht und Küchen. Brück Apol., p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> Wir wöken antworten mit einer Schrift mit Rubriken geschrieben. Corp. Ref. ii, 147.



faces!" The Elector of Mentz was compelled to interfere and calm the speakers.

The emperor, desirous of playing the character of an umpire, would have wished the Roman party at least to have placed in his hands an act of accusation against the Reform: but all was now altered; the majority, becoming daily more compact since the diet of Spires, no longer sided with Charles. Full of the sentiment of their own strength, they refused to assume the title of a party, and to take the emperor as a judge. "What are you saying," cried they, "of diversity between the members of the empire? There is but one legitimate party. It is not a question of deciding between two opinions whose rights are equal, but of crushing rebels, and of aiding those who have remained faithful to the constitution of the empire."

This haughty language enlightened Charles: he found they had outstripped him, and that, abandoning his lofty position of arbiter, he must submit merely to be the executer of the orders of the majority. It was this majority which henceforward commanded in Augsburg. They excluded the imperial councillors who advocated more equitable views, and the Archbishop of Mentz himself ceased for a time to appear in the diet.<sup>1</sup>

The majority ordered that a refutation of the Evangelical doctrine should be immediately drawn up by Romish theologians. If they had selected for this purpose moderate men like the Bishop of Augsburg, the Reformation would still have had some chance of success with the great principles of Christianity; but it was to the enemies of the Reform, to the old champions of Rome and of Aristotle, exasperated by so many defeats, that they resolved to intrust this task.

They were numerous at Augsburg, and not held in very great esteem. "The princes," said Jonas, "have brought their learned men with them, and some even their *unlearned* and their *fools*."<sup>2</sup> Provost Faber and Doctor Eck led the troop; behind them was drawn up a cohort of monks, and above all of Dominicans, tools of the Inquisition, and impatient to recompense themselves for the opprobrium they had so long endured. There was the provincial of the Dominicans, Paul Hugo, their vicar John Bourkard, one of their priors Conrad Koelein, who had written against Luther's marriage; with a number of Carthusians, Augustines, Franciscans, and the

<sup>1</sup> Non venit in senatum. Corp. Ref., ii, 175.  
et ineptos.

<sup>2</sup> Quidem etiam suos ineruditos

vicars of several bishops. Such were the men who, to the number of twenty, were commissioned to refute Melancthon.

One might beforehand have augured of the work by the workmen. Each one understood that it was a question, not of refuting the Confession, but of branding it. Campeggio, who doubtless suggested this ill-omened list to Charles, was well aware that these doctors were incapable of measuring themselves with Melancthon; but their names formed the most decided standard of popery, and announced to the world clearly and immediately what the diet proposed to do. This was the essential point. Rome would not leave Christendom even hope.

It was, however, requisite to know whether the diet, and the emperor who was its organ, had the right of pronouncing in this purely religious matter. Charles put the question both to the Evangelicals and to the Romanists.<sup>1</sup>

"Your highness," said Luther, who was consulted by the elector, "may reply with all assurance: "Yes, if the emperor wish it, let him be judge! I will bear everything on his part; but let him decide nothing contrary to the Word of God. Your highness cannot put the emperor above God himself."<sup>2</sup> Does not the first commandment say, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me?*

The reply of the papal adherents was quite as positive in a contrary sense. "We think," said they, "that his majesty, in accord with the electors, princes, and states of the empire, has the right to proceed in this affair, as Roman Emperor, guardian, advocate, and sovereign protector of the Church and of our most holy faith."<sup>3</sup> Thus, in the first days of the Reformation, the Evangelical Church frankly ranged itself under the throne of Jesus Christ, and the Roman Church under the sceptre of kings. Enlightened men, even among Protestants, have misunderstood this double nature of Protestantism and Popery.

The philosophy of Aristotle and the hierarchy of Rome, thanks to this alliance with the civil power, were at length about to see the day of their long-expected triumph arrive. So long as the schoolmen had been left to the force of their syllogisms and of their abuse, they had been defeated; but now Charles the Fifth and the diet held out their hands to them; the reasonings of Faber, Eck, and Wimpina were about to be countersigned by the German chancellor, and confirmed by the

<sup>1</sup> See the document extracted from the archives of Bavaria in F. Urkund., ii, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Konnen den Kaiser nicht über Gott setzen. L. Epp., iv, 83.

<sup>3</sup> Romischen

Kaiser, Vogt, Advocaten und Obristen Beschirmer der kirken. F. Urkund., ii, 10.

great seals of the empire. Who could resist them? The Romish error has never had any strength except by its union with the secular arm; and its victories in the Old and in the New World are owing, even in our days, to state patronage.<sup>1</sup>

These things did not escape the piercing eye of Luther. He saw at once the weakness of the argument of the papist doctors and the power of Charles's arm. "You are waiting for your adversaries' answer," wrote he to his friends in Augsburg; "it is already written, and here it is: The Fathers, the Fathers, the Fathers; the Church, the Church, the Church; usage, custom; but of the Scriptures—nothing!"<sup>2</sup>—"Then the emperor, supported by the testimony of these arbiters, will pronounce against you;<sup>3</sup> and then will you hear boastings from all sides that will ascend up to heaven, and threats that will descend even to hell."

Thus changed the situation of the Reform. Charles was obliged to acknowledge his weakness: and, to save the appearance of his power, he took a decisive part with the enemies of Luther. The emperor's impartiality disappeared: the state turned against the Gospel, and there remained for it no other saviour than God.

At first many gave way to extreme dejection: above all, Melancthon, who had a nearer view of the cabals of the adversaries, exhausted moreover by long vigils, fell almost into despair.<sup>4</sup> "In the presence of these formidable evils," cried he, "I see no more hope."<sup>5</sup> And then, however, he added—"Except the help of God."

The legate immediately set all his batteries to work. Already had Charles several times sent for the elector and the landgrave, and had used every exertion to detach them from the Evangelical Confession.<sup>6</sup> Melancthon, uneasy at these secret conferences, reduced the Confession to its *minimum*, and entreated the elector to demand only the two kinds in the Eucharist and the marriage of priests. "To interdict the former of these points," said he, "would be to alienate a great number of Christians from the communion; and to forbid the second would be depriving the Church of all the pastors capable of edifying it. Will they destroy religion and kindle civil war, rather than apply to these purely ecclesiastical constitu-

<sup>1</sup> Otaheite for instance.

<sup>2</sup> Patres, Patres, Patres; Ecclesia, Ecclesia, Ecclesia; usus, consuetudo, præterea e Scriptura nihil. L. Epp., iv, 96.

<sup>3</sup> Pronuntiabit

Cæsar contra vos. Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Quadam tristitia et quasi desperatione vexatur.

Corp. Ref., ii, 163.

<sup>5</sup> Quid nobis sit sperandum in tantis odiis inimicorum. (Ibid., 145.) What have we to hope in such hatred of our enemies?

<sup>6</sup> Legati

Norinberg ad Senatum. Ibid., 161.



tions a mitigation that is neither contrary to sound morals nor to faith?"<sup>1</sup> The protestant princes begged Melancthon to go himself and make these proposals to the legate.<sup>2</sup>

Melancthon agreed: he began to flatter himself with success; and, in truth, there were, even among the papists, individuals who were favourable to the Reformation. There had recently arrived at Augsburg, from beyond the Alps, certain propositions tolerably Lutheran,<sup>3</sup> and one of the emperor's confessors boldly professed the doctrine of justification by faith, cursing "those asses of Germans," said he, "who are incessantly braying against this truth."<sup>4</sup> One of Charles's chaplains approved even the whole of the confession. There was something farther still: Charles the Fifth having consulted the grandees of Spain, who were famous for their orthodoxy: "If the opinions of the Protestants are contrary to the articles of the faith," they had replied, let your Majesty employ all his power to destroy this faction; but if it is a question merely of certain changes in human ordinances and external usages, let all violence be avoided."<sup>5</sup> "Admirable reply!" exclaimed Melancthon, who persuaded himself that the Romish doctrine was at the bottom in accordance with the Gospel.

The Reformation found defenders in even still higher stations. Mary, sister of Charles the Fifth, and widow of King Louis of Hungary, arriving at Augsburg three days after the reading of the Confession, with her sister-in-law the Queen of Bohemia, Ferdinand's wife, assiduously studied the Holy Scriptures; she carried them with her to the hunting parties, in which she found little pleasure, and had discovered therein the jewel of the Reform,—the doctrine of gratuitous salvation. This pious princess made her chaplain read evangelical sermons to her, and often endeavoured, although with prudence, to appease her brother Charles with regard to the Protestants.<sup>6</sup>

Melancthon, encouraged by these demonstrations, and at the same time alarmed by the threats of war that the adversaries did not cease from uttering, thought it his duty to purchase peace at any cost, and resolved in consequence to descend in his propositions as low as possible. He therefore demanded an interview with the legate in a letter whose authenticity has been

<sup>1</sup> Melancthon ad Duc. Sax. Elect. Corp. Ref., ii, 162.

<sup>2</sup> Principes nostri miserunt nos ad R. D. V. Ibid., 171.

<sup>3</sup> Pervenerunt ad nos propositiones quædam

Italice satis Lutherane. Ibid., 163.

<sup>4</sup> Istis Germanis asinis, nobis in hac parte obgannientibus. Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Hispanici proceres præclare et sapienter responderunt Cæsari. (Ibid., 179.) The grandees of Spain answered the emperor nobly and wisely.

<sup>6</sup> Ἡ ἀδελφὴ ἄντοκρατορος studet nobis placare fratrem. Ibid., 178.

unreasonably doubted.<sup>1</sup> At the decisive moment the heart of the reform champion fails,—his head turns—he staggers—he falls; and in his fall he runs the risk of dragging with him the cause which martyrs have already watered with their blood.

Thus speaks the representative of the Reformation to the representative of the papacy:—

“There is no doctrine in which we differ from the Roman Church;<sup>2</sup> we venerate the universal authority of the Roman Pontiff, and we are ready to obey him, provided he does not reject us, and that of his clemency, which he is accustomed to show towards all nations, he will kindly pardon or approve certain little things that it is no longer possible for us to change. . . . Now then, will you reject those who appear as suppliants before you? Will you pursue them with fire and sword? . . . Alas! nothing draws upon us in Germany so much hatred, as the unshaken firmness with which we maintain the doctrines of the Roman Church.<sup>3</sup> But with the aid of God, we will remain faithful, even unto death, to Christ and to the Roman Church, although you should reject us.<sup>4</sup>

Thus did Melancthon humble himself. God permitted this fall, that future ages might clearly see how low the Reformation was willing to descend in order to maintain unity, and that no one might doubt that the schism had come from Rome; but also, assuredly, that they might learn how great, in every important work, is the weakness of the noblest instruments.

Fortunately there was then another man who upheld the honour of the Reformation. At this very time Luther wrote to Melancthon: “There can be no concord between Christ and Belial. As far as regards me, I will not yield a hair’s breadth.<sup>5</sup> Sooner than yield, I should prefer suffering everything, even the most terrible evils. Concede so much the less, as your adversaries require the more. God will not aid us until we are abandoned by all.”<sup>6</sup> And fearing some weakness on the part of his friends, Luther added: “If it were not tempting God, you would long ago have seen me at your side!”<sup>7</sup>

Never, in fact, had Luther’s presence been so necessary, for the legate had consented to an interview, and Melancthon was about to pay court to Campeggio.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See the Corp. Ref., ii, 168.  
Romana. Ibid., 170.

stantia defendimus. Ibid.

Even if you shall refuse to receive us into favour.

ne pilum quidem cedam. L. Epp., iv, 88.

prius simus. (Ibid., 91.) We shall not be assisted unless we are previously deserted.

<sup>7</sup> Certe jamdudum coram vidissetis me. Ibid., 92.

sare soleo et Campegium etiam. Corp. Ref., ii, 193.

<sup>2</sup> Dogma nullum habemus diversum ab Ecclesia

<sup>3</sup> Quam quia Ecclesie Romanæ dogmata summa con-

<sup>4</sup> Vel si recusabitis nos in gratiam recipere. (Ibid.)

<sup>5</sup> At certe pro mea persona

<sup>6</sup> Neque enim juvabimur ni deserti

<sup>8</sup> Ego multos prehen-

The 8th of July was the day appointed by the legate. His letter inspired Philip with the most sanguine hopes. "The cardinal assures me that he will accede the usage of the two kinds, and the marriage of priests," said he; "I am eager to visit him!"<sup>1</sup>

This visit might decide the destiny of the Church. If the legate accepted Philip's *ultimatum*, the evangelical countries would be replaced under the power of the Romish bishops, and all would have been over with the Reformation; but it was saved through the pride and blindness of Rome. The Papists believing it on the brink of the abyss, thought that a last blow would settle it, and resolved, like Luther, to concede nothing, "not even a hair's breadth." The legate, however, even while refusing, assumed an air of kindness, and of yielding to foreign influence. "I might have the power of making certain concessions, but it would not be prudent to use it without the consent of the German princes;<sup>2</sup> their will must be done; one of them in particular conjures the emperor to prevent us from yielding the least thing. I can grant nothing." The Roman prince, with the most amiable smile, then did all he could to gain the chief of the protestant teachers. Melancthon retired filled with shame at the advances he had made, but still deceived by Campeggio. "No doubt," said he, "Eck and Cochleus have been beforehand with me at the legate's."<sup>3</sup> Luther entertained a different opinion. "I do not trust to any of these Italians," said he; "they are scoundrels. When an Italian is good, he is very good; but then he is a black swan."

It was truly the Italians who were concerned. Shortly after the 12th of July arrived the pope's instructions. He had received the Confession by express,<sup>4</sup> and sixteen days had sufficed for the transmission, the deliberation, and the return. Clement would hear no mention either of discussions or of council. Charles was to march straight to the mark, to send an army into Germany, and stifle the Reformation by force. At Augsburg, however, it was thought best not to go so quickly to work, and recourse was had to other means.

"Be quiet; we have them, said the Romish doctors. Sensible of the reproach that had been made against them, of having misrepresented the Reformation, they accused the Protestants themselves of being the cause. "These it is," they said, "who

<sup>1</sup> *Propero enim ad Campegium. Corp. Ref., ii, 174.*  
<sup>2</sup> *cernere nisi de voluntate principum Germaniæ. Ibid., 174.*

<sup>3</sup> *Forte ad legatum veniebant Eccius et Cochleus. Ibid., 175.*

<sup>4</sup> *Nostra Confessio ad Romanum per veredarios missa est. Ibid., 186, 219.*



to give themselves an air of being in accord with us, now dissemble their heresy; but we will catch them in their own nets. If they confess to not having inserted in their Confession all that they reject, it will be proved that they are trifling with us. If, on the contrary, they pretend to have said everything, they will by that very circumstance be compelled to admit all that they have not condemned." The protestant princes were therefore called together, and they were asked if the Reformation was confined to the doctrines indicated in the Apology, or if there was something more.<sup>1</sup>

The snare was skilfully laid. The papacy had not even been mentioned in Melancthon's Confession; other errors besides had been omitted, and Luther himself complained of it aloud. "Satan sees clearly," said he, "that your Apology has passed lightly over the articles of purgatory, the worship of saints, and, above all, of the Pope and of Antichrist." The princes requested to confer with their allies of the towns; and all the Protestants assembled to deliberate on this momentous incident.

They looked for Melancthon's explanation, who did not decline the responsibility of the affair. Easily dejected through his own anxiety, he became bold whenever he was directly attacked. "All the essential doctrines," said he, "have been set forth in the Confession, and every error and abuse that is opposed to them has been pointed out. But was it necessary to plunge into all those questions so full of contention and animosity, that are discussed in our universities? Was it necessary to ask if all Christians are priests, if the primacy of the pope is of right divine, if there can be indulgences, if every good work is a deadly sin, if there are more than seven sacraments, if they may be administered by a layman, if divine election has any foundation in our own merits, if sacerdotal consecration impresses an indelible character, if auricular confession is necessary to salvation? . . . No, no! all these things are in the province of the schools, and by no means essential to faith."<sup>2</sup>

It cannot be denied that in the questions thus pointed out by Melancthon there were important points. However that may be, the evangelical committee were soon agreed, and on the morrow they gave an answer to Charles's ministers, drawn up with as much frankness as firmness, in which they said

<sup>1</sup> *An plura velimus Cæsari præponere controversa quam fecerimus.* (Corp. Ref., ii, 188.) Whether we wish to lay more controverted points before the emperor than we have done.

<sup>2</sup> *Melancthonis Judicium.* Ibid., 182.

"that the Protestants, desirous of arriving at a cordial understanding, had not wished to complicate their situation, and had proposed not to specify all the errors that had been introduced into the Church, but to confess all the doctrines that were essential to salvation; that if, nevertheless, the adverse party felt itself urged to maintain certain abuses, or to put forward any point not mentioned in the Confession, the Protestants declared themselves ready to reply in conformity with the Word of God."<sup>1</sup> The tone of this answer showed pretty clearly that the evangelical Christians did not fear to follow their adversaries wherever the latter should call them. Accordingly the Roman party said no more on this business.

## CHAPTER IX.

The Refutation—Charles's Dissatisfaction—Interview with the Princes—The Swiss at Augsburg—Tetrapolitan Confession—Zwingle's Confession—Afflicting Divisions—The Elector's Faith—His Peace—The Lion's Skin—The Refutation—One Concession—Scripture and the Hierarchy—Imperial Commands—Interview between Melancthon and Campeggio—Policy of Charles—Stormy Meeting—Resolutions of the Consistory—Prayers of the Church—Two Miracles—The Emperor's Menace—The Princes' Courage—The Mask—Negotiations—The Spectres at Spires—Tumult in Augsburg.

THE commission charged to refute the Confession met twice a-day,<sup>2</sup> and each of the theologians who composed it added to it his refutations and his hatred.

On the 13th July the work was finished. "Eck with his band,"<sup>3</sup> said Melancthon, "transmitted it to the emperor." Great was the astonishment of this prince and of his ministers at seeing a work of two hundred and eighty pages filled with abuse.<sup>4</sup> "Bad workmen waste much wood," said Luther, "and impious writers soil much paper." This was not all: to the Refutation were subjoined eight appendices on the heresies that Melancthon had dissembled (as they said), and wherein they exposed the contradictions and "the horrible sects" to which Lutheranism had given birth. Lastly, not confining themselves to this official answer, the Romish theologians, who saw the sun of power shining upon them, filled Augsburg with insolent and abusive pamphlets.

There was but one opinion on the Papist Refutation; it was

<sup>1</sup> Aus Gottes Wort, weiter bericht zu thun. F. Urkundenbuch, ii, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Bis die convenire dicuntur. Zw. Epp., ii, 472.

<sup>3</sup> Eccius cum sua comman-

pulatione. Corp. Ref., ii, 193.

<sup>4</sup> Longum et plenum conviciis scriptum. Corp.

Ref., ii, 193.

found confused, violent, thirsting for blood.<sup>1</sup> Charles the Fifth had too much good taste not to perceive the difference that existed between this coarse work and the noble dignity of Melancthon's Confession. He rolled, handled, crushed, and so damaged the two hundred and eighty pages of his doctors, that when he returned them two days after, says Spalatin, there were not more than twelve entire. Charles would have been ashamed to have such a pamphlet read in the diet, and he required, in consequence, that it should be drawn up anew, shorter and in more moderate language.<sup>2</sup> That was not easy, "for the adversaries, confused and stupified," says Brentz, "by the noble simplicity of the evangelical Confession, neither knew where to begin nor where to end; they accordingly took nearly three weeks to do their work over again."<sup>3</sup>

Charles and his ministers had great doubts of its success; leaving, therefore, the theologians for a moment, they imagined another manœuvre. "Let us take each of the protestant princes separately," said they: "isolated, they will not resist." Accordingly, on the 15th July, the Margrave of Brandenburg was visited by his two cousins, the Electors of Mentz and of Brandenburg, and by his two brothers the Margraves Frederick and John Albert. "Abandon this new faith," said they to him, "and return to that which existed a century ago. If you do so, there are no favours that you may not expect from the emperor; if not, dread his anger."<sup>4</sup>

Shortly after, the Duke Frederick of Bavaria, the Count of Nassau, De Rogendorf, and Truchses, were announced to the Elector on the part of Charles. "You have solicited the emperor," said they, "to confirm the marriage of your son with the Princess of Juliers, and to invest you with the electoral dignity; but his majesty declares, that if you do not renounce the heresy of Luther, of which you are the principal abettor, he cannot accede to your demand." At the same time the Duke of Bavaria, employing the most urgent solicitations, accompanied with the most animated gestures<sup>5</sup> and the most sinister threats,<sup>6</sup> called upon the elector to abandon his faith. "It is asserted," added Charles's envoys, "that you

<sup>1</sup> Adeo confusa, incondita, violenta, sanguinolenta et crudelis ut puduerint. (Corp. Ref. ii, 193.) So confused, indigested, bloody, and cruel, that they were ashamed.

<sup>2</sup> Hodie auctoribus ipsis Sophistis, a Cæsare rursus esse redditam ut emendetur et civilius componatur. (Ibid.) To-day it was again returned by the emperor to the sophists, its authors, to be emended and composed more civilly.

<sup>3</sup> Nostra confessione ita stupidos, attonitos, et confusos. Ibid. <sup>4</sup> Corp. Ref., ii, 206; F. Urkund., ii, 98.

<sup>5</sup> Mit reden und Gebehrden prächtig erzeugt. Ibid., 207.

<sup>6</sup> Minas diras promissis ingentibus adjiciens. (Zw. Epp., ii, 484.) Adding dire threats to vast promises.



have made an alliance with the Swiss. The emperor cannot believe it; and he orders you to let him know the truth."

The Swiss! it was the same thing as rebellion. This alliance was the phantom incessantly invoked at Augsburg to alarm Charles the Fifth. And in reality deputies or at least friends of the Swiss, had already appeared in that city, and thus rendered the position still more serious.

Bucer had arrived two days before the reading of the Confession, and Capito on the day subsequent to it.<sup>1</sup> There was even a report that Zwingli would join them.<sup>2</sup> But for a long time all in Augsburg, except the Strasburg deputation, were ignorant of the presence of these doctors.<sup>3</sup> It was only twenty-one days after their arrival that Melancthon learnt it positively,<sup>4</sup> so great was the mystery in which the Zwinglians were forced to enshroud themselves. This was not without reason; a conference with Melancthon having been requested by them: "Let them write," replied he; "I should compromise our cause by an interview with them."

Bucer and Capito in their retreat, which was like a prison to them, had taken advantage of their leisure to draw up the *Tetrapolitan Confession*, or the confession of the four cities. The deputies of Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau, presented it to the emperor.<sup>5</sup> These cities purged themselves from the reproach of war and revolt that had been continually objected against them. They declared that their only motive was Christ's glory, and professed the truth "freely, boldly, but without insolence and without scurrility."<sup>6</sup>

Zwingli about the same time caused a private confession to be communicated to Charles,<sup>7</sup> which excited a general uproar. "Does he not dare to say," exclaimed the Romanists, "that the *mitred and withered race* (by which he means the bishops) is in the Church what hump-backs and the scrofula are in the body?"<sup>8</sup>—"Does he not insinuate," said the Lutherans; "that we are beginning to look back after the onions and garlic of Egypt?"—"One might say with great truth that he had lost

<sup>1</sup> Venimus huc, ego pridie solemnitate Divi Johannis, Capito die dominica sequente. Zw. Epp., ii, 472.

<sup>2</sup> Rumor apud nos est, et te cum tuis Helvetiis comitia advolaturum. Ibid., 431, 467.

<sup>3</sup> Ita latent ut non quibuslibet sui copiam faciant. Corp. Ref., p. 196.

<sup>4</sup> Capito et Bucerus adsunt. Id hodie certo comperi. Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Cinglianæ civitates propriam Confessionem obtulerunt Cæsari. Ibid., 187. This Confession will be found in Niemeyer, Collectio Confessionum, p. 740.

<sup>6</sup> Ingenue ac fortiter; citra procaciam tamen et sannas, id fateri et dicere quod res est. Zw. Epp., ii, 485.

<sup>7</sup> See Niemeyer Coll. Conf., p. 16.

<sup>8</sup> Pedatum et mitratum genus Episcoporum, id esset in Ecclesia, quod gibbi et strumata in corpore. (Ibid.) Zwingli compares the bishops to the dry and fruitless props that support the vines.

his senses," exclaimed Melancthon.<sup>1</sup> "All ceremonies, according to him, ought to be abolished; all the bishops ought to be suppressed. In a word, all is perfectly *Helvetic*, that is to say, supremely barbarous."

One man formed an exception to this concert of reproaches, and this was Luther. "Zwingle pleases me tolerably," wrote he to Jonas, "as well as Bucer."<sup>2</sup> By Bucer, he meant no doubt the Tetrapolitan Confession: this expression should be noted.

Thus three Confessions, laid at the feet of Charles the Fifth, attested the divisions that were rending Protestantism. In vain did Bucer and Capito endeavour to come to an understanding with Melancthon, and write to him: "We will meet where you will, and when you will; we will bring Sturm alone with us, and if you desire it, we will not even bring him."<sup>3</sup> all was unavailing. It is not enough for a Christian to confess Christ; one disciple should confess another disciple, even if the latter lies under the shame of the world; but they did not then comprehend this duty. "Schism is in the schism," said the Romanists, and the emperor flattered himself with an easy victory. "Return to the Church," was the cry from every side, "which means," interrupted the Strasburgers, "let us put the bit in your mouths, that we may lead you as we please."<sup>4</sup>

All these things deeply afflicted the elector, who was besides still under the burden of Charles's demands and threats. The emperor had not once spoken to him,<sup>5</sup> and it was everywhere said that his cousin George of Saxony would be proclaimed elector in his stead.

On the 28th July, there was a great festival at the court. Charles, robed in his imperial garments, whose value was said to exceed 200,000 gold ducats, and displaying an air of majesty which impressed respect and fear,<sup>6</sup> conferred on many princes the investiture of their dignities; the elector alone was excluded from these favours. Erelong he was made to understand more plainly what was reserved for him, and it was insinuated, that if he did not submit, the emperor would expel him from his states, and inflict upon him the severest punishment."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dicas simpliciter mente captum esse. Corp. Ref., p. 193.

sane placet, et Bucerus. L. Epp., iv, 110.

Corp. Ref. ii, 208.

Epp., ii, 484.

Epp., ii, 484.

Epp., ii, 484.

Epp., ii, 484.

Epp., ii, 484.

<sup>2</sup> Zwinglius mihi

<sup>3</sup> Veniemus quo et quando tu voles.

<sup>4</sup> Una tamen omnium vox: *Revertimini ad Ecclesiam.* Zw.

<sup>5</sup> Colloquium ejus nondum frui potuisse. Seck., ii, 154.

<sup>6</sup> Apparuit Cæsar majestate . . . insignitus vestibus suis imperialibus. Corp. Ref.

ii, 242.

<sup>7</sup> Müller, *Gesch. der Protestation*, p. 715.

The elector turned pale, for he doubted not that such would certainly be the termination. How with his small territory could he resist that powerful monarch who had just vanquished France and Italy, and now saw Germany at his feet? And besides, if he could do it, had he the right? Frightful nightmares pursued John in his dreams. He beheld himself stretched beneath an immense mountain under which he lay painfully struggling, while his cousin George of Saxony stood on the summit and seemed to brave him.

John at length came forth from this furnace. "I must either renounce God or the world," said he. "Well! my choice is not doubtful. It is God who made me elector,—me, who was not worthy of it. I fling myself into his arms, and let him do with me what shall seem good to him." Thus the elector by faith stopped the mouths of lions and subdued kingdoms."<sup>1</sup>

All evangelical Christendom had taken part in the struggle of John the Persevering. It was seen that if he should now fall, all would fall with him; and they endeavoured to support him. "Fear not," cried the Christians of Magdeburg, "for your highness is under Christ's banner."<sup>2</sup> "Italy is in expectation," wrote they from Venice; "if for Christ's glory you must die, fear nothing."<sup>3</sup> But it was from a higher source that John's courage was derived. "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven," said his Master.<sup>4</sup> The elector, in like manner, beheld in his dreams George fall from the top of the mountain, and lie dashed in pieces at his feet.

Once resolved to lose every thing, John, free, happy, and tranquil, assembled his theologians. These generous men desired to save their master. "Gracious lord," said Spalatin, "recollect that the Word of God, being the sword of the Spirit, must be upheld, not by the secular power, but by the hand of the Almighty."<sup>5</sup>—"Yes!" said all the doctors, "we do not wish that, to save us, you should risk your children, your subjects, your states, your crown . . . . We will rather give ourselves into the hands of the enemy, and conjure him to be satisfied with our blood."<sup>6</sup> John, touched by this language, refused, however, their solicitations, and firmly repeated these words, which had become his device: "I also desire to confess my Saviour."

<sup>1</sup> Hebrews, xi, 33, 34.

<sup>2</sup> Unter dem Heerpannyr Jesu Christi. Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>3</sup> Etiam si mors subeunda tibi foret ob Christi gloriam. (Corp. Ref., ii, 228. L. P. Roselli.) Even death should be endured by you for the glory of Christ.

<sup>4</sup> Luke, x, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Gottes Wort keines wegs durch weltlich Schwert. F. Urkund., ii, 82.

<sup>6</sup> Sie wollen ihnen an ihrem Blüte genügen lassen. Ibid., 90.



It was on the 20th July that he replied to the pressing arguments by which Charles had endeavoured to shake him. He proved to the emperor that, being his brother's legitimate heir, he could not refuse him the investiture, which, besides, the Diet of Worms had secured to him. He added, that he did not blindly believe what his doctors said, but that, having recognised the Word of God to be the foundation of their teaching, he confessed anew, and without any hesitation, all the articles of the Apology. "I therefore entreat your majesty," continued he, "to permit me and mine to render an account to God alone of what concerns the salvation of our souls."<sup>1</sup> The Margrave of Brandenburg made the same reply. Thus failed this skilful manœuvre, by which the Romanists had hoped to break the strength of the Reformation.

Six weeks had elapsed since the Confession, and as yet there was no reply. "The Papists, from the moment they heard the Apology," it was said, "suddenly lost their voice."<sup>2</sup> At length the Romish theologians handed their revised and corrected performance to the emperor, and persuaded this prince to present it in his own name. The mantle of the state seemed to them admirably adapted to the movements of Rome. "These sycophants," said Melancthon, "have desired to clothe themselves with the lion's skin, to appear to us so much the more terrible."<sup>3</sup> All the states of the empire were convoked for the next day but one.

On Wednesday, 3d August, at two o'clock in the afternoon, the emperor, sitting on his throne in the chapel of the Palatinate Palace, attended by his brother, with the electors, princes, and deputies, the elector of Saxony and his allies were introduced, and the count-palatine, who was called "Charles's mouth-piece," said to them: "His majesty having handed your Confession to several doctors of different nations, illustrious by their knowledge, their morals, and their impartiality, has read their reply with the greatest care, and submits it to you as his own."<sup>4</sup>

Alexander Schweiss then took the papers and read the Refutation. The Roman party approved some articles of the Confession, condemned others, and in certain less salient passages, it distinguished between what must be rejected and what accepted.

<sup>1</sup> Forstemann's *Urkundenbuch*, pp. 80-92, 113-119.  
ad ipsorum Confessionem. Cochl., p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Papistas obmutuisse  
<sup>3</sup> Voluerunt sycophantæ theologī  
λέον ἑαυτοῖς ἐκδύνασθαι, ὥστε ἡμῖν φοβερώτεροι. Corp., Ref., p. 252.

<sup>4</sup> Velut suam suaque publica auctoritate roboratam. (*Urkundenbuch*, ii, 144.) As his own, confirmed by his own and the public authority, to be received by all with unanimous consent.

It gave way on an important point; the *opus operatum*. The Protestants having said in their 13th Article that faith was necessary in the sacrament, the Romish party assented to it; thus abandoning an error which the papacy had so earnestly defended against Luther in that very city of Augsburg, by the mouth of Cajetan.

Moreover, they recognised as truly christian the evangelical doctrine on the Trinity, on Christ, on baptism, on eternal punishment, and on the origin of evil.

But on all the other points, Charles, his princes, and his theologians, declared themselves immovable. They maintained that men are born with the fear of God, that good works are meritorious, and that they justify in union with faith. They upheld the seven sacraments, the mass, transubstantiation, the withdrawal of the cup, the celibacy of priests, the invocation of saints, and denied that the Church was an assembly of the saints.

This Refutation was skilful in some respects, and, above all, in what concerned the doctrine of works and of faith. But on other points, in particular on the withdrawal of the cup and the celibacy of priests, its arguments were lamentably weak, and contrary to the well known facts of history.

While the Protestants had taken their stand on the Scriptures, their adversaries supported the divine origin of the hierarchy, and laid down absolute submission to its laws. Thus, the essential character, which still distinguishes Rome from the Reformation, stood prominently forth in this first combat.

Among the auditors who filled the chapel of the Palatinate Palace, concealed in the midst of the deputies of Nuremberg, was Joachim Camerarius, who, while Schweiss was reading, leant over his tablets, and carefully noted down all he could collect. At the same time others of the Protestants, speaking to one another, were indignant, and even laughed, as one of their opponents assures us.<sup>1</sup> "Really," said they with one consent, "the whole of this Refutation is worthy of Eck, Faber, and Cochlæus!"

As for Charles, little pleased with these theological dissertations, he slept during the reading;<sup>2</sup> but he awoke when Schweiss had finished, and his awakening was that of a lion.

The count-palatine then declared that his majesty found the articles of this Refutation orthodox, catholic, and conformable to the Gospel; that he therefore required the Protestants to

<sup>1</sup> Multi e Lutheranis inepte cachinnabantur. (Cochlæus, p. 895.) Many of the Lutherans laughed like fools.

<sup>2</sup> Imperator iterum obdormivit. Corp. Ref., ii, 245.

abandon their Confession, now refuted, and to adhere to all the articles which had just been set forth;<sup>1</sup> that, if they refused, the emperor would remember his office, and would know how to show himself the advocate and defender of the Roman Church.

This language was clear enough: the adversaries imagined they had refuted the Protestants by commanding the latter to consider themselves beaten. Violence—arms—war—were all contained in these cruel words of Charles's minister.<sup>2</sup> The princes represented that, as the Refutation adopted some of their articles, and rejected others, it required a careful examination, and they consequently begged a copy should be given them.

The Romish party had a long conference on this demand: night was at hand; the count-palatine replied that, considering the late hour and the importance of this affair, the emperor would make known his pleasure somewhat later. The diet separated, and Charles the Fifth, exasperated at the audacity of the evangelical princes, says Cochlæus, returned in ill humour to his apartments.<sup>3</sup>

The Protestants, on the contrary, withdrew full of peace; the reading of the Refutation having given them as much confidence as that of the Confession itself.<sup>4</sup> They saw in their adversaries a strong attachment to the hierarchy, but a great ignorance of the Gospel—a characteristic feature of the Romish party; and this thought encouraged them. "Certainly," said they, "the Church cannot be where there is no knowledge of Christ."<sup>5</sup>

Melancthon alone was still alarmed: he walked by sight and not by faith, and, remembering the legate's smiles, he had another interview with him, as early as the 4th August, still demanding the cup for the laity, and lawful wives for the priests. "Then," said he, "our pastors will place themselves again under the government of bishops, and we shall be able to prevent those innumerable sects with which posterity is threatened."<sup>6</sup> Melancthon's glance into the future is remarkable: it does not, however, mean that he, like many others, preferred a dead unity to a living diversity.

Campeggio, now certain of triumphing by the sword, dis-

<sup>1</sup> Petiit Cæsar ut omnes in illos articulos consentiant. Corp. Ref., ii, 245.

<sup>2</sup> Orationis summa atrox. Ibid., 253.

eorum contumaciam. Cochl., p. 195.

Ref., ii, 259.

<sup>3</sup> Cæsar non æquo animo forebat  
<sup>4</sup> Facti sunt erectiore animo. Corp.

<sup>5</sup> Ecclesiam ibi non esse, ubi ignoratur Christus. The Church is not where Christ is unknown.  
<sup>6</sup> Quod nisi fiet, quid in tot sectis ad posterum futurum sit. (Corp., Ref., ii, 148.) Unless this be done what will become of posterity with so many sects?



daintily handed this paper to Cochlæus, who hastened to refute it. It is hard to say whether Melancthon or Campeggio was the more infatuated. God did not permit an arrangement that would have enslaved his Church.

Charles passed the whole of the 4th and the morning of the 5th August in consultation with the Ultramontane party. "It will never be by discussion that we shall come to an understanding, said some; and if the Protestants do not submit voluntarily, it only remains for us to compel them." They nevertheless decided, on account of the Refutation, to adopt a middle course. During the whole of the diet, Charles pursued a skilful policy. At first, he refused every thing, hoping to lead away the princes by violence; then he conceded a few unimportant points, under the impression that the Protestants, having lost all hope, would esteem so much the more the little he yielded to them. This was what he did again under the present circumstances. In the afternoon of the fifth, the count-palatine announced that the emperor would give them a copy of the Refutation, but on these conditions; namely, that the Protestants should not reply, that they should speedily agree with the emperor, and that they would not print or communicate to any one the Refutation that should be confided to them.<sup>1</sup>

This communication excited murmurs among the Protestants. "These conditions," said they all, "are inadmissible."—"The Papists present us with their paper," added the Chancellor Bruck, "as the fox offered a thin broth to his gossip the stork."

The savoury broth upon a plate by Reynard was served up,

But Mistress Stork, with her long beak, she could not get a sup.<sup>2</sup>

"If the Refutation," continued he, "should come to be known without our participation (and how can we prevent it?), we shall be charged with it as a crime. Let us beware of accepting so perfidious an offer.<sup>3</sup> We already possess in the notes of Camerarius several articles of this paper, and if we omit any point, no one will have the right to reproach us with it."

On the next day (6th August) the Protestants declared to the diet that they preferred declining the copy thus offered to them, and appealed to God and to his majesty.<sup>4</sup> They thus rejected all that the emperor proposed to them, even what he considered as a favour.

<sup>1</sup> F. Urkund., ii, 179; Corp. Ref., ii, 256; Brüch, Apol., 72.  
Fuchs brauchet, da er den Storch zu gast lud. Brüch, Apol., 74.  
exemplum per alios in vulgus exire poterat. Corp. Ref., ii, 76.  
Gott und Kays. Maj. beschlen muſſten. Urkund., ii, 181.

<sup>2</sup> Glück wie der

<sup>3</sup> Quando

<sup>4</sup> Das Sie es

Agitation, anger, and affright were manifested on every bench of that august assembly.<sup>1</sup> This reply of the evangelicals was war—was rebellion. George of Saxony, the Princes of Bavaria, all the violent adherents of Rome, trembled with indignation; there was a sudden, an impetuous movement, an explosion of murmurs and of hatred; and it might have been feared that the two parties would have come to blows in the very presence of the emperor, if Archbishop Albert, the Elector of Brandenburg, and the Dukes of Brunswick, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg, rushing between them, had not conjured the Protestants to put an end to this deplorable combat, and not drive the emperor to extremities.<sup>2</sup> The diet separated, their hearts filled with emotion, apprehension, and trouble.

Never had the diet proposed such fatal alternatives. The hopes of agreement, set forth in the edict of convocation, had only been a deceitful lure: now the mask was thrown aside; submission or the sword—such was the dilemma offered to the Reformation. All announced that the day of tentatives was passed, and that they were beginning one of violence.

In truth, on the 6th July, the pope had assembled the consistory of cardinals in his palace at Rome, and had made known to them the protestant ultimatum; namely, the cup for the laity, the marriage of priests, the omission of the invocation of saints in the sacrifice of the mass, the use of ecclesiastical property already secularised, and for the rest, the convocation of a council. “These concessions,” said the cardinals, “are opposed to the religion, discipline, and laws of the Church.”<sup>3</sup> We reject them, and vote our thanks to the emperor for the zeal which he employs in bringing back the deserters.” The pope having thus decided, every attempt at conciliation became useless.

Campeggio, on his side, redoubled in zeal. He spoke as if in his person the pope himself were present at Augsburg.<sup>4</sup> “Let the emperor and the right-thinking princes form a league,” said he to Charles; “and if these rebels equally insensible to threats and promises, obstinately persist in their diabolical course, then let his majesty seize fire and sword, let him take possession of all the property of the heretics, and utterly eradicate these venomous plants.”<sup>5</sup> Then let him appoint holy inquisitors, who

<sup>1</sup> Und darob wie man Spüren mag, ein Entzet zen gehabt. Urkund., ii, 181.

<sup>2</sup> Hi accedunt ad nostros principes et jubent omittere hoc certamen, ne Cæsar vehementius commoveatur. Corp. Ref., ii, 254.

<sup>3</sup> Oppositas religioni, disciplinæ, legibusque Ecclesiæ. Pallav., i, 234.

<sup>4</sup> Als were der Papst selbst gegenwärtig gewest. Bruck, Apol., 62.

<sup>5</sup> Se alcuni . . . perseverassero in questa diabolica via quella S. M. potrà mettere la mano al ferro e al foco *et radicibus extirpare* questa venenata pianta. Instructio data Cæsari a reverendissimo Campeggi in dieta Augustana, 1530.

shall go on the track of the Remnants of Reformation, and proceed against them, as in Spain against the Moors. Let him put the university of Wittemberg under ban, burn the heretical books, and send back the fugitive monks to their convents. But this plan must be executed with courage."

Thus the jurisprudence of Rome consisted, according to a prophecy uttered against the city which *is seated on seven hills*, in adorning itself with pearls that it had stolen, and in becoming drunk with the blood of the saints.<sup>1</sup>

While Charles was thus urged on with blind fury by the diet and the pope, the protestant princes, restrained by a mute indignation, did not open their mouths,<sup>2</sup> and hence they seemed to betray a weakness of which the emperor was eager to profit. But there was also strength concealed under this weakness. "We have nothing left," exclaimed Melancthon, "but to embrace our Saviour's knees." In this they laboured earnestly. Melancthon begged for Luther's prayers; Brentz for those of his own church: a general cry of distress and of faith ran through evangelical Germany. "You shall have sheep," said Brentz, "if you will send us sheep: you know what I mean."<sup>3</sup> The sheep that were to be offered in sacrifice were the prayers of the saints.

The Church was not wanting to itself. "Assembled every day," wrote certain cities to the electors, "we beg for you strength, grace, and victory,—victory full of joy." But the man of prayer and faith was especially Luther. A calm and sublime courage, in which firmness shines at the side of joy—a courage that rises and exults in proportion as the danger increases—is what Luther's letters at this time present in every line. The most poetical images are pale beside those energetic expressions which issue in a boiling torrent from the reformer's soul. "I have recently witnessed two miracles," wrote he on the 5th August to chancellor Bruck; "this is the first. As I was at my window, I saw the stars, and the sky, and that vast and magnificent firmament in which the Lord has placed them. I could nowhere discover the columns on which the Master has supported this immense vault, and yet the heavens did not fall...

"And here is the second. I beheld thick clouds hanging above us like a vast sea. I could neither perceive ground on which they reposed, nor cords by which they were suspended; and yet they did not fall upon us, but saluted us rapidly and fled away.

<sup>1</sup> Revelation, xvii and xviii.

<sup>2</sup> Tacita indignatio. Corp. Ref., ii, 254.

<sup>3</sup> Habebitis oves, si oves ad nos mittatis: intelligitis quæ volo. Ibid., 246.



"God," continued he, "will choose the manner, the time, and the place suitable for deliverance, and he will not linger. What the men of blood have begun, they have not yet finished . . . . . Our rainbow is faint . . . . . their clouds are threatening . . . . . the enemy comes against us with frightful machines . . . . . But at last it will be seen to whom belong the ballistæ, and from what hands the javelins are launched.<sup>1</sup> It is no matter if Luther perishes: if Christ is conqueror, Luther is conqueror also."<sup>2</sup>

The Roman party, who did not know what was the victory of faith, imagined themselves certain of success.

The doctors having refuted the Confession, the Protestants ought, they imagined, to declare themselves convinced, and all would then be restored to its ancient footing: such was the plan of the emperor's campaign. He therefore urged and called upon the Protestants; but instead of submitting, they announced a refutation of the Refutation. Upon this Charles looked at his sword, and all the princes who surrounded him did the same.

John of Saxony understood what that meant, but he remained firm. "The straight line," said he (the axiom was familiar to him), "is the shortest road." It is this indomitable firmness that has secured for him in history the name of John the Persevering. He was not alone: all those protestant princes who had grown up in the midst of courts, and who were habituated to pay an humble obedience to the emperor, at that time found in their faith a noble independence that confounded Charles the Fifth.

With the design of gaining the Marquis of Brandenburg, they opened to him the possibility of according him some possessions in Silesia on which he had claims. "If Christ is Christ," replied he, "the doctrine that I have confessed is truth."—"But do you know," quickly replied his cousin the Elector Joachim, "what is your stake?"—"Certainly," replied the margrave, "it is said I shall be expelled from this country. Well! may God protect me!" One day Prince Wolfgang of Anhalt met Doctor Eck. "Doctor," said he, "you are exciting to war, but you will find those who will not be behindhand with you. I have broken many a lance for my friends in my time. My Lord Jesus Christ is assuredly worthy I should do as much for him."

At the sight of this resolution, each one asked himself whether Charles, instead of curing the disease was not augmenting

<sup>1</sup> In fine videbitur ejus toni. . . . L. Epp., iv, 130.  
modo, nihil refert si pereat Lutherus, quia victore Christo victor erit.

<sup>2</sup> Vincat Christus  
Ibid., 130.

it. Reflections, criticisms, jests, passed between the citizens; and the good sense of the people manifested in its own fashion what they thought of the folly of their chief. We will adduce one instance.

It is said that one day, as the emperor was at table with several Roman-catholic princes, he was informed that some comedians begged permission (according to custom) to amuse their lordships. First appeared an old man wearing a mask, and dressed in a doctor's robe, who advanced with difficulty carrying a bundle of sticks in his arms, some straight and some crooked. He approached the wide fireplace of the Gothic hall, threw down his load in disorder, and immediately withdrew.<sup>1</sup> Charles and the courtiers read on his back the inscription—JOHN REUCHLIN. Then appeared another mask with an intelligent look, who made every exertion to pare the straight and the crooked pieces;<sup>2</sup> but finding his labour useless, he shook his head, turned to the door, and disappeared. They read—ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM. Almost immediately after advanced a monk with bright eye and decided gait, carrying a brasier of lighted coals.<sup>3</sup> He put the wood in order, set fire to it, blew and stirred it up, so that the flame rose bright and sparkling into the air. He then retired, and on his back were the words—MARTIN LUTHER.

Next approached a magnificent personage, covered with all the imperial insignia, who, seeing the fire so bright, drew his sword, and endeavoured by violent thrusts to extinguish it; but the more he struck, the fiercer burnt the flames, and at last he quitted the hall in indignation. His name, as it would seem, was not made known to the spectators, but all divined it. The general attention was soon attracted by a new character. A man, wearing a surplice and a mantle of red velvet, with an alb of white wool that reached to his heels, and having a stole around his neck, the ends ornamented with pearls, advanced majestically. Beholding the flames that already filled the hearth, he wrung his hands in terror, and looked around for something to extinguish them. He saw two vessels at the very extremity of the hall, one filled with water, and the other with oil. He rushed towards them, seized unwittingly on that containing the oil, and threw it on the fire.<sup>4</sup> The flame then spread with such violence that the mask fled in alarm, raising his hands to heaven; on his back was read the name of LEO X.

<sup>1</sup> *Persona larva contacta, habitu doctorali portabat struem lignorum.* T. L. Fabricius. opp. omnia, ii, 231.

<sup>2</sup> *Illic conabatur curva rectis exæquare lignis.* Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> *In azula ferens ignem et prunas.* Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> *Currens in*

*amphoram oleo plenam.* Ibid., 232.

The mystery was finished; but instead of claiming their remuneration, the pretended actors had disappeared. No one asked the moral of this drama.

The lesson, however, proved useless; and the majority of the diet, assuming at the same time the part assigned to the emperor and the pope, began to prepare the means necessary for extinguishing the fire kindled by Luther. They negotiated in Italy with the Duke of Mantua, who engaged to send a few regiments of light cavalry across the Alps;<sup>1</sup> and in England with Henry VIII., who had not forgotten Luther's reply, and who promised Charles, through his ambassador, an immense subsidy to destroy the heretics.<sup>2</sup>

At the same time frightful prodigies announced the gloomy future which threatened the Reform. At Spires fearful spectres in the shape of monks with angry eyes and hasty steps, had appeared during the night. "What do you want?" they had been asked.—"We are going," they replied, "to the Diet of Augsburg!" The circumstance had been carefully investigated, and was found perfectly trustworthy.<sup>3</sup> "The interpretation is not difficult," exclaimed Melancthon: "Evil spirits are coming to Augsburg to counteract our exertions, and to destroy peace. They forebode horrible troubles to us."<sup>4</sup> No one doubted this. "Everything is advancing towards war," said Erasmus.<sup>5</sup> "The diet will not terminate," wrote Brentz, "except by the destruction of all Germany."<sup>6</sup> "There will be a slaughter of the saints," exclaimed Bucer, "which will be such that the massacres of Diocletian will scarcely come up to it."<sup>7</sup> War and blood—this was the general cry.

Suddenly, on the night of Saturday, 6th August, a great disturbance broke out in the city of Augsburg.<sup>8</sup> There was running to and fro in the streets; messengers from the emperor were galloping in every direction; the senate was called together and received an order to allow no one to pass the gates of the city.<sup>9</sup> All were afoot in the imperial barracks; the soldiers

<sup>1</sup> Che tentano col Duca di Mantona d' avere il modo di condurre 1000 cavalli leggieri d' Italia in caso si facesse guerra in Germanica. Nic. Tiefolo Relat.

<sup>2</sup> Cui (Cæsari) ingentem vim pecuniæ in hoc sacrum bellum contra hæreticos Anglus promississe fertur. (Zw. Epp., ii, 484.) To whom (the emperor) the English king is said to have promised an immense sum of money for the sacred war against the heretics.

<sup>3</sup> Res et diligenter inquisita et explorata maximeque ἀξιόπιστος. Corp. Ref., ii, 259.

<sup>4</sup> Monachorum Spirensium φάσμα plane significat horribilem tumultum. Ibid., 260.

<sup>5</sup> Vides rem plane tendere ad bellum.

Corp. Ref. Aug., 12, p. 268.

<sup>6</sup> Comitia non finientur nisi totius Germaniæ

malo et exitio. Corp. Ref., ii, 216.

<sup>7</sup> Laniena sanctorum qualis vix

Diocletiani tempore fuit. Buc. Ep. Aug., 14, 1530.

<sup>8</sup> Tumultum magnum

fuisse in civitate. Corp. Ref., ii, 277.

<sup>9</sup> Facto autem intempesta nocte

Cæsar senatui mandavit, ne quenquam per portas urbis suæ emittant. Ibid.



got ready their arms; the regiments were drawn up, and at daybreak (about three o'clock on Sunday morning) the emperor's troops, in opposition to the custom always observed in the diet, relieved the soldiers of the city and took possession of the gates. At the same time it was reported that these gates would not be opened, and that Charles had given orders to keep a strict watch upon the elector and his allies.<sup>1</sup> A terrible awakening for those who still flattered themselves with seeing the religious debates conclude peacefully! Might not these unheard-of measures be the commencement of wars and the signal of a frightful massacre?

## CHAPTER X.

Philip of Hesse—Temptation—Union resisted—The Landgrave's Dissimulation—The Emperor's Order to the Protestants—Brandenburg's threatening Speeches—Resolution of Philip of Hesse—Flight from Augsburg—Discovery—Charles's Emotion—Revolution in the Diet—Metamorphosis—Unusual Moderation—Peace, Peace!

TROUBLE and anger prevailed in the imperial palace, and it was the landgrave who had caused them. Firm as a rock in the midst of the tempest with which he was surrounded, Philip of Hesse had never bent his head to the blast. One day, in a public assembly, addressing the bishops, he had said to them, "My lords, give peace to the empire; we beg it of you. If you will not do so, and if I must fall, be sure that I will drag one or two of you along with me." They saw it was necessary to employ milder means with him, and the emperor endeavoured to gain him by showing a favourable disposition with respect to the county of Katzenellenbogen, about which he was at variance with Nassau, and to Wurtemberg, which he claimed for his cousin Ulric. On his side Duke George of Saxony, his father-in-law, had assured him that he would make him his heir if he would submit to the pope. "They carried him to an exceeding high mountain, whence they showed him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory thereof,"<sup>2</sup> says a chronicler, but the landgrave resisted the temptation.

One day he heard that the emperor had manifested a desire to speak to him. He leapt instantly on his horse and appeared before Charles.<sup>3</sup> The latter, who had with him his secretary

<sup>1</sup> Daff man auf den Churfurst zu Sachsen aufsehen haben soll. Brück, Apol., p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> Auf den hohen berg gefuhrt. Lanze's Chronik.

<sup>3</sup> Von ihr selbst gen

Hof geritten. Corp. Ref., ii, 165.

Schweiss and the Bishop of Constance, represented that he had four complaints against him; namely, of having violated the edict of Worms, of despising the mass, of having, during his absence, excited all kinds of revolt, and, finally, of having transmitted to him a book in which his sovereign rights were attacked. The landgrave justified himself; and the emperor said that he accepted his replies, except with regard to the faith, and begged him to show himself in that respect entirely submissive to his majesty. "What would you say," added Charles, in a winning tone, "if I elevated you to the regal dignity?"<sup>1</sup> But, if you show yourself rebellious to my orders, then I shall behave as becomes a Roman emperor."

These words exasperated the landgrave, but they did not move him. "I am in the flower of my age," replied he, "and I do not pretend to despise the joys of life and the favour of the great; but to the deceitful goods of this world I shall always prefer the ineffable grace of my God." Charles was stupified; he could not understand Philip.

From this time the landgrave had redoubled his exertions to unite the adherents of the Reformation. The Zwinglian cities felt that, whatever was the issue of the diet, they would be the first victims, unless the Saxons should give them their hand. But this there was some difficulty in obtaining.

"It does not appear to me useful to the public weal, or safe for the conscience," wrote Melancthon to Bucer, "to load our princes with all the hatred your doctrine inspires."<sup>2</sup> The Strasburgers replied, that the real cause of the Papists' hatred was not so much the doctrine of the Eucharist as that of justification by faith. "All we, who desire to belong to Christ," said they, "are one, and have nothing to expect but death."<sup>3</sup>

This was true; but another motive besides checked Melancthon. If all the Protestants united, they would feel their strength, and war would be inevitable. Therefore, then, no union!

The landgrave, threatened by the emperor, rejected by the theologians, began to ask himself what he did at Augsburg. The cup was full. Charles's refusal to communicate the Romish Refutation, except on inadmissible conditions, made it run over. Philip of Hesse saw but one course to take—to quit the city.

Scarcely had the emperor made known the conditions which

<sup>1</sup> Quin et in regem te evehendum curabimus. Rommel, Philip der Gr., i, 268.

<sup>2</sup> Nostros principes onerare invidia vestri dogmatis. Corp. Ref., ii, 221.

<sup>3</sup> Arcissime quoque inter nos conjuncti essemus, quotquot Christi esse volumus. Ibid., p. 236.

he placed on the communication of the reply, than on Friday evening, 5th August, the landgrave, going alone to the count-palatine, Charles's minister, had begged for an immediate audience with his majesty. Charles, who did not care to see him, pretended to be busy, and put off Philip until the following Sunday.<sup>1</sup> But the latter answered that he could not wait; that his wife, who was dangerously ill, entreated him to return to Hesse without delay; and that, being one of the youngest princes, the meanest in understanding, and useless to Charles, he humbly begged his majesty would permit him to leave on the morrow. The emperor refused.

We may well understand the storms this refusal excited in Philip's mind: but he knew how to contain himself; never had he appeared more tranquil; during the whole of Saturday (6th August), he seemed occupied only with a magnificent tourney in honour of the emperor and of his brother Ferdinand.<sup>2</sup> He prepared for it publicly; his servants went to and fro, but under that din of horses and of armour, Philip concealed very different designs. "The landgrave conducts himself with very great moderation," wrote Melancthon to Luther the same day.<sup>3</sup> "He told me openly that, to preserve peace, he would submit to conditions still harder than those which the emperor imposes on us, and accept all that he could without dishonouring the Gospel."

Yet Charles was not at ease. The landgrave's demand pursued him; all the Protestants might do the same, and even quit Augsburg unexpectedly. The clue, that he had hitherto so skilfully held in his hands, was perhaps about to be broken: it was better to be violent than ridiculous. The emperor therefore resolved on striking a decisive blow. The elector, the princes, the deputies, were still in Augsburg: and he must at every risk prevent their leaving it. Such were the heavy thoughts that on the night of the 6th August, while the Protestants were calmly sleeping,<sup>4</sup> banished repose from Charles's eyes; and which made him hastily arouse the councillors of Augsburg, and send his messengers and soldiers through the streets of the city.

The protestant princes were still slumbering, when they received on the part of the emperor, the unexpected order to repair immediately to the Hall of the Chapter.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cum imperator dilationem respondendi astu quodam accepisset. Corp. Ref., ii, 254, 276.

<sup>2</sup> Ad ludos equestres in honorem Cæsaris instituendos publice sese apparavit. Seck., ii, 172.

<sup>3</sup> Landgravius valde moderate se gerit. Corp. Ref., ii, 254.

<sup>4</sup> Ego vero somno sopitus dulciter quiescebam. Ibid., 273.

<sup>5</sup> Mane facto Cæsar . . . convocavit nostros principes. Ibid., 277; Brück, Apol., p. 79.



It was eight o'clock when they arrived. They found there the Electors of Brandenburg and Mentz, the Dukes of Saxony, Brunswick, and Mecklenburg, the bishops of Salzburg, Spire, and Strasburg, George Truchses, the Margrave of Baden's representative, Count Martin of Œlting, the Abbot of Weingarten, and the Provost of Bamberg. These were the Commissioners nominated by Charles to terminate this great affair.

It was the most decided among them, Joachim of Brandenburg, who began to speak. "You know," said he to the Protestants, "with what mildness the emperor has endeavoured to re-establish unity. If some abuses have crept into the Christian Church, he is ready to correct them in conjunction with the pope. But how contrary to the Gospel are the sentiments you have adopted! Abandon then your errors, do not any longer remain separate from the Church, and sign the Refutation without delay.<sup>1</sup> If you refuse, then through your fault how many souls will be lost, how much blood shed, what countries laid waste, what trouble in all the empire! And you," said he, turning towards the elector, "your electorate, your life, all will be torn from you, and certain ruin will fall upon your subjects, and even upon their wives and children."

The elector remained motionless. At any time this language would have been alarming: it was still more so now that the city was almost in a state of siege. "We now understand," said the Protestants to one another, "why the imperial guards occupy the gates of the city."<sup>2</sup> It was evident, indeed, that the emperor intended violence.<sup>3</sup>

The Protestants were unanimous: surrounded with soldiers, at the very gates of the prison, and beneath the thousand swords of Charles, they remained firm. All these threats did not make them take one step backwards.<sup>4</sup> It was important for them, however, to consider their reply. They begged for a few minutes' delay, and retired.

To submit voluntarily, or to be reduced by force, such was the dilemma Charles proposed to the evangelical Christians.

At the moment when each was anxious about the issue of this struggle, in which the destinies of Christianity were contending, an alarming rumour suddenly raised the agitation of all minds to its height.

The landgrave, in the midst of his preparations for the tour-

<sup>1</sup> Ut sententiæ quam in refutatione audivissent suscribant. Corp. Ref., II, 277.

<sup>2</sup> Intelligis nunc cur portæ munitæ fuerunt. Ibid.

nostros violentia ad suam sententiam cogere. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Quia volebat Cæsar

<sup>4</sup> Sed hæc minæ nostros nihil commoverunt : perstant in sententia nec vel tantillum recedunt. Ibid.

nament, meditated the most serious resolution. Excluded by Charles from every important deliberation, irritated at the treatment the Protestants had undergone during this diet,<sup>1</sup> convinced that they had no more chance of peace,<sup>2</sup> not doubting that their liberty was greatly endangered in Augsburg, and feeling unable to conceal under the appearance of moderation the indignation with which his soul was filled, being besides of a quick, prompt, and resolute character, Philip had decided on quitting the city and repairing to his states, in order to act freely, and to serve as a support to the Reformation.

But what mystery was required! If the landgrave was taken in the act, no doubt he would be put under arrest. This daring step might therefore become the signal of those extreme measures from which he longed to escape.

It was Saturday, the 6th August, the day for which Philip had requested the emperor's leave of absence. He waits until the commencement of the night, and then, about eight o'clock, disguised in a foreign dress, without bidding farewell to any of his friends,<sup>3</sup> and taking every imaginable precaution,<sup>4</sup> he makes for the gates of the city, about the time when they are usually closed. Five or six cavaliers follow him singly, and at a little distance.<sup>5</sup> In so critical a moment will not these men-at-arms attract attention? Philip traverses the streets without danger, approaches the gate,<sup>6</sup> passes with a careless air through the midst of the guard, between the scattered soldiers, no one moves, all remain idly seated, as if nothing extraordinary was going on. Philip has passed without being recognised.<sup>7</sup> His five or six horsemen come through in like manner. Behold them all at last in the open country. The little troop immediately spur their horses, and flee with headlong speed far from the walls of the imperial city.

Yet Philip has taken his measures so well, that no one as yet suspects his departure. When during the night Charles occupies the gates with his own guards, he thinks the landgrave still in the city.<sup>8</sup> When the Protestants were assembled

<sup>1</sup> *Commotus indignitate actionum.* Corp. Ref., ii, 260.

<sup>2</sup> *Spern pacis ab-*

<sup>3</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>4</sup> *Clam omnibus abijt.* Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>6</sup> *Clam cum paucis equitibus.* Corp. Ref., ii, 277 : Mit 5 oder 6 pferden. Ibid., 263.

<sup>7</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>8</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>9</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>10</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>11</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>12</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>13</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>14</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>15</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>16</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>17</sup> *Spern pacis ab-*

<sup>18</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>19</sup> *Clam omnibus abijt.* Ibid.

<sup>20</sup> *Clam cum paucis equitibus.* Corp. Ref., ii, 277 : Mit 5 oder 6 pferden. Ibid., 263.

<sup>21</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>22</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>23</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>24</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>25</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>26</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>27</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>28</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

<sup>29</sup> *Sec., ii, 172.*

at eight in the morning in the Chapter-hall, the princes of both parties were a little astonished at the absence of Philip of Hesse. They were accustomed, however, to see him keep aloof, and thought he might be out of humour. No one imagined he was between twelve and fifteen leagues from Augsburg.

After the termination of the conference, and as all were returning to their hotels, the elector of Brandenburg and his friends on the one hand, elated at the speech they had delivered, the Elector of Saxony and his allies on the other, resolved to sacrifice everything, inquiries were made at the landgrave's lodgings as to the reason of his absence; they closely questioned Saltz, Nuszicker, Mayer, and Schnepf. At last the Hessian Councillors could no longer keep the secret. "The landgrave," said they, "has returned to Hesse."

This news circulated immediately through all the city, and shook it like the explosion of a mine. Charles especially, who found himself mocked and frustrated in his expectations—Charles, who had not had the least suspicion,<sup>1</sup> trembled, and was enraged.<sup>2</sup> The Protestants, whom the landgrave had not admitted to his secret,<sup>3</sup> were as much astonished as the Roman Catholics themselves, and feared that this inconsiderate departure might be the immediate signal for a terrible persecution. There was only Luther, who, the moment he heard of Philip's proceeding, highly approved of it, and exclaimed: "Of a truth all these delays and indignities are enough to fatigue more than one landgrave."<sup>4</sup>

The Chancellor of Hesse gave the Elector of Saxony a letter that his master had left for him. Philip spoke in this ostensible document of his wife's health; but he had charged his ministers to inform the elector in private of the real causes of his departure. He announced, moreover, that he had given orders to his ministers to assist the Protestants in all things, and exhorted his allies to permit themselves in no manner to be turned aside from the Word of God.<sup>5</sup> "As for me," said he, "I shall fight for the Word of God, at the risk of my goods, my states, my subjects, and my life."

The effect of the landgrave's departure was instantaneous: a real revolution was then effected in the diet. The Elector of Mentz and the Bishops of Franconia, Philip's near neighbours, imagined they already saw him on their frontiers at the head

<sup>1</sup> Cæsare nihil suspicante. Corp. Ref., 277.

motus. Seck., ii, 172.

Corp. Ref., ii, 263.

<sup>4</sup> Es möchte wohl *ista mora et indignitas* nocheinem landgraven müde machen. L. Epp., iv, 134.

strahi aut terreri se patiat. Seck., ii, 172.

<sup>2</sup> Imperator re insperata com-

Unwissend des Churfürsten von Sachsen und unserer.

<sup>5</sup> Ut nullo modo a verbo Dei ab-



of a powerful army, and replied to the Archbishop of Salzburg, who expressed astonishment at their alarm: "Ah! if you were in our place you would do the same." Ferdinand, knowing the intimate relations of Philip with the Duke of Wurtemberg, trembled for the estates of this prince, at that time usurped by Austria; and Charles the Fifth, undeceived with regard to those princes whom he had believed so timid, and whom he had treated with so much arrogance, had no doubt that this sudden step of Philip's had been maturely deliberated in the common council of the Protestants. All saw a declaration of war in the landgrave's hasty departure. They called to mind that at the moment when they thought the least about it, they might see him appear at the head of his soldiers, on the frontiers of his enemies, and no one was ready; no one even wished to be ready! A thunderbolt had fallen in the midst of the diet. They repeated the news to one another, with troubled eyes and affrighted looks. All was confusion in Augsburg; and couriers bore afar, in every direction, astonishment and consternation.

This alarm immediately converted the enemies of the reform. The violence of Charles and the princes was broken in this memorable night as if by enchantment; and the furious wolves were suddenly transformed into meek and docile lambs.<sup>1</sup>

It was still Sunday morning: Charles the Fifth immediately convoked the diet for the afternoon.<sup>2</sup> "The landgrave has quitted Augsburg," said Count Frederick from the emperor; "his majesty flatters himself that even the friends of that prince were ignorant of his departure. It is without the emperor's knowledge, and even in defiance of his express prohibition, that Philip of Hesse has left, thus failing in all his duties. He has wished to put the diet out of joint.<sup>3</sup> But the emperor conjures you not to permit yourselves to be led astray by him, and to contribute rather to the happy issue of this national assembly. His majesty's gratitude will thus be secured to you."

The Protestants replied, that the departure of the landgrave had taken place without their knowledge; that they had heard of it with pain, and that they would have dissuaded him. Nevertheless they did not doubt that this prince had solid reasons for such a step; besides he had left his councillors with full powers, and that, as for them, they were ready to do everything to conclude the diet in a becoming manner.

<sup>1</sup> Sed hanc violentiam abitus Landgravii interruptit. Corp. Ref., p. 277.

<sup>2</sup> Nam cum paucis post horis resciscunt Landgravium elapsum, convocant iterum nostros. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Zertrennung dieses Reichstags zu verursachen. Ibid., 264.

Then, confident in their rights, and decided to resist Charles's arbitrary acts, they continued: "It is pretended that the gates were closed on our account. We beg your majesty to revoke this order, and to prevent any similar orders being given in future."

Never was Charles the Fifth less at ease; he had just spoken as a father, and they remind him that a few hours back he had acted like a tyrant. Some subterfuge was requisite. "It is not on your account," replied the count-palatine, "that the emperor's soldiers occupy the gates. . . . Do not believe those who tell you so. . . . Yesterday there was a quarrel between two soldiers,<sup>1</sup> and a mob was collected. . . . This is why the emperor took this step. Besides, such things will not be done again without the Elector of Saxony, in his quality of marshal of the empire, being first informed of them." An order was given immediately to re-open the gates.

No exertions were now spared by the Roman party to convince the Protestants of their good will: there was an unaccustomed mildness in the language of the count-palatine and in the looks of Charles.<sup>2</sup> The princes of the papal party, once so terrible, were similarly transformed. They had been hastily forced to speak out; if they desired war, they must begin it instantly.

But they shrunk back at this frightful prospect. How, with the enthusiasm that animated the Protestants, take up arms against them! Were not the abuses of the Church everywhere acknowledged, and could the Roman princes be sure of their own subjects? Besides, what would be the issue of a war but the increase of the emperor's power? The Roman-catholic states, and the Duke of Bavaria in particular, would have been glad to see Charles at war with the Protestants, in the hope that he would thus consume his strength; but it was, on the contrary, with their own soldiers that the emperor designed attacking the heretics. Henceforth they rejected the instrumentality of arms as eagerly as they had at first desired it.

Everything had thus changed in Augsburg: the Romish party was paralyzed, disheartened, and even broken up. The sword already drawn was hastily thrust back in the sheath. Peace! peace! was the cry of all.

<sup>1</sup> Es habe ein Trabant mit einem andern ein Unwill gehabt. Corp. Ref., ii, 265.

<sup>2</sup> Nullo alio tempore mitius et benignius quam tunc cum protestantibus egerit (Seck., ii, 172.) At no time did he treat the Protestants more mildly and kindly.

## CHAPTER XI.

The Mixed Commission—The Three Points—Romish Dissimulation—Abuses—Concessions—The Main Question—Bishops and Pope conceded—Danger of Concession—Opposition to the pretended Concord—Luther's opposing Letters—The Word above the Church—Melancthon's Blindness—Papist Infatuation—A new Commission—Be Men and not Women—The Two Phantoms—Concessions—The Three Points—The great Antithesis—Failure of Conciliation—The Gordian Knot—A Council granted—Charles's Summons—Menaces—Altercations—Peace or War—Romanism concedes—Protestantism resists—Luther recalls his Friends.

THE diet now entered upon its third phasis, and as the time of tentatives had been followed by that of menaces; now that of arrangements was to succeed the period of threatenings. New and more formidable dangers were then to be encountered by the Reformation. Rome, beholding the sword torn from its grasp, had seized the net, and enlacing her adversaries with "cords of humanity and bands of love," was endeavouring to drag them gently into the abyss.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 16th August, a mixed commission was framed, which counted on each side two princes, two lawyers, and three theologians. In the Romish party, there were Duke Henry of Brunswick, the Bishop of Augsburg, the Chancellors of Baden and Cologne, with Eck, Cochläus, and Wimpina; on the part of the Protestants, were the Margrave George of Brandenburg, the Prince Electoral of Saxony, the Chancellors Bruck and Heller, with Melancthon, Brentz, and Schnepf.<sup>1</sup>

They agreed to take as basis the Confession of the evangelical states, and began to read it article by article. The Romish theologians displayed an unexpected condescension. Out of twenty-one dogmatical articles, there were only six or seven to which they made any objection. Original Sin stopped them some time; at length they came to an understanding; the Protestants admitted that Baptism removed the guilt of the sin, and the Papists agreed that it did not wash away concupiscence. As for the Church, they granted that it contained sanctified men and sinners; they coincided also on Confession. The Protestants rejected especially as impossible the enumeration of all the sins prescribed by Rome. Dr. Eck yielded this point.<sup>2</sup>

There remained three doctrines only on which they differed,

<sup>1</sup> F. Urkundenbuch, ii, 219.  
F. Urkunden., ii, 223.

<sup>2</sup> Die Sünd die man nicht wisse, die durff nicht beichten.



The first was that of Penance. The Romish doctors taught that it contained three parts: contrition, confession, and satisfaction. The Protestants rejected the latter, and the Romanists clearly perceiving that with satisfaction would fall indulgences, purgatory, and other of their doctrines and profits, vigorously maintained it. "We agree," said they, "that the penance imposed by the priest does not procure remission of the guilt of sin: but we maintain that it is necessary to obtain remission of the penalty."

The second controverted point was the Invocation of Saints; and the third, and principal one, Justification by Faith. It was of the greatest importance for the Romanists to maintain the meritorious influence of works: all their system in reality was based on that. Eck therefore haughtily declared war on the assertion that faith alone justifies. "That word *sole*," said he, "we cannot tolerate. It generates scandals, and renders men brutal and impious. Let us send back the *sole* to the cobbler."<sup>1</sup>

But the Protestants would not listen to such reasoning; and even when they put the question to each other, Shall we maintain that faith alone justifies us gratuitously? "Undoubtedly, undoubtedly," exclaimed one of them with exaggeration, "*gratuitously and uselessly*."<sup>2</sup> They even adduced strange authorities: "Plato," said they, "declares that it is not by external works, but by virtue that God is to be adored; and every one knows these verses of Cato's:

Si deus est animus, nobis ut carmina dicunt,  
Hic tibi præcipue pura sit mente colendus."<sup>3</sup>

"Certainly," resumed the Romish theologians: "it is only of works performed with grace that we speak; but we say that in such works there is something meritorious." The Protestants declared they could not grant it.

They had approximated however beyond all hope. The Roman theologians, clearly understanding their position, had purposed to appear agreed rather than be so in reality. Every one knew, for instance, that the Protestants rejected transubstantiation: but the article of the Confession on this point, being able to be taken in the Romish sense, the Papists had admitted it. Their triumph was only deferred. The general

<sup>1</sup> Man soll die *Sole* ein weil zum Schuster Schicken. Urkund., ii, 225. This wretched pun of Eck's requires no comment.

<sup>2</sup> Omnino, omnino, addendum etiam frustra. (Sculdet., p. 289.) By all means, by all means! we must also add in vain.

<sup>3</sup> If God is a spirit, as the poets teach, he should be worshipped with a pure mind.

expressions that were used on the controverted points, would permit somewhat later a Romish interpretation to be given to the Confession; ecclesiastical authority would declare this the only true one; and Rome, thanks to a few moments of dissimulation, would thus reascend the throne. Have we not seen in our days the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican Church interpreted in accordance with the Council of Trent? There are causes in which falsehood is never awanting. This plot was as skilfully executed as it was profoundly conceived.

The commissioners were on the best terms with one another and concord seemed restored. One single uneasiness disturbed that happy moment: the idea of the landgrave: "Ignorant that we are almost agreed," said they, "this young madbrain is doubtless already assembling his army; we must bring him back, and make him a witness of our cordial union." On the morning of the 13th, one of the members of the Commission (Duke Henry of Brunswick), accompanied by a councillor of the emperor, set out to discharge this difficult mission.<sup>1</sup> Duke George of Saxony supplied his place as arbitrator.

They now passed from the first part of the Confession to the second: from doctrines to abuses. Here the Romish theologians could not yield so easily, for if they appeared to agree with the Protestants, it was all over with the honour and power of the hierarchy. It was accordingly for this period of the combat that they had reserved their cunning and their strength.

They began by approaching the Protestants as near as they could, for the more they granted, the more they might draw the Reform to them and stifle it. "We think," said they, "that with the permission of his holiness, and the approbation of his majesty, we shall be able to permit, until the next council, the communion in both kinds, wherever it is practised already; only, your ministers should preach at Easter, that it is not of divine institution, and that Christ is wholly in each kind."<sup>2</sup>

Moreover, as for the married priests," continued they, "desirous of sparing the poor women whom they have seduced, of providing for the maintenance of their innocent children, and of preventing every kind of scandal, we will tolerate them until the next council, and we shall then see if it will not be right to decree that married men may be admitted to holy orders, as was the case in the primitive Church for many centuries."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Brunswigus coactus est abire πρὸς τὸν μακρόδονα quem timent contrahere exercitum. Scultet., p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> Vorschläge des Anschlusses der Sieben des Gegen-

theils. Urk., ii, 251.

<sup>3</sup> Wie von alters in der ersten Kirche etliche Hundert Jahre, in Gebrauch gewesen. Ibid., 254.

“Finally, we acknowledge that the sacrifice of the mass is a mystery, a representation, a sacrifice of commemoration, a memorial of the sufferings and death of Christ, accomplished on the cross.”<sup>1</sup>

This was yielding much: but the turn of the Protestants was come; for if Rome appeared to give, it was only to take in return.

The grand question was the Church, its maintenance and government: who should provide for it? They could see only two means: princes or bishops. If they feared the bishops, they must decide for the princes: if they feared the princes, they must decide for the bishops. They were at that time too distant from the normal state to discover a third solution, and to perceive that the Church ought to be maintained by the Church itself—by the christian people. “Secular princes in the long run will be defaulters to the government of the Church,” said the Saxon divines in the opinion they presented on the 18th August; “they are not fit to execute it, and besides it would cost them too dear:”<sup>2</sup> the bishops, on the contrary, have property destined to provide for this charge.”

Thus the presumed incapacity of the state, and the fear they entertained of its indifference, threw the Protestants into the arms of the hierarchy.

They proposed, therefore, to restore to the bishops their jurisdiction, the maintenance of discipline, and the superintendence of the priests, provided they did not persecute the evangelical doctrine, or oppress the pastors with impious vows and burdens. “We may not,” added they, “without strong reasons, rend that order by which bishops are over priests, and which existed in the Church from the beginning. It is dangerous before the Lord to change the order of governments.” Their argument is not founded upon the Bible, as may be seen, but upon ecclesiastical history.

The Protestant divines went even farther, and, taking a last step that seemed decisive, they consented to acknowledge the pope as being (but of human right) supreme bishop of Christendom. “Although the pope is Antichrist, we may be under his government, as the Jews were under Pharaoh, and in later days under Caiaphas.” We must confess these two comparisons were not flattering to the pope. “Only,” added the doctors, “let sound doctrine be fully accorded to us.”

The Chancellor Bruck alone appears to have been conscious

<sup>1</sup> Zu Erinnerung und Gedächtniss. Urk., ii, 253.  
möglich. Dazu Kostet es zu viel. Ibid., 247.

<sup>2</sup> Ist Ihnen auch nicht



of the truth: he wrote on the margin with a firm hand: "We cannot acknowledge the pope, because we say he is Antichrist, and because he claims the primacy by divine right."<sup>1</sup>

Finally, the Protestant theologians consented to agree with Rome as regards indifferent ceremonies, fasts, and forms of worship; and the elector engaged to put under sequestration the ecclesiastical property already secularized, until the decision of the next council.

Never was the conservative spirit of Lutheranism more clearly manifested. "We have promised our adversaries to concede to them certain points of church government, that may be granted without wounding the conscience," wrote Melancthon.<sup>2</sup> But it began to be very doubtful whether ecclesiastical concessions would not drag with them doctrinal concessions also. The Reform was drifting away . . . still a few more fathoms, and it would be lost. Already disunion, trouble, and affright were spreading among its ranks. "Melancthon has become more childish than a child," said one of his friends;<sup>3</sup> and yet he was so excited, that the Chancellor of Luneburg having made some objections to these unprecedented concessions, the little master of arts proudly raised his head, and said with a sharp, harsh tone of voice: "He who dares assert that the means indicated are not christian is a liar and a scoundrel."<sup>4</sup> On which the chancellor immediately repaid him in his own coin. These expressions cannot, however, detract from Melancthon's reputation for mildness. After so many useless efforts, he was exhausted, irritated, and his words cut the deeper, as they were the less expected from him. He was not the only one demoralized. Brentz appeared clumsy, rude, and uncivil; Chancellor Keller had misled the pious Margrave of Brandenburg, and transformed the courage of this prince into pusillanimity: no other human support remained to the elector than his chancellor Bruck. And even this firm man began to grow alarmed at his isolation.

But he was not alone: the most earnest protests were received from without. "If it is true that you are making such concessions," said their affrighted friends to the Saxon divines, "christian liberty is at an end.<sup>5</sup> What is your pretended concord? a thick cloud that you raise in the air to eclipse the sun

<sup>1</sup> Cum dicimus eum Antichristum. Urk., ii, 247.

<sup>2</sup> Nos politica quedam concessuros quæ sine offensione conscientie. (Corp. Ref., ii, 302.) That we will concede some matters of government which can be conceded without offence to the conscience.

<sup>3</sup> Philippus ist kindischer denn ein Kind worden. Baumgartner, Ibid., 363.

<sup>4</sup> Der Lüge als ein Bösewicht. Ibid., 364.

<sup>5</sup> Actum est de christiana libertate. Ibid., 295.

that was beginning to illuminate the Church.<sup>1</sup> Never will the christian people accept conditions so opposed to the Word of God; and your only gain will be the furnishing the enemies of the Gospel with a specious pretext to butcher those who remain faithful to it." Among the laymen these convictions were general. "Better die with Jesus Christ," said all Augsburg,<sup>2</sup> "than gain the favour of the whole world without him!"

No one felt so much alarm as Luther when he saw the glorious edifice that God had raised by his hands on the point of falling to ruin in those of Melancthon. The day on which this news arrived, he wrote five letters,—to the elector, to Melancthon, to Spalatin, to Jonas, and to Brentz, all equally filled with courage and with faith.

"I learn," said he, "that you have begun a marvellous work, namely, to reconcile Luther and the pope; but the pope will not be reconciled, and Luther begs to be excused."<sup>3</sup> And if, in despite of them, you succeed in this affair, then after your example I will bring together Christ and Belial.

"The world I know is full of wranglers who obscure the doctrine of justification by faith, and of fanatics who persecute it. Do not be astonished at it, but continue to defend it with courage, for it is the heel of the seed of the woman that shall bruise the head of the serpent."<sup>4</sup>

"Beware also of the jurisdiction of the bishops, for fear we should soon have to recommence a more terrible struggle than the first. They will take our concessions widely, very widely, always more widely, and will give us theirs narrowly, very narrowly, and always more narrowly."<sup>5</sup> All these negotiations are impossible, unless the pope should renounce his papacy.

"A pretty motive indeed our adversaries assign! They cannot say they restrain their subjects, if we do not publish everywhere that they have the truth on their side: as if God only taught his Word, that our enemies might at pleasure tyrannize over their people.

"They cry out that we condemn all the Church. No, we do not condemn it; but as for them, they condemn all the Word of God, and the Word of God is more than the Church."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Quid ea concordia aliud esset quam natæ jam et divulgatæ luci obducere nubem. (Baumgartner, Corp. Ref., ii, 296.) What else would that concord be than to bring a cloud over the light already risen and spread abroad? <sup>2</sup> Die gange Stadt sagt. Ibid., 297.

<sup>3</sup> Sed papa nolet et Lutherus deprecatur. L. Epp., iv, 144.

<sup>4</sup> Nam hic est ille unicus calcaneus seminis antiquo serpenti adversantis. Ibid., 151.

<sup>5</sup> Ipsi enim nostras concessiones large, largius, largissime, suas vero, stricte, strictissime. (Ibid., 145.) For they will take our concessions widely, more widely, most widely; but their own strictly, more strictly, most strictly. <sup>6</sup> Sed ab ipsis totum verbum Dei, quod plus quam ecclesia est, damnari. L. Epp., iv, 145.

This important declaration of the reformers decides the controversy between the evangelical Christians and the Papacy: unfortunately we have often seen Protestants return, on this fundamental point to the error of Rome, and set the visible Church above the Word of God,

"I write to you now," continues Luther, "to believe with all of us (and that through obedience to Jesus Christ), that Campeggio is a famous demon.<sup>1</sup> I cannot tell how violently I am agitated by the conditions which you propose. The plan of Campeggio and the pope has been to try us first by threats, and then, if these do not succeed, by stratagems; you have triumphed over the first attack, and sustained the terrible coming of Cæsar: now, then, for the second. Act with courage, and yield nothing to the adversaries, except what can be proved with evidence from the very Word of God.

"But if, which Christ forbid! you do not put forth all the Gospel; if, on the contrary, you shut up that glorious eagle in a sack; Luther—doubt it not!—Luther will come and gloriously deliver the eagle.<sup>2</sup> As certainly as Christ lives, that shall be done!"

Thus spoke Luther, but in vain; everything in Augsburg was tending towards approaching ruin; Melancthon had a bandage over his eyes that nothing could tear of. He no longer listened to Luther, and cared not for popularity. "It does not become us," said he, "to be moved by the clamours, of the vulgar;<sup>3</sup> we must think of peace and of posterity. If we repeal the episcopal jurisdiction, what will be the consequence to our descendants? The secular powers care nothing about the interests of religion.<sup>4</sup> Besides, too much dissimilarity in the churches is injurious to peace: we must unite with the bishops, lest the infamy of schism should overwhelm us for ever."<sup>5</sup>

The evangelicals too readily listened to Melancthon, and vigorously laboured to bind to the papacy by the bonds of the hierarchy that Church which God had so wonderfully emancipated. Protestantism rushed blindfold into the nets of its enemies. Already serious voices announced the return of the Lutherans into the bosom of the Romish Church. "They are preparing their defection, and are passing over to the Papists," said Zwingle.<sup>6</sup> The politic Charles the Fifth acted in such a

<sup>1</sup> Quod Campeggius est unus magnus et insignis diabolus. (L. Epp., iv, 147.) That Campeggio is one great and notable devil.

<sup>2</sup> Veniet, ne dubita, veniet Lutherus, hanc aquilam liberaturus magnifice. Ibid., 155.

<sup>3</sup> Sed nos nihil

deceat vulgi clamoribus moveri. Corp. Ref., ii, 303.

<sup>4</sup> Profani jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam et similia negotia religionem non curent. Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Ne schismatis infamia perpetuo laboremus. Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Lutherani defectionem parant ad Papistas. Zw. Epp., ii, 461.



manner, that no haughty word should compromise the victory; but the Roman clergy could not master themselves: their pride and insolence increased every day. "One would never believe," said Melanethon, "the airs of triumph which the Papists give themselves." There was good reason! the agreement was on the verge of conclusion; yet one or two steps . . . . . and then, woe to the Reformation!

Who could prevent this desolating ruin? It was Luther who pronounced the name towards which all eyes should be turned: "Christ lives," said he, "and He by whom the violence of our enemies has been conquered will give us strength to surmount their wiles." This, which was in truth the only resource, did not disappoint the Reformation.

If the Roman hierarchy had been willing, under certain admissible conditions, to receive the Protestants who were ready to capitulate, all would have been over with them. When once it held them in its arms, it would have stifled them; but God blinded the Papacy, and thus saved his Church. "No concessions," had declared the Romish senate; and Campeggio, elated with his victory, repeated, "No concessions!" He moved heaven and earth to inflame the Catholic zeal of Charles in this decisive moment. From the emperor he passed to the princes. "Celibacy, confession, the withdrawal of the cup, private masses!" exclaimed he: "all these are obligatory: we must have all." This was saying to the evangelical Christians, as the Samnites to the ancient Romans: "Here are the Caudine Forks; pass through them!"

The Protestants saw the yoke, and shuddered. God revived the courage of confessors in their weakened hearts. They raised their heads, and rejected this humiliating capitulation. The commission was immediately dissolved.

This was a great deliverance but soon appeared a fresh danger. The evangelical Christians ought immediately to have quitted Augsburg; but, said one of them,<sup>1</sup> "Satan, disguised as an angel of light, blinded the eyes of their understanding." They remained.

All was not yet lost for Rome, and the spirit of falsehood and of cunning might again renew its attacks.

It was believed at court that this disagreeable termination of the commission was to be ascribed to some wrong-headed individuals, and particularly to Duke George. They therefore resolved to name another, composed of six members only: on the one side Eck, with the Chancellors of Cologne and Baden;

<sup>1</sup> Baumgartner to Spengler. Corp. Ref., ii, 363.

on the other, Melancthon, with the Chancellors Bruck and Heller. The Protestants consented, and all was begun anew.

The alarm then increased among the most decided followers of the Reformation. "If we expose ourselves unceasingly to new dangers, must we not succumb at last?"<sup>1</sup> The deputies of Nuremberg in particular declared that their city would never place itself again under the detested yoke of the bishops. "It is the advice of the undecided Erasmus that Melancthon follows," said they. "Say rather of Ahithophel" (2 Sam., xv), replied others. "However it may be," added they; "if the pope had bought Melancthon, the latter could have done nothing better to secure the victory for him."<sup>2</sup>

The landgrave was especially indignant at this cowardice, "Melancthon," wrote he to Zwingli, "walks backwards like a crab."<sup>3</sup> From Friedwald, whither he had repaired after his flight from Augsburg, Philip of Hesse endeavoured to check the fall of Protestantism. "When we begin to yield, we always yield more," wrote he to his ministers at Augsburg. "Declare therefore to my allies that I reject these perfidious conciliations. If we are Christians, what we should pursue is, not our own advantage, but the consolation of so many weary and afflicted consciences, for whom there is no salvation if we take away the Word of God. The bishops are not real bishops for they speak not according to the Holy Scriptures. If we acknowledge them, what would follow? They would remove our ministers, silence the Gospel, re-establish ancient abuses, and the last state would be worse than the first. If the Papists will permit the free preaching of the pure Gospel, let us come to an understanding with them; for the truth will be the strongest, and will root out all the rest. But if not!—No. This is not the moment to yield, but to remain firm even unto death. Baffle these fearful combinations of Melancthon, and tell the deputies of the cities, from me, to be men, and not women."<sup>4</sup> Let us fear nothing: God is with us."

Melancthon and his friends, thus attacked, sought to justify themselves: on the one hand, they maintained, that if they preserved the doctrine it would finally overthrow the hierarchy. But then why restore it? Was it not more than doubtful whether a doctrine so enfeebled would still retain strength

<sup>1</sup> *Fremunt et alii socii ac indignantur regnum Episcoporum restitui.* Corp. Ref., ii, 328.) Their other allies murmur and are indignant that the region of the bishops is restored.

<sup>2</sup> *Si conductus quanta ipse voluisset pecunia a papa esset.* (Ibid., 333.) If he had been hired by the pope for as large a sum as he pleased.

<sup>3</sup> *Retro it, ut cancer.* Zw. Epp., ii, 506.

<sup>4</sup> *Das sie nicht weyber seyen sondern männer.* Corp. Ref., ii, 327.

sufficient to shake the Papacy? On the other hand, Melancthon and his friends pointed out two phantoms before which they shrunk in affright. The first was *war*, which, in their opinion, was imminent. "It will not only," said they, "bring numberless temporal evils with it,—the devastation of Germany, murder, violation, sacrilege, rapine; but it will produce spiritual evils more frightful still, and inevitably bring on the perturbation of all religion."<sup>1</sup> The second phantom was the supremacy of the state. Melancthon and his friends foresaw the dependence to which the princes would reduce the Church, the increasing secularization of its institutions and of its instruments, the spiritual death that would result, and shrank back with terror from the frightful prospect. "Good men do not think that the court should regulate the ministry of the Church,"<sup>2</sup> said Brentz. "Have you not yourselves experienced," added he ironically, "with what wisdom and mildness these boors ('tis thus I denominate the officials and prefects of the princes) treat the ministers of the Church, and the Church itself. Rather die seven times!"—"I see," exclaimed Melancthon, "what a Church we shall have if the ecclesiastical government is abolished. I discover in the future a tyranny far more intolerable than that which has existed to this day."<sup>3</sup> Then, bowed down by the accusations that poured upon him from every side, the unhappy Philip exclaimed: "if it is I who have aroused this tempest, I pray his majesty to throw me, like Jonas, into the sea, and to drag me out only to give me up to torture and to the stake."<sup>4</sup>

If the Romish episcopacy were once recognised, all seemed easy. In the Commission of Six, they conceded the cup to the laity, marriage to the pastors, and the article of prayer to saints appeared of little importance. But they stopped at three doctrines which the evangelicals could not yield. The first was the necessity of human satisfaction for the remission of the penalties of sin; the second, the idea of something meritorious in every good work; the third, the utility of private masses. "Ah!" quickly replied Campeggio to Charles the Fifth, "I would rather be cut in pieces than concede any thing about masses."<sup>5</sup>

What!" replied the politicians, "when you agree on all the

<sup>1</sup> Confusio et perturbatio religionum. Corp. Ref., ii, 382.

<sup>2</sup> Ut aula ministerium in ecclesia ordinet bonis non videtur consultum. (Ibid., 362.) Good men do not think it well advised for the court to ordain the ministry in the church.

<sup>3</sup> Video postea multo intolerabiliorem futuram tyrannidem quam unquam antea fuisse. Ibid., 334.

<sup>4</sup> Si mea causa hæc tempestas coacta est, me statim velut Jonam in mare ejiciat. Ibid., 382.

<sup>5</sup> Er wollte sich ehe auf Stucker Zureissen lassen. L. Opp., xx, 328.



great doctrines of salvation, will you for ever rend the unity of the Church for three such trivial articles? Let the theologians make a last effort, and we shall see the two parties unite, and Rome embrace Wittenberg."

It was not so: under these three points was concealed a whole system. On the Roman side, they entertained the idea that certain works gain the Divine favour, independently of the disposition of him who performs them, and by virtue of the will of the Church. On the evangelical side, on the contrary, they felt a conviction that these external ordinances were mere human traditions, and that the only thing which procured man the Divine favour was the work that God accomplished by Christ on the cross; while the only thing that put him in possession of this favour was the work of regeneration that Christ accomplishes by his Spirit in the heart of the sinner. The Romanists, by maintaining their three articles, said: The Church saves," which is the essential doctrine of Rome; the evangelicals, by rejecting them, said: "Jesus Christ alone saves," which is Christianity itself. This is the great antithesis which then existed, and which still separates the two Churches. With these three points, which placed souls under her dependence, Rome justly expected to recover everything; and she showed by her perseverance that she understood her position. But the evangelicals were not disposed to abandon theirs. The Christian principle was maintained against the ecclesiastical principle which aspired to swallow it up: Jesus Christ stood firm in presence of the Church, and it was seen that henceforward all conferences were superfluous.

Time pressed: for two months and a half Charles the Fifth had been labouring in Augsburg, and his pride suffered because four or five theologians checked the triumphal progress of the conqueror of Pavia. "What!" said they to him, "a few days sufficed to overthrow the king of France and the pope, and you cannot succeed with these gospellers!" They determined on breaking off the conferences. Eck, irritated because neither stratagem nor terror had been effectual, could not master himself in the presence of the Protestants. "Ah!" exclaimed he, at the moment of separation, "why did not the emperor, when he entered Germany, make a general inquest about the Lutherans? He would then have heard arrogant answers, witnessed monsters of heresy, and his zeal suddenly taking fire, would have led him to destroy all this faction.<sup>1</sup> But now

<sup>1</sup> Hæc inflammassent Imperatorem ad totam hanc factionem delendam. Corp. Ref., ii. 335.

Bruck's mild language and Melancthon's concessions prevent him from getting so angry as the cause requires." Eck said these words with a smile; but they expressed all his thoughts. The colloquy terminated on the 30th August.

The Romish states made their report to the emperor. They were face to face, three steps only from each other, without either side being able to approach nearer, even by a hair's breadth.

Thus, then, Melancthon had failed; and his enormous concessions were found useless. From a false love of peace, he had set his heart on an impossibility. Melancthon was at the bottom of a really christian soul. God preserved him from his great weakness, and broke the clue that was about to lead him to destruction. Nothing could have been more fortunate for the Reformation than Melancthon's failure; but nothing could, at the same time, have been more fortunate for himself. His friends saw that though he was willing to yield much, he could not go so far as to yield to Christ himself, and his defeat justified him in the eyes of the Protestants.

The Elector of Saxony and the Margrave of Brandenburg sent to beg Charles's leave to depart. The latter refused at first rather rudely, but at last he began to conjure the princes not to create by their departure new obstacles to the arrangements they soon hoped to be able to conclude.<sup>1</sup> We shall see what was the nature of these arrangements.

The Romanists appeared to redouble their exertions. If they now let the clue slip, it is lost for ever: they laboured accordingly to reunite the two ends. These were conferences in the gardens, conferences in the churches, at St. George's, at St. Maurice's, between the Duke of Brunswick and John Frederick the elector's son, the Chancellors of Baden and of Saxony, the Chancellor of Liege and Melancthon; but all these attempts were unavailing. It was to other means they were going to have recourse.

Charles the Fifth had resolved to take the affair in hand, and to cut the Gordian knot, which neither doctors nor princes could untie. Irritated at seeing his advances spurned and his authority compromised, he thought that the moment was come for drawing the sword. On the 4th September, the members of the Roman party, who were still endeavouring to gain over the Protestants, whispered these frightful intentions in Melancthon's ears. "We scarcely dare mention it," said they: "the sword is already in the emperor's hands, and certain

<sup>1</sup> Antwort des Kaisers, &c. Uskund., ii, 313.

people exasperate him more and more. He is not easily enraged, but once angry, it is impossible to quiet him."<sup>1</sup>

Charles had reason to appear exacting and terrible. He had at length obtained from Rome an unexpected concession—a council. Clement VII. had laid the emperor's request before a congregation: "How will men who reject the ancient councils submit to a new one?" they had replied. Clement himself had no wish for an assembly, which he dreaded alike on account of his birth and conduct.<sup>2</sup> However, his promises at the Castle of St. Angelo and at Bologna rendered it impossible for him to give a decided refusal. He answered, therefore, that "the remedy would be worse than the disease;<sup>3</sup> but that if the emperor, who was so good a Catholic, judged a council absolutely necessary, he would consent to it, under the express condition, however, that the Protestants should submit in the meanwhile to the doctrines and rites of the Church." Then as the place of meeting he appointed Rome!

Scarcely had news of this concession spread abroad, than the fear of a Reformation froze the papal court. The public charges of the Papacy, which were altogether venal, immediately fell, says a cardinal, and were offered at the lowest price,<sup>4</sup> without even being able to find purchasers.<sup>5</sup> The Papacy was compromised; its merchandise was endangered; and the *price current* immediately declined on the Roman exchange.

On Wednesday, 7th September, at two in the afternoon, the protestant princes and deputies having been introduced into the chamber of Charles the Fifth, the count-palatine said to them, "that the emperor, considering their small number, had not expected they would uphold new sects against the ancient usages of the Universal Church; that, nevertheless, being desirous of appearing to the last full of kindness, he would require of his holiness the convocation of a council; but that in the meanwhile they should return immediately into the bosom of the Catholic Church, and restore everything to its ancient footing."<sup>6</sup>

The Protestants replied on the morrow, the 8th September, that they had not stirred up new sects contrary to the Holy

<sup>1</sup> Nescio an ausim dicere, jam ferrum in manu Cesaris esse. Corp. Ref., ii, 342.

<sup>2</sup> In eam (concilii celebrationem) Pontificis animus haud propendebatur. Pallavicini, i, 251.

<sup>3</sup> Al contrario, remedio e piu pericoloso e per partorir maggiori mali. Lettere de Principe, ii, 197.

<sup>4</sup> Evulgatus concilii rumor . . . publica Romæ munera . . . jam in vilissimum pretium decidissent. (Pallav., i, 251.) The rumour of a council spread abroad . . . public offices at Rome would now have fallen to the lowest price.

<sup>5</sup> Che non se non trovano danari. Lett. di Prin., iii, 5.

<sup>6</sup> Interim restitui debere omnia Papistis. Corp. Ref., ii, 355. See also *Erklärung des Kaisers Karl. v. Urkunden*, ii, 391.



Scriptures;<sup>1</sup> that, quite the reverse, if they had not agreed with their adversaries, it was because they had desired to remain faithful to the Word of God; that, by convoking in Germany a general, free, and christian council, it would only be doing what preceding diets had promised; but that nothing should compel them to re-establish in their churches an order of things opposed to the commandments of God."

It was eight in the evening when, after a long deliberation, the Protestants were again called in. "His majesty," said George Truchses to them, "is equally astonished, both that the catholic members of the commissions have accorded so much, and that the protestant members have refused everything. What is your party in the presence of his imperial majesty, of his papal holiness, of the electors, princes, estates of the empire, and other kings, rulers, and potentates of Christendom? It is but just that the minority should yield to the majority. Do you desire the means of conciliation to be protracted, or do you persist in your answer? Speak frankly; for if you persist, the emperor will immediately see to the defence of the Church. To-morrow at one o'clock you will bring your final decision."

Never had such threatening words issued from Charles's mouth. It was evident he wished to subdue the Protestants by terror; but this end was not attained. They replied the next day but one—a day more having been accorded them—that new attempts at conciliation would only fatigue the emperor and the diet; that they only required regulations to maintain political peace until the assembling of the council.<sup>2</sup> "Enough," replied the redoubtable emperor; "I will reflect upon it; but in the mean time let no one quit Augsburg."

Charles the Fifth was embarrassed in a labyrinth from which he knew not how to escape. The State had resolved to interfere with the Church, and saw itself compelled to have immediate recourse to its *ultima ratio*—the sword. Charles did not desire war, and yet how could he now avoid it? If he did not execute his threats, his dignity was compromised, and his authority rendered contemptible. He sought an outlet on one side or the other, but could find none. It therefore only remained for him to close his eyes, and rush forward heedless of the consequences. These thoughts disturbed him: these cares preyed upon him; he was utterly confounded.

It was now that the elector sent to beg Charles would not

<sup>1</sup> Nit neue, Secten wieder die heilige Schrift. Brück, Apol., p. 136.  
den., ii, 410; Brück, Apol., p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> Urkun-

be offended if he left Augsburg. "Let him await my answer," abruptly replied the emperor: and the elector having rejoined that he would send his ministers to explain his motives to his majesty: "Not so many speeches," resumed Charles, with irritation; "let the elector say whether he will stay or not!"<sup>1</sup>

A rumour of the altercation between these two powerful princes having spread abroad, the alarm became universal; it was thought war would break out immediately, and there was a great disturbance in Augsburg.<sup>2</sup> It was evening: men were running to and fro; they rushed into the hotels of the princes and of the protestant deputies, and addressed them with the severest reproaches. "His imperial majesty," said they, "is about to have recourse to the most energetic measures!" They even declared that hostilities had begun: it was whispered that the commander of Horneck (Walter of Kronberg), elected by the emperor grand-master of the Teutonic order, was about to enter Prussia with an army, and dispossess Duke Albert, converted by Luther.<sup>3</sup> Two nights successively the same tumult was repeated. They shouted, they quarrelled, they fought, particularly in and before the mansions of the princes: the war was nearly commencing in Augsburg.

At that crisis (12th September), John Frederick, prince-electoral of Saxony, quitted the city.

On the same day, or on the morrow, Jerome Wehe, chancellor of Baden, and Count Truchses on the one side; Chancellor Bruck and Melancthon on the other, met at six in the morning in the church of St. Maurice.<sup>4</sup>

Charles, notwithstanding his threats, could not decide on employing force. He might no doubt by a single word to his Spanish bands or to his German lansquenets have seized on these inflexible men, and treated them like Moors. But how could Charles, a Netherlander, a Spaniard, who had been ten years absent from the empire, dare, without raising all Germany, offer violence to the favourites of the nation? Would not the Roman-catholic princes themselves see in this act an infringement of their privileges? War was unseasonable. "Lutheranism is extending already from the Baltic to the Alps," wrote Erasmus to the legate: "You have but one thing to do: tolerate it."<sup>5</sup>

The negotiation begun in the church of St. Maurice was

<sup>1</sup> Kurtz mit Solchen Worten ob er erwarten wolte oder nicht? Brück, Apol., p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Ein beschwerlich Geschrey zu Augsbourg den selben Abend ausgebrochen. Ibid., p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Man würde ein Kriegs-volk in Preussen Schicken. Ibid., p. 143.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 155-160.

<sup>5</sup> A mare Baltico ad Helvetios. Eras. Epp., xiv, l.

continued between the Margrave of Brandenburg and Count Truchses. The Roman party only sought to save appearances, and did not hesitate, besides, to sacrifice everything. If asked merely for a few theatrical decorations—that the mass should be celebrated in the sacerdotal garment, with chanting, reading, ceremonies, and its two canons.<sup>1</sup> All the rest was referred to the next council; and the Protestants, till then, should conduct themselves so as to render account to God, to the council, and to his Majesty.

But on the side of the Protestants the wind had also changed. Now they no longer desired peace with Rome: the scales had at last fallen from their eyes, and they discovered with affright the abyss into which they had so nearly plunged. Jonas, Spalatin, and even Melancthon were agreed. “We have hitherto obeyed the commandment of St. Paul, *Be at peace with all men*,” said they; “now we must obey this commandment of Christ, *Beware ye of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy*. On the side of our adversaries is nothing but cunning and perfidy, and their only aim is to stifle our doctrine, which is truth itself.<sup>2</sup> They hope to save the abominable articles of purgatory, indulgences, and the Papacy, because we have passed them by in silence.<sup>3</sup> Let us beware of betraying Christ and his Word in order to please Antichrist and the devil.”<sup>4</sup>

Luther at the same time redoubled his entreaties to withdraw his friends from Augsburg. “Return, return,” cried he to them; “return, even if it must be so, cursed by the pope and the emperor.<sup>5</sup> You have confessed Jesus Christ, offered peace, obeyed Charles, supported insults, and endured blasphemies. I will canonize you, I, as faithful members of Jesus Christ. You have done enough, and more than enough: now it is for the Lord to act, and he will act! They have our Confession, they have the Gospel; let them receive it, if they will; and if they will not, let them go——. If a war should come, let it come! We have prayed enough; we have discussed enough. The Lord is preparing our adversaries as the victim for the sacrifice; he will destroy their magnificence, and deliver his people. Yes! he will preserve us even from Babylon, and from her burning walls.”

<sup>1</sup> In gewöhnlichen Kleidungen mit Gesang und Lesen. (Urk., ii, 418.) The canon was a frame of card-board placed on the altar before the priest, and which contained the Apostle's Creed with various prayers.

<sup>2</sup> Eitel List, gefährliche Tücke, &c. Jonas Urkund., ii, 423.

<sup>3</sup> Die gräuliche artikel. Spalat., Ibid., 428. De Primatu Papæ, de Purgatorio, de Indulgentiis. Melancthon, Corp. Ref., ii, 374.

<sup>4</sup> Dem Teufel und Antichrist zu gefallen. Urk., ii, 431.

<sup>5</sup> Vel maledicti a

Papa et Cæsare. L. Epp., iv, 162-171.



## CHAPTER XII.

The Elector's Preparatives and Indignation—Recess of Augsburg—Irritating language—Apology of the Confession—Intimidation—Final Interview—Messages of Peace—Exasperation of the Papists—Restoration of Popery—Tumult in the Church—Union of the Churches—The Pope and the Emperor—Close of the Diet—Armaments—Attack on Geneva—Joy of the Evangelicals—Establishment of Protestantism.

THUS Luther gave the signal of departure. They replied to the reformer's appeal, and all prepared to quit Augsburg on Saturday, 17th September. At ten at night, Duke Ernest of Luneburg assembled the deputies of Nuremberg and the ministers of the landgrave in his hotel, and announced to them that the elector was determined to leave the next morning, without informing any one, and that he would accompany him. "Keep the secret," said he to them, "and know that if peace cannot be preserved, it will be a trifling matter for me to lose, combating with you, all that God has given me."<sup>1</sup>

The elector's preparations betrayed his intentions. In the middle of the night Duke Henry of Brunswick arrived hastily at his hotel, beseeching him to wait;<sup>2</sup> and towards morning Counts Truchses and Mansfeldt announced that, on the morrow between seven and eight, the emperor would give him his *congé*.

On Monday, 19th September, the elector purposing to leave Augsburg immediately after his audience with Charles, breakfasted at seven o'clock, then sent off his baggage and his cooks,<sup>3</sup> and ordered his officers to be ready at ten o'clock. At the moment when John quitted the hotel to wait upon the emperor, all the members of his household were drawn up on each side booted and spurred;<sup>4</sup> but, having been introduced to Charles, he was requested to wait two, four, or six days longer.

As soon as the elector was alone with his allies, his indignation burst forth, and he even became violent. "This new delay will end in nothing,"<sup>5</sup> he said; "I am resolved to set out, happen what may. It seems to me, from the manner in which things are arranged, that I have now completely the air of a prisoner." The Margrave of Brandenburg begged him to be calm. "I shall go," the elector still replied. At last he

<sup>1</sup> Alles das, so Ihm Gott geben hätt, darob zu verlieren ein geringes wäre. Corp. Ref., ii, 379.

<sup>2</sup> In der selben Nacht. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Præmissis fere omnibus

impedimentis una cum coctis. Ibid., 385.

<sup>4</sup> Gestiefelt und gespornt. Ibid.,

380.

<sup>5</sup> Etwas darob schwermütig und hitzig erzeugt. Ibid.

yielded, and having appeared again before Charles the Fifth, he said, "I will wait until Friday next; and, if nothing is done by that time, I shall leave forthwith."

Great was the anxiety of the Protestants during these four days of expectation. Most of them doubted not that, by acceding to Charles's prayers, they had delivered themselves into the hands of their enemies. "The emperor is deliberating whether he ought to hang us or let us live," wrote Brentz.<sup>1</sup> Fresh negotiations of Truchses were without success.<sup>2</sup>

All that now remained for the emperor was to draw up, in common with the Romish states, the *recess* of the diet. This was done; and that the Protestants might not complain of its having been prepared without their knowledge, he assembled them in his palace on Thursday, 22d September, the day previous to that fixed for the elector's departure, and had his project read to them by the count-palatine. This project was insult and war. The emperor granted to the elector, the five princes, and the six cities,<sup>3</sup> a delay of six months, until the 15th April next year, to come to an arrangement with the Church, the Pope, the Emperor, and all the princes and monarchs of Christendom. This was clearly announcing to them that the Romanists were very willing to delay until the usual period for bringing armies into the field.

Nor was this all: the delay was granted only on the express condition that the Protestants should immediately join the emperor in reducing the Anabaptists, and all those who opposed the holy sacrament, by which were meant the Zwinglian cities. He wished by this means to tie the hands of the Protestants, and prevent the two families of the Reformation from uniting during the winter.

Finally, the Protestants were forbidden to make any innovations, to print or sell anything on the objects of faith, or to draw any one whatever to their *sect*, "since the Confession had been soundly refuted by the Holy Scriptures." Thus the Reformation was officially proclaimed a *sect*, and a sect contrary to the Word of God.

Nothing was more calculated to displease the friends of the Gospel, who remained in Charles's presence astonished, alarmed, and indignant.<sup>4</sup> This had been foreseen; and, at

<sup>1</sup> Adhuc deliberat Cæsar pendendum ne nobis sit, an diutius vivendum. Corp. Ref., ii.

<sup>2</sup> Urkund., ii, 455-472.

<sup>3</sup> Nuremberg and Reutlingen, to which were added the cities of Kempten, Heilbronn, Windsheim, and Weissenburg. Ibid., 474-478.

<sup>4</sup> Protestantess vehementer hoc decreto minime expectato terri. (Seck., ii, 200.) The Protestants were exceedingly alarmed at this decree, which was by no means expected.

the moment when the Protestants were about to enter the emperor's chamber, Truchses and Wehe, making signs to them, mysteriously slipped a paper into their hands, containing a promise that if, on the 15th April, the Protestants required a prolongation of the delay, their request would certainly be granted.<sup>1</sup> But Bruck, to whom the paper was given, was not deceived, "A subtle ambushade," said he; "a masterpiece of knavery! God will save his own, and will not permit them to fall into the snare."<sup>2</sup> This trick, in fact, served only still more to increase the courage of the Protestants.

Bruck, without discussing the *recess* in a political point of view, confined himself to what was principally at stake, the Word of God. "We maintain," said he, "that our Confession is so based on the holy Word of God, that it is impossible to refute it. We consider it as the very truth of God, and we hope by it to stand one day before the judgment seat of the Lord." He then announced that the Protestants had refuted the Refutation of the Romish theologians, and holding in his hand the famous Apology of the Confession of Augsburg written by Melanethon, he stepped forward, and offered it to Charles the Fifth. The count-palatine took it, and the emperor was already stretching out his hand, when Ferdinand having whispered a few words, he beckoned to the count, who immediately returned the Apology to Dr. Bruck.<sup>3</sup> This paper, and the "Commonplaces," are the reformer's masterpieces. The embarrassed emperor told the Protestants to come again at eight the next morning.

Charles the Fifth, resolving to employ every means to get his decree accepted, began by entreaties; and scarcely was the Margrave of Brandenburg seated to take his evening repast, when Truchses and Wehe appeared before him, using every kind of discourse and argument, but without success.<sup>4</sup>

The next day (Friday, 23d September), the evangelical princes and the deputies of the cities assembled at five in the morning at the margrave's hotel, where the *recess* was again read in the presence of Truchses and Wehe, Chancellor Bruck assigning seven reasons for its rejection. "I undertake," said Wehe, "to translate the *recess* into German in such a manner that you can accept it. As for the word *sect*, in particular, it is the clerk who placed it there by mistake."<sup>5</sup> The mediators

<sup>1</sup> Brück, Apologie, p. 182.

seinen. Ibid.

p. 184.

Urk., ii, 601.

606.

<sup>2</sup> Betrüge, meisterstück, aber Gott errettet die seinen. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Auf König Ferdinandus wincke wieder geben. Ibid.,

<sup>4</sup> Nach essen allerley Rede Disputation und Persuasion furgewendt.

<sup>5</sup> Sondern vom Schreiber gesetzt, der dis nicht geacht. Ibid.,



retired in haste to communicate to Charles the complaints of the Protestants.

Charles and his ministers gave up every idea of reconciliation, and hoped for nothing except through fear. The Protestants having reached the imperial palace at eight o'clock, they were made wait an hour; the Elector of Brandenburg then said to them in Charles's name: "His Majesty is astonished beyond measure that you still maintain your doctrine to be based on the Holy Scriptures. If you say the truth, his majesty's ancestors, so many kings and emperors, and even the ancestors of the Elector of Saxony, were heretics! There is no Gospel, there is no Scripture, that imposes on us the obligation of seizing by violence the goods of another, and of then saying that we cannot conscientiously restore them. It is for this reason, added Joachim, after these words, which he accompanied with a sardonic smile, "I am commissioned to inform you, that if you refuse the *recess*, all the Germanic states will place their lives and their property at the emperor's disposal, and his majesty himself will employ the resources of all his kingdoms to complete this affair before leaving the empire."

"We do not accept it," replied the Protestants firmly.—"His majesty also has a conscience," then resumed the Elector of Brandenburg, in a harsh tone; "and if you do not submit, he will concert with the pope and the other potentates on the best means of extirpating this sect and its new errors." But in vain did they add threat to threat: the Protestants remained calm, respectful, and unshaken. "Our enemies, destitute of all confidence in God," said they, "would shake like a reed in presence of the emperor's anger, and they imagine that we should tremble in like manner; but we have called unto God, and he will keep us faithful to his truth."

The Protestants then prepared to take their final leave of the emperor. This prince, whose patience had been put to a severe trial, approached to shake hands according to custom; and beginning with the Elector of Saxony, he said to him in a low voice: "Uncle, uncle! I should never have expected this of you." The elector was deeply affected: his eyes filled with tears: but, firm and resolute, he bent his head and quitted Charles without reply. It was now two in the afternoon.

While the Protestants were returning to their hotels, calm and happy, the Romish princes retired to theirs, confused and dispirited, uneasy and divided. They doubted not that the *congé* which had just been granted to the Protestants would be regarded by them as a declaration of war, and that on quitting

Augsburg, they would rush to arms. This thought terrified them. Accordingly, the Elector of Saxony had hardly reached his palace, when he saw Dr. Ruhel, councillor of the Elector of Mentz, hastening towards him, commissioned by his master to deliver this message: "Although my brother the elector (Joachim of Brandenburg) has declared that the states of the empire are ready to support the emperor against you, know that both myself and the ministers of the elector-palatine and of the Elector of Treves immediately declared to his majesty that we did not adhere to this declaration, seeing that we thought very favourably of you.<sup>1</sup> I intended, saying this to the emperor in your presence, but you left so precipitately that I was unable."

Thus spoke the primate of the German Church, and even the choice of his messenger was significant: Dr. Ruhel was Luther's brother-in-law. John begged him to thank his master.

As this envoy retired, there arrived one of the gentlemen of Duke Henry of Brunswick, a zealous Romanist. He was at first refused admittance on account of the departure, but returned hastily, just as Bruck's carriage was leaving the courtyard of the hotel. Approaching the carriage-door, he said: "The duke informs the elector that he will endeavour to put things in a better train, and will come this winter to kill a wild boar with him."<sup>2</sup> Shortly after, the terrible Ferdinand himself declared that he would seek every means of preventing an outbreak.<sup>3</sup> All these manifestations of the affrighted Roman-catholics showed on which side was the real strength.

At three o'clock in the afternoon the Elector of Saxony, accompanied by the Dukes of Luneburg and the Princes of Anhalt, quitted the walls of Augsburg. "God be praised," said Luther, "that our dear prince is at last out of hell!"<sup>4</sup>

As he saw these intrepid princes thus escaping from his hands, Charles the Fifth gave way to a violence that was not usual with him.<sup>5</sup> "They want to teach me a new faith," cried he; "but it is not with the doctrine that we shall finish this matter: we must draw the sword, and then shall we see who is the strongest."<sup>6</sup> All around him gave way to their indignation. They were astonished at the audacity of Bruck, who had dared call the Romanists—heretics!<sup>7</sup> But nothing irritated them so much as the spirit of proselytism which in

<sup>1</sup> Wüssten auch nicht anders denn wohl und gut. Urk., p. 210.

fahen helfen. Ibid., p. 211.

Hölle los ist. L. Epp., iv, 175.

Ref., ii, 591.

<sup>2</sup> Corp. Ref., ii, 397.

<sup>3</sup> Corp. Ref., ii, 592; Urkund., ii, 710.

<sup>4</sup> Ein mal aus der

<sup>5</sup> Der Kaiser ist fast hitzig im Handel.

<sup>6</sup> Es gehören die Fauste dar zu.

<sup>7</sup> Fur Ketzer angezogen. Ibid.

those glorious days characterized evangelical Germany ; and the anger of the Papists was particularly directed against the Chancellor of Luneburg, "who," said they, "had sent more than a hundred ministers into different places to preach the new doctrine, and who had even publicly boasted of it."<sup>1</sup>—"Our adversaries thirst for our blood," wrote, as they heard these complaints, the deputies of Nuremberg, who remained almost alone at Augsburg.

On the 4th October, Charles the Fifth wrote to the pope; for it was from Rome that the new crusade was to set out: "The negotiations are broken off; our adversaries are more obstinate than ever; and I am resolved to employ my strength and my person in combating them. For this reason I beg your holiness will demand the support of all christian princes."

The enterprise began in Augsburg itself. The day on which he wrote to the pope, Charles, in honour of St. Francis of Assisi, whose feast it was, re-established the Cordeliers in that city, and a monk ascending the pulpit said: "All those who preach that Jesus Christ alone has made satisfaction for our sins, and that God saves us without regard to our works, are thorough scoundrels. There are, on the contrary, two roads to salvation: the common road, namely, the observance of the commandments; and the perfect road, namely, the ecclesiastical state." Scarcely was the sermon finished ere the congregation began to remove the benches placed in the church for the evangelical preaching, breaking them violently (for they were fixed with chains), and throwing them one upon another. Within these consecrated walls two monks, in particular, armed with hammers and pincers, tossed their arms, and shouted like men possessed. "From their frightful uproar," exclaimed some, "one would imagine they were pulling down a house."<sup>2</sup> It was in truth the house of God they wished to begin destroying.

After the tumult was appeased, they sang mass. As soon as this was concluded, a Spaniard desired to recommence breaking the benches, and on being prevented by one of the citizens, they began to hurl chairs at each other; one of the monks, leaving the choir, ran up to them and was soon dragged into the fray; at length the captain of police arrived with his men, who distributed their well directed blows on every side. Thus began in Germany the restoration of Roman-catholicism: popular violence has often been one of its most powerful allies.

<sup>1</sup> Bis in die Hundert Prediger in andere Lande Schicken helfen daselbst die neue Lehre zu predigen. Urkund., ii, 646.      <sup>2</sup> Ein alt Haus abbrechen. Corp. Ref., ii, 400.



On the 13th October the *recess* was read to all the Romish states, and on the same day they concluded a Roman league.<sup>1</sup>

Two cities had signed the Confession, and two others had assented to it; the imperialists hoped, however, that these powerless municipalities, affrighted at the imperial authority, would withdraw from the protestant union. But on the 17th October, instead of two or four cities, sixteen imperial towns, among which were the most important in Germany, declared it was impossible to grant any support against the Turks so long as public peace was not secured in Germany itself.<sup>2</sup>

An event more formidable to Charles had just taken place. The unity of the Reformation had prevailed. "We are *one* in the fundamental articles of faith," had said the Zwinglian cities, "and in particular (notwithstanding some disputes about words among our theologians), we are *one* in the doctrine of the communion in the body and blood of our Lord. Receive us." The Saxon deputies immediately gave their hands. Nothing unites the children of God so much as the violence of the adversaries. "Let us unite," said all, "for the consolation of our brethren and the terror of our enemies."<sup>3</sup>

In vain did Charles, who was intent on keeping up division among the Protestants, convoke the deputies of the Zwinglian cities; in vain, desiring to render them odious, had he accused them of fastening a consecrated wafer to a wall and firing bullets at it;<sup>4</sup> in vain did he overwhelm them with fierce threats;—all his efforts were useless. At length the evangelical party was one.

The alarm increased among the Roman party, who resolved on fresh concessions. "The Protestants call for public peace," said they; "well then, let us draw up articles of peace." But, on the 29th October, the Protestants refused these offers, because the emperor enjoined peace to all the world, without binding himself. "An emperor has the right to command peace to his subjects," haughtily answered Charles; "but it has never been heard that he commanded it to himself."<sup>5</sup>

Nothing remained but to draw the sword; and for that Charles made every preparation. On October 25th, he wrote to the cardinals at Rome: "We inform you that we shall spare

<sup>1</sup> Ratschlag, etc. Urkund., ii, 737-740.  
Friedens versichert. Corp. Ref., ii, 411, 416.

<sup>2</sup> Wo sie nicht einen gemeinen

Freude und Trost und dem gegenheil Erschrecken. Urkund., ii, 728.

<sup>3</sup> Diesem Theil desto mehr

eine Wand geheftet und dazu geschossen. Corp. Ref., ii, 423.

<sup>4</sup> An

negotiations will be found in Forstermann's Urkunden., p. 750-793.

<sup>5</sup> These ne-

neither kingdoms nor lordships; and that we shall venture even our soul and our body to complete such necessary matters."

Scarcely had Charles's letter been received, before his majordomo, Pedro de la Cueva, arrived in Rome by express. "The season is now too far advanced to attack the Lutherans immediately," said he to the pope; "but prepare everything for this enterprise. His majesty thinks it his duty to prefer before all things the accomplishment of your designs." Thus Clement and the emperor were also united, and both sides began to concentrate their forces.

On the evening of the 11th November, the *recess* was read to the protestant deputies, and on the 12th they rejected it, declaring that they did not acknowledge the emperor's power to command in matters of faith. The deputies of Hesse and of Saxony departed immediately after, and on the 19th November the *recess* was solemnly read in the presence of Charles the Fifth, and of the princes and deputies who were still in Augsburg. This report was more hostile than the project communicated to the Protestants. It bore, among other things (and this is only a sample of the urbanity of this official doctrine), that "to deny free will was the error not of man, but of a brute."—"We beg his majesty," said the Elector Joachim, after it was read, "not to leave Germany, until by his cares one sole and same faith be re-established in all the empire."

The emperor replied, that he would not go farther than his states of the Low Countries. They desired that deeds should follow close upon words. It was then nearly seven in the evening; a few torches, lighted up here and there by the ushers, and casting a pale light, alone illuminated this assembly: they separated without seeing each other: and thus ended, as by stealth, that diet so pompously announced to the christian world.

On the 22d November, the *recess* was made public, and two days after Charles the Fifth set out for Cologne. The ruler of two worlds had seen all his influence baffled by a few Christians; and he who had entered the imperial city in triumph, now quitted it gloomy, silent, and dispirited. The mightiest power of the earth was broken against the power of God.

But the emperor's ministers and officers, excited by the pope, displayed so much the more energy. The states of the empire were bound to furnish Charles, for three years, 40,000 foot, 8000 horse, and a considerable sum of money;<sup>2</sup> the Margrave

<sup>2</sup> Urkunden., ii, 823; Corp. Ref., ii, 437.  
Ibid., 399.

<sup>2</sup> 40,000 zu Tuss und 8000 zu Ross.

Henry of Zenete, the Count of Nassau, and other nobles, made considerable levies on the side of the Rhine; a captain going through the Black Forest called its rude inhabitants to his standard, and there enrolled six companies of lansquenets; King Ferdinand had written to all the knights of the Tyrol and of Wurtemberg to gird on their cuirasses and take down their swords; Joachim of Talheim collected the Spanish bands in the Low Countries, and ordered them towards the Rhine; Peter Scher solicited from the duke of Lorraine the aid of his arms; and another chief hastily moved the Spanish army of Florence in the direction of the Alps. There was every reason to fear that the Germans, even the Roman-catholics, would take Luther's part; and hence principally foreign troops were levied.<sup>1</sup> Nothing but war was talked of in Augsburg.

On a sudden a strange rumour was heard.<sup>2</sup> The signal is given, said every one. A free city, lying on the confines of the Germanic and Roman world,—a city at war with its bishop, in alliance with the Protestants, and which passed for reformed even before really being so, had been suddenly attacked. A courier from Strasburg brought this news to Augsburg, and it circulated through the town with the rapidity of lightning. Three days after Michaelmas, some armed men, sent by the Duke of Savoy, pillaged the suburbs of Geneva, and threatened to take possession of the city, and put all to the edge of the sword. Every one in Augsburg was amazed. "Ho!" exclaimed Charles the Fifth, in French, "the Duke of Savoy has begun too soon."<sup>3</sup> It was reported that Margaret, governor of the Low Countries, the pope, the Dukes of Lorraine and Gueldres, and even the King of France, were directing their troops against Geneva. It was there that the army of Rome intended fixing its *point d'appui*. The avalanche was gathering on the first slopes of the Alps, whence it would rush over all Switzerland, and then roll into Germany, burying the Gospel and the Reformation under its huge mass.<sup>4</sup>

This sacred cause appeared to be in great danger, and never in reality had it gained so noble a triumph. The *coup de main* attempted on those hills, where six years later Calvin was to take his station, and plant the standard of Augsburg and of Nazareth, having failed, all fears were dispelled, and the vic-

<sup>1</sup> Legati Norimb. ad Senatum, 11th October. Corp. Ref., ii, 402; Legati Sax. ad Electorem, 10th October. Urkund., ii, 711.

<sup>2</sup> Shortly before the close of the diet.

<sup>3</sup> Hatt der Kayser unter andern in Franzosisch geredet. Urk., ii, 421.

<sup>4</sup> Geneva expugnata, bellum etiam urbibus Germaniæ Superioris inferretur. (Corp. Ref., ii, 402.) Geneva being taken, war would be made on the cities of Upper Germany also.



tory of the confessors of Christ, for an instant obscured, shone forth anew in all its splendour.

While the emperor Charles, surrounded by a numerous train of princes, was approaching the banks of the Rhine sad and dispirited, the evangelical Christians were returning in triumph to their homes. Luther was the herald of the victory gained at Augsburg by Faith. "Though our enemies should have around them, beside them, with them, not only that puissant Roman emperor, Charles, but the emperor of the Turks and his Mahomet," said he, "they could not intimidate, they could not frighten me. It is I who in the strength of God am resolved to frighten and overthrow them. They shall yield to me—they shall fall—and I shall remain upright and firm. My life shall be their headsman, and my death their hell!<sup>1</sup>.... God blinds them and hardens their hearts; he is driving them towards the Red sea: all the horses of Pharaoh, his chariots and his horsemen, cannot escape their inevitable destiny. Let them go then, let them perish, since they will it so!<sup>2</sup> As for us, the Lord is with us."

Thus the Diet of Augsburg, destined to crush the Reformation, was what strengthened it for ever. It has been usual to consider the peace of Augsburg (1555) as the period when the Reform was definitively established. That is the date of legal Protestantism; evangelical Christianity has another—the autumn of 1530. In 1555 was the victory of the sword and of diplomacy; in 1530 was that of the Word of God and of Faith; and this latter victory is in our eyes the truest and the surest. The evangelical history of the Reformation in Germany is nearly finished at the epoch we have reached, and the diplomatic history of legal Protestantism begins. Whatever may now be done, whatever may be said, the Church of the first ages has reappeared; and it has reappeared strong enough to show that it will live. There will still be conferences and discussions; there will still be leagues and combats; there will even be deplorable defeats; but all these are a secondary movement. The great movement is accomplished: the cause of faith is won by faith. The effort has been made: the evangelical doctrine has taken root in the world, and neither the storms of men, nor the powers of hell, will ever be able to tear it up.

<sup>1</sup> Mein leben soll ihr Henker seyn. L. Opp., xx, 304.

<sup>2</sup> Vadant igitur et pereant, quomodo sic volunt. L. Epp., iv, 167.

## BOOK XV.

SWITZERLAND—CONQUESTS. 1526—1530.

### CHAPTER I.

Originality of the Swiss Reform—Change—Three Periods of Reform—Switzerland Romande—The two Movements in the Church—Aggressive Spirit—The Schoolmaster—Farel's new Baptism—Mysticism and Scholasticism—A Door is opened—Opposition—Lausanne—Manners of the Clergy—Farel to Galeotto—Farel and the Monk—The Tribunal—The Monk cries for Pardon—Opposition of the Ormonds—A false Convert—Christian Unity.

THE divisions which the Reformation disclosed within its bosom, on its appearance before the Diet of Augsburg, humbled it and compromised its existence; but we must not forget that the cause of these divisions was one of the conditions of the existence of the regenerated church. No doubt it would have been desirable for Germany and Switzerland to have agreed; but it was of still greater importance that Germany and Switzerland should have each its original Reform. If the Swiss Reformation had been only a feeble copy of the German, there would have been uniformity, but no duration. The tree, transplanted into Switzerland, without having taken deep root, would soon have been torn up by the vigorous hand that was ere long about to seize upon it. The regeneration of Christianity in these mountains proceeded from forces peculiar to the Helvetic Church, and received an organization in conformity with the ecclesiastical and political condition of that country. By this very originality it communicated a particular energy to the principles of the Reformation, of much greater consequence to the common cause than a servile uniformity. The strength of an army arises in great measure from its being composed of soldiers of different arms.

The military and political influence of Switzerland was declining. The new developments of the European nations, subsequent to the sixteenth century, were about to banish to their native mountains those proud Helvetians, who for so long a period had placed their two-handed swords in the

balance in which the destinies of nations were weighed. The Reformation communicated a new influence in exchange for that which was departing. Switzerland, where the Gospel appeared in its simplest and purest form, was destined to give in these new times to many nations of the two worlds a more salutary and glorious impulse than that which had hitherto proceeded from its halberds and its arquebuses.

The history of the Swiss Reformation is divided into three periods, in which the light of the Gospel is seen spreading successively over three different zones. From 1519 to 1526 Zurich was the centre of the Reformation, which was then entirely German, and was propagated in the eastern and northern parts of the confederation. Between 1526 and 1532 the movement was communicated from Berne: it was at once German and French, and extended to the centre of Switzerland from the gorges of the Jura to the deepest valleys of the Alps. In 1532 Geneva became the focus of the light; and the Reformation, which was here essentially French, was established on the shores of the Lemane lake, and gained strength in every quarter. It is of the second of these periods—that of Berne—of which we are now to treat.

Although the Swiss Reformation is not yet essentially French, still the most active part in it is taken by Frenchmen. Switzerland *Romande*<sup>1</sup> is yoked to the chariot of Reform, and communicates to it an accelerated motion. In the period we are about to treat of, there is a mixture of races, of forces, and of characters from which proceeds a greater commotion. In no part of the christian world will the resistance be so stubborn; but nowhere will the assailants display so much courage. This petty country of Switzerland *Romande*, enclosed within the colossal arms of the Jura and the Alps, was for centuries one of the strongest fortresses of the Papacy. It is about to be carried by storm; it is going to turn its arms against its ancient masters; and from these few hillocks, scattered at the foot of the highest mountains in Europe, will proceed the reiterated shocks that will overthrow, even in the most distant countries, the sanctuaries of Rome, their images, and their altars.

There are two movements in the Church: one is effected inwardly, and its object is its preservation; the other is effected outwardly, and the object aimed at is its propagation. There

<sup>1</sup>The French part of Switzerland, comprising the cantons of Geneva, Vaud, Neuchâtel, and part of those of Fribourg, Berne, and Valais.



is thus a doctrinal Church and a missionary Church. These two movements ought never to be separated, and whenever they are disunited, it is because the spirit of man, and not the Spirit of God prevails. In the apostolic ages these two tendencies were evolved at the same time and with equal power. In the second and third centuries the external tendency prevailed; after the Council of Nice (325) the doctrinal movement resumed the superiority; at the epoch of the irruption of the northern tribes the missionary spirit revived; but ere long came the times of the hierarchy and of the schoolmen, in which all doctrinal powers warred within the Church to found therein a despotic government and an impure doctrine—the Papacy. The revival of Christianity in the sixteenth century, which emanated from God, was destined to renovate these two movements, but by purifying them. Then indeed the Spirit of God acted at once externally and internally. In the days of the Reformation there were tranquil and internal developments; but there was also a more powerful and aggressive action. Men of God had for ages studied the Word, and had peacefully explained its salutary lessons. Such had been the work of Vesalia, Goch, Groot, Radewin, Ruybrook, Tauler, Thomas à Kempis, and John Wessel; now, something more was required. The power of action was to be combined with the power of thought. The Papacy had been allowed all necessary time for laying aside its errors; for ages men had been in expectation; it had been warned, it had been entreated; all had been unavailing. Popery being unwilling to reform itself, it became necessary for men of God to take its accomplishment upon themselves. The calm and moderate influence of the precursors of the Reform was succeeded by the heroic and holy revolutionary work of the Reformers; and the revolution they effected consisted in overthrowing the usurping power to re-establish the legitimate authority. “To everything there is a season,” says the preacher, “and a time to every purpose under heaven: a time to plant, and a time to pluck up that which is planted; a time to break down, and a time to build up.”<sup>1</sup> Of all Reformers, those who carried the aggressive spirit to its highest degree were the men who came from France, and more especially Farel, whose labours we have now to consider.

Never were such mighty effects accomplished by so puny a force. In the government of God we pass in an instant from the greatest to the least of things. We now quit the haughty

<sup>1</sup> Eccles., iii, 1-3.

Charles V. and all that court of princes over which he presides, to follow the steps of a schoolmaster; and leave the palaces of Augsburg to take our seats in the lowly cottages of Switzerland.

The Rhone, after issuing, near St. Gothard, from the mountains of the Furka, from beneath an immense sea of eternal ice, rolls its noisy waters through a rugged valley separating the two great chains of the Alps; then issuing from the gorge of St. Maurice, it wanders through a more smiling and fertile country. The sublime Dent du Midi on the south, the proud Dent de Morcles on the north, picturesquely situated opposite each other, point out from afar to the traveller's eye the beginning of this latter basin. On the tops of these mountains are vast glaciers and threatening peaks, near which the shepherds in the midst of summer lead their numerous flocks to pasture: while, in the plain, the flowers and fruits of southern climes grow luxuriantly, and the laurel blooms beside the most exquisite grapes.

At the opening of one of the lateral valleys that lead into the Northern Alps, on the banks of the Grande Eau that falls in thunder from the glaciers of the Diablerets, is situated the small town of Aigle, one of the most southern in Switzerland. For about fifty years it had belonged to Berne, with the four parishes (*mandemens*) which are under its jurisdiction, namely, Aigle, Bex, Ollon, and the chalets scattered in the lofty valleys of the Ormonds. It is in this country that the second epoch of the Swiss Reformation was destined to begin.

In the winter of 1526, 1527, a foreign schoolmaster, named Ursinus, arrived in this humble district. He was a man of middle stature, with red beard and quick eyes, and who, with a voice of thunder (says Beza) combined the feelings of a hero: his modest lessons were intermingled with new and strange doctrines. The benefices being abandoned by their titularies to ignorant curates, the people, who were naturally of rude and turbulent habits, had remained without any cultivation. Thus did this stranger, who was no other than Farel, meet with new obstacles at every step.

Whilst Lefevre and most of his friends had quitted Strasburg to re-enter France, after the deliverance of Francis I., Farel had turned his steps towards Switzerland; and on the very first day of his journey, he received a lesson that he frequently recalled to mind.

He was on foot accompanied by a single friend. Night had closed around them, the rain fell in torrents, and the travellers,

in despair of finding their road, had sat down midway, drenched with rain.<sup>1</sup> "Ah!" said Farel, "God, by showing me my helplessness in these little things, has willed to teach me how weak I am in the greatest, without Jesus Christ!"<sup>2</sup> At last Farel, springing up, plunged into the marshes, waded through the waters, crossed vineyards, fields, hills, forests, and valleys, and at length reached his destination, covered with mud and soaked to the skin.

In this night of desolation, Farel had received a new baptism. His natural energy had been quelled: he became for some time at least, wise as a serpent and harmless as a dove; and, as not unfrequently happens to men of such disposition, he at first overstepped his aim. Believing that he was following the example of the apostles, he sought, in the words of Œcolampadius, "by pious frauds to circumvent the old serpent that was hissing around him."<sup>3</sup> He represented himself to be a schoolmaster, and waited until a door should be opened to him to appear as a reformer.<sup>4</sup>

Scarcely had Magister Ursinus quitted the schoolroom and his primers, than, taking refuge in his modest chamber, he became absorbed in the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, and the most learned treatises of the theologians. The struggle between Luther and Zwingle was commencing. To which of these two chiefs should the French Reform attach itself? Luther had been known in France for a much longer time than Zwingle; yet Farel decided in favour of the latter. Mysticism had characterized the Germanic nations during the Middle Ages, and scholasticism those of Roman descent. The French were in closer relation with the dialectician Zwingle than with the mystic Luther; or rather they were the mediators between the two great tendencies of the Middle Ages; and, while giving to the Christian thought that correct form which seems to be the province of southern nations, they became the instruments of God to spread through the Church the fulness of life and of the Spirit of Christ.

It was in his little chamber at Aigle that Farel read the first publication addressed to the Germans by the Swiss reformer.<sup>5</sup> "With what learning," cries he, "does Zwingle scatter the darkness! with what holy ingenuity he gains over the wise, and

<sup>1</sup> Gravabat nox, opprimebat pluvia . . . coegit via difficultas in media sedere via sub pluvia. Farel to Capito and Bucer. Neufchatel MS.

<sup>2</sup> Voluit Dominus per infirma hæc, docere quid possit homo in majoribus. Coet. Epp. MS. of Neufchatel.

<sup>3</sup> Piis artibus et apostolicis versatis ad circumveniendum illum opus est. Œcol. to Farel, 27th December 1526. Neufchatel MS.

<sup>4</sup> Ubi ostium patuerit, tunc adversariis liberius obsistetur. Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Pia et amica ad Lutheri sermonem apologia. Opp. vol. ii, t. 2, p. 1.



what captivating meekness he unites with deep erudition! Oh! that by the grace of God this work may win over Luther, so that the Church of Christ, trembling from such violent shocks, may at length find peace!"<sup>1</sup>

The schoolmaster Ursinus, excited by so noble an example, gradually set about instructing the parents as well as the children. He at first attacked the doctrine of Purgatory, and next the Invocation of Saints. "As for the pope, he is nothing," said he, "or almost nothing, in these parts;<sup>2</sup> and as for the priests, provided they annoy the people with all that nonsense, which Erasmus knows so well how to turn into ridicule, that is enough for them."

Ursinus had been some months at Aigle: a door was opened to him; a flock had been collected there, and he believed the looked-for moment had arrived.

Accordingly, one day the prudent schoolmaster disappears. "I am William Farel," said he, "minister of the Word of God." The terror of the priests and magistrates was great, when they saw in the midst of them that very man whose name had already become so formidable. The schoolmaster quitted his humble study; he ascended the pulpit, and openly preached Jesus Christ to the astonished multitude. The work of Ursinus was over: Farel was himself again.<sup>3</sup> It was then about the month of March or April 1527, and in that beautiful valley, whose slopes were brightening in the warm rays of the sun, all was fermenting at the same time, the flowers, the vineyards, and the hearts of this sensible but rude people.

Yet the rocks that the torrent meets as it issues from the Diablerets, and against which it dashes at every step as it falls from eternal snows, are more trifling obstacles than the prejudice and hatred that were shown ere long in this populous valley to the Word of God.

The Council of Berne, by a licence of the 9th of March, had commissioned Farel to explain the Holy Scriptures to the people of Aigle and its neighbourhood. But the arm of the civil magistrate, by thus mingling in religious affairs, served only to increase the irritation of men's minds. The rich and lazy incumbents, the poor and ignorant curates, were the first to cry out. "If this man," said they one to another, "continues preaching, it is all over with our benefices and our Church."<sup>4</sup>

In the midst of this agitation, the bailiff of Aigle and the

<sup>1</sup> Ut Christi succussa undique Ecclesia, pacis non nihil sentiat. Zw. Epp., ii, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Papa aut nullus aut modicus hic est. Ibid., 36.

<sup>3</sup> The name of Ursinus was doubtless taken from the bear (*ursa*) which was on the shield of Berne. Ursinus meant Bernese.

<sup>4</sup> J. J. Hottinger, H. K. G., iii, 364.

governor of the four mandemens, Jacques de Roverea, instead of supporting the minister of their excellencies of Berne, eagerly embraced the cause of the priests. "The emperor," said they, "is about to declare war against all innovators. A great army will shortly arrive from Spain to assist the Archduke Ferdinand."<sup>1</sup> Farel stood firm. Upon this the bailiff and Roverea exasperated by such boldness, interdicted the heretic from every kind of instruction, whether as minister or schoolmaster. But Berne caused to be posted on the doors of all the churches in the four mandemens a new decree, dated the 3d of July, in which their excellencies, manifesting great displeasure at this interdiction "of the very learned Farel from the propagation of the Divine Word,"<sup>2</sup> ordered all the officers of the state to allow him to preach publicly the doctrines of the Lord.

This new proclamation was the signal of revolt. On the 25th July, great crowds assembled at Aigle, at Bex, at Ollon, and in the Ormonds, crying out, "No more submission to Berne! down with Farel!" From words they soon proceeded to actions. At Aigle the insurgents, headed by the fiery syndic, tore down the edict, and prepared to fall upon the reformed. These, promptly united and surrounding Farel, resolved to defend him. The two parties met face to face, and blood was near flowing. The firm countenance of the friends of the Gospel checked the partisans of the priests, who dispersed, and Farel, quitting Aigle for a few days, carried his views farther.

In the middle of the beautiful valley of the Lemane, on hills which overlook the lake, stands Lausanne, the city of the bishop and of the Virgin, placed under the patronage of the Dukes of Savoy. A host of pilgrims, assembling from all the surrounding places, knelt devoutly before the image of Our Lady, and made costly purchases at the great fair of indulgences that was held in its precincts. Lausanne, extending its episcopal crosier from its lofty towers, pretended to keep the whole country at the feet of the pope. But owing to the dissolute life of the canons and priests, the eyes of many began to be opened. The ministers of the Virgin were seen in public playing at games of chance, which they seasoned with mockery and blasphemy. They fought in the churches; disguised as soldiers, they descended by night from the cathedral hill, and roaming through the streets, sword in hand and in liquor, surprised, wounded, and sometimes even killed the worthy citizens; they debauched married women, seduced young girls, changed

<sup>1</sup> Ferdinando adventurum esse ingentem ex Hispania exercitum. Zwinglius, Epp. ii, 64; dated 11th May 1527.

<sup>2</sup> Inhibita verbi divini propagatio. Choupard MS.

their residences into houses of ill-fame, and heartlessly turned out their young children to beg their bread.<sup>1</sup> Nowhere, perhaps, was better exemplified the description of the clergy given us by one of the most venerable prelates at the beginning of the sixteenth century: "Instead of training up youth by their learning and holiness of life, the priests train birds and dogs; instead of books, they have children; they sit with toppers in the taverns, and give way to drunkenness."<sup>2</sup>

Among the theologians in the court of the Bishop Sebastian of Montfaucon, was Natalis Galeotto, a man of elevated rank and great urbanity, fond of the society of scholars, and himself a man of learning,<sup>3</sup> but nevertheless very zealous about fasts and all the ordinances of the Church. Farel thought that, if this man could be gained over to the Gospel, Lausanne, "slumbering at the foot of its steeples," would perhaps awaken, and all the country with it. He therefore addressed himself to him. "Alas! alas!" said Farel, "religion is now little better than an empty mockery, since people who think only of their appetites are the kings of the Church. Christian people, instead of celebrating in the sacrament the death of the Lord, live as if they commemorated Mercury, the god of fraud. Instead of imitating the love of Christ, they emulate the lewdness of Venus; and, when they do evil, they fear more the presence of a wretched swineherd than of God Almighty."<sup>4</sup>

But Galeotto made no reply, and Farel persevered. "Knock; cry out with all your might," wrote he in a second letter; "redouble your attacks upon our lord." Still there was no answer. Farel returned to the charge a third time, and Natalis, fearing perhaps to reply in person, commissioned his secretary, who forwarded a letter to Farel full of abusive language.<sup>5</sup> For a season Lausanne was inaccessible.

After having thus contended with a priest, Farel was destined to struggle with a monk. The two arms of the hierarchy by which the Middle Ages had been governed were chivalry and monachism. The latter still remained for the service of the Papacy, although falling into decay. "Alas!" exclaimed a celebrated Carthusian, "what an obstinate devil would fear

<sup>1</sup> Histoire de la Reformation Suisse by Ruchat, i. 35. <sup>2</sup> Pro liberos sibi liberos comparant, pro studio concubinas amant. Tritheim Instit. Vitæ Sacerdotalis, p. 765. The play upon *libros* and *liberos* (books and children) cannot be conveyed in English.

<sup>3</sup> Urbanus, doctus, magnus, consuetudine doctorum obligatus. Farel to Galeotto. Neufchâtel MS.

<sup>4</sup> Pluris faciunt miserrimi subulci aspectum quam omnipotentis Dei. Farel to Galeotto. Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> Vociferari pergo, nec prius cessa quam, &c. Ibid.

convictis. Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Næniis totas implevit et



to do, a reprobate and arrogant monk will commit without hesitation."<sup>1</sup>

A mendicant friar, who dared not oppose the reformer in a direct manner at Aigle, ventured into the village of Noville, situated on the low grounds deposited by the Rhone as it falls into the Lake of Geneva. The friar, ascending the pulpit, exclaimed, "It is the devil himself who preaches by the mouth of the minister, and all those who listen to him will be damned." Then, taking courage, he slunk along the bank of the Rhone, and arrived at Aigle with a meek and humble look, not to appear there against Farel, whose powerful eloquence terribly alarmed him, but to beg in behalf of his convent a few barrels of the most exquisite wine in all Switzerland. He had not advanced many steps into the town before he met the minister. At this sight he trembled in every limb. "Why did you preach in such a manner at Noville?" demanded Farel. The monk, fearful that the dispute would attract public attention, and yet desirous of replying to the point, whispered in his ear, "I have heard say that you are a heretic and misleader of the people." "Prove it," said Farel. Then the monk "began to storm," says Farel,<sup>2</sup> and, hastening down the street, endeavoured to shake off his disagreeable companion, "turning now this way, now that, like a troubled conscience."<sup>3</sup> A few citizens beginning to collect around them, Farel said to them, pointing to the monk, "You see this fine father; he has said from the pulpit that I preach nothing but lies." Then the monk, blushing and stammering, began to speak of the offerings of the faithful (the precious wine of Yvorne, for which he had come begging), and accused Farel of opposing them. The crowd had now increased in number, and Farel, who only sought an opportunity of proclaiming the true worship of God, exclaimed with a loud voice, "It is no man's business to ordain any other way of serving God than with which he has commanded. We must keep his commandments without turning either to the right hand or to the left."<sup>4</sup> Let us worship God alone in spirit and in truth, offering to him a broken and a contrite heart."

The eyes of all the spectators were fixed on the two actors

<sup>1</sup> Quod agere veretur obstinatus diabolus, intrepide agit reprobus et contumax monachus. Jacob von Juterbock; de Negligentia Prelatorum.

<sup>2</sup> Commenga de se tempester; in the narrative he gives of this adventure to the nuns of Vevay. Neufchatel MS.

<sup>3</sup> Tournant maintenant de ça, maintenant de là, comme fait la conscience mal assurée. Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Il n'appartient à personne vivante d'ordonner autre manière de faire service à Dieu, que celle qu'il a commandée. Nous devons garder ses commandemens, sans tirer ni à la dextre, ni à la senestre. Ibid.

in this scene, the monk with his wallet, and the reformer with his glistening eye. Confounded by Farel's daring to speak of any other worship than that which the holy Roman Church prescribed, the friar "was out of his senses; he trembled, and was agitated, becoming pale and red by turns. At last, taking his cap off his head, from under his hood, he flung it on the ground, trampling it under foot and crying: "I am surprised that the earth does not gape and swallow us up!"<sup>1</sup> . . . . . Farel wished to reply, but in vain. The friar with downcast eyes kept stamping on his cap, "bawling like one out of his wits;" and his cries resounding through the streets of Aigle, drowned the voice of the reformer. At length one of the spectators, who stood beside him, plucked him by the sleeve, and said, "listen to the minister, as he is listening to you." The affrighted monk, believing himself already half-dead, started violently and cried out: "Oh, thou excommunicate! layest thou thy hand upon me?"

The little town was in an uproar; the friar at once furious and trembling, Farel following up his attack with vigour, and the people confused and amazed. At length the magistrate appeared, ordered the monk and Farel to follow him, and shut them up, "one in one tower and one in another."<sup>2</sup>

On the Saturday morning Farel was liberated from his prison, and conducted to the castle before the officers of justice, where the monk had arrived before him. The minister began to address them: "My lords, to whom our Saviour enjoins obedience without any exception, this friar has said that the doctrine which I preach is against God. Let him make good his words, or, if he cannot, permit your people to be edified." The violence of the monk was over. The tribunal before which he was standing, the courage of his adversary, the power of the movement which he could not resist, the weakness of his cause,—all alarmed him, and he was now ready to make matters up. "Then the friar fell upon his knees, saying: My lords, I entreat forgiveness of you and of God. Next turning to Farel: And also, Magister, what I preached against you was grounded on false reports. I have found you to be a good man, and your doctrine good, and I am prepared to recall my words."<sup>3</sup>

Farel was touched by this appeal, and said: "My friend, do

<sup>1</sup> Hors de sens, trembloit, s'agitoit, palissoit et rougissoit tour à tour. Enfin tirant son bonnet de sa tête, hors du chaperon, il le rua à terre, jettant et mettant son pied sus, en s'écriant: "Je suis esbahi comme la terre ne nous abyne! Neufchatel MS.

<sup>2</sup> L'un en une tour, et l'autre en l'autre. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Lors le frère se jeta à genoux disant: Messeigneurs, je demande merci à Dieu et à vous. . . . Et aussi, Magister, ce que j'ai prêché contre vous a été par de faux rapports, etc. Ibid.

not ask forgiveness of me, for I am a poor sinner like other men, putting my trust not in my own righteousness, but in the death of Jesus."<sup>1</sup>

One of the lords of Berne coming up at this time, the friar, who already imagined himself on the brink of martyrdom, began to wring his hands, and to turn now towards the Bernese councillors, now towards the tribunal, and then to Farel, crying, "Pardon, pardon!"—"Ask pardon of our Saviour," replied Farel. The lord of Berne added; "Come to-morrow and hear the minister's sermon; if he appears to you to preach the truth, you shall confess it openly before all; if not, you will declare your opinions: this promise in my hand." The monk held out his hand, and the judges retired. "Then the friar went away, and I have not seen him since, and no promises or oaths were able to make him stay."<sup>2</sup> Thus the Reformation advanced in Switzerland Romande.

But violent storms threatened to destroy the work that was hardly begun. Romish agents from the Valais and from Savoy had crossed the Rhone at St. Maurice, and were exciting the people to energetic resistance. Tumultuous assemblages took place, in which dangerous projects were discussed; the proclamations of the government were torn down from the church-doors; troops of citizens paraded the city; the drum beat in the streets to excite the populace against the reformer: everywhere prevailed riot and sedition. And hence, when Farel ascended the pulpit on the 16th February, for the first time after a short absence, some papist bands collected round the gate of the church, raised their hands in tumult, uttered savage cries, and compelled the minister to break off in his sermon.

The council of Berne thereupon decreed that the parishioners of the four mandemens should assemble. Those of Bex declared for the Reform; Aigle followed their example, but with indecision; and in the mountains above Ollon, the peasants, not daring to maltreat Farel, excited their wives who rushed upon him with their fulling-clubs. But it was especially the parish of the Ormonds which, calm and proud at the foot of its glaciers, signalized itself by its resistance. A companion of Farel's labours, named Claude (probably Claude de Gloutinis,) when preaching there one day with great animation, was suddenly interrupted by the ringing of the bells, whose noise

<sup>1</sup> Je suis pauvre pécheur comme les autres, ayant ma fiance, non en ma justice, mais à la mort de Jesus. Neuchâtel MS.

<sup>2</sup> Puis quand le frère fut parti, depuis ne l'ai vu, et nulles promesses ni sermens ne l'ont pu faire demeurer. Ibid.



was such that one might have said all hell was busy pulling them. "In fact," says another herald of the gospel, Jacques Camralis, who chanced to be present, "it was Satan himself, who, breathing his anger into some of his agents, filled the ears of the auditors with all this uproar."<sup>1</sup> At another time, some zealous reformers having thrown down the altars of Baal, according to the language of the times, the evil spirit began to blow with violence in all the chalets scattered over the sides of the mountains; the shepherds issued precipitously like avalanches, and fell upon the church and the evangelicals. "Let us only find these sacrilegious wretches," cried the furious Ormondines; "we will hang them,—we will cut off their heads,—we will burn them,—we will throw their ashes into the Great Water."<sup>2</sup> Thus were these mountaineers agitated, like the wind that roars in their lofty valleys with a fury unknown to the inhabitants of the plains.

Other difficulties overwhelmed Farel. His fellow-labourers were not all of them blameless. One Christopher Ballista, formerly a monk of Paris, had written to Zwingle: "I am but a Gaul, a barbarian,<sup>3</sup> but you will find me pure as snow, without any guile, of open heart, through whose windows all the world may see."<sup>4</sup> Zwingle sent Ballista to Farel, who was loudly calling for labourers in Christ's vineyard. The fine language of the Parisian at first charmed the multitude; but it was soon necessary to beware of these priests and monks disgusted with popery. "Brought up in the slothfulness of the cloister, gluttonous and lazy," says Farel, "Ballista could not conform to the abstemiousness and rude labours of the evangelists, and soon began to regret his monk's hood. When he perceived the people beginning to distrust him, he became like a furious monster, vomiting waggon-loads of threats."<sup>5</sup> Thus ended his labours.

Notwithstanding all these trials, Farel was not discouraged. The greater the difficulties, the more his energy increased. Let us scatter the seed everywhere," said he, "and let civilized France, provoked to jealousy by this barbarous nation, embrace piety at last." Let there not be in Christ's body either fingers,

<sup>1</sup> Sed Sathan per ejus servos, voluit aures auditorum ejus sono cymbali implere. (Neufchatel MS.) But Satan, by his servants, wished to fill the ears of his hearers with the sound of the cymbal.

<sup>2</sup> Quo invento suspenderetur primum. deinde dignus comburi, ulterius capitis obruncatione, novissime in aquis mergeretur. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Me quantumvis Gallum et barbarum. Zw. Epp., ii, 205.

<sup>4</sup> Absque ullo fuco, niveum, et aperti fenestratique pectoris. (Ibid.) Without any gloss, snow-white, my breast open and with a window in it.

<sup>5</sup> Quam beatus hic venter incanduit! quot minarum plaustra! Solent tales belluæ, &c. Neufchatel MS.

or hands, or feet, or eyes, or ears, or arms, existing separately and working each for itself, but let there be only one heart that nothing can divide. Let not variety in secondary things divide into many separate members that vital principle which is one and simple.<sup>1</sup> Alas! the pastures of the Church are trodden under foot, and its waters are troubled! Let us set our minds to concord and peace. When the Lord shall have opened heaven, there will not be so many disputes about bread and water.<sup>2</sup> A fervent charity—that is the powerful battering-ram with which we shall beat down those proud walls, those material elements, with which men would confine us.”<sup>3</sup>

Thus wrote the most impetuous of the reformers. These words of Farel, preserved for three centuries in the city where he died, disclose to us more clearly the intimate nature of the great Revolution of the sixteenth century, than all the venturesome assertions of its popish interpreters. Christian unity thus from these earliest moments found a zealous apostle. The nineteenth century is called to resume the work which the sixteenth century was unable to accomplish.

## CHAPTER II.

State Religion in Berne—Irrresolution of Berne—Almanack of Heretics—Evangelical Majority—Haller—Zwingle's Signal—Anabaptists in Berne—Victory of the Gospel—Papist Provocations—The City Companies—Proposed Disputation—Objections of the Forest Cantons—The Church, the Judge of Controversaries—Unequal Contest—Zwingle—A Christian Band—The Cordelier's Church—Opening of the Conference—The sole Head—Unity of Error—A Priest converted at the Altar—St. Vincent's Day—The Butchers—A strange Argument—Papist Bitterness—Necessity of Reform—Zwingle's Sermon—Visit of the King of kings—Edict of Reform—Was the Reformation political?

Of all the Swiss cantons, Berne appeared the least disposed to the Reformation. A military state may be zealous for religion, but it will be for an external and a disciplined religion: it requires an ecclesiastical organization that it can see, and touch, and manage at its will. It fears the innovations and the free movements of the Word of God: it loves the form and not the life. Napoleon, by restoring religion in France in the *Concordat*,

<sup>1</sup> Ne in digitos, manus, pedes, oculos, nares, aures, brachia, cor quod unum est discindatur, et quæ in rebus est varietas, principium non faciat multiplex. (Neufchatel MS.) Let not the heart, which is one, be cut up into fingers, hands, feet, eyes, nostrils, ears, arms; nor the variety which is in things make the origin manifold. <sup>2</sup> An allusion to the controversies on anabaptism and the real presence. Non tanta erit super aqua et pane contentio, nec super gramine, solutaque obsidione. Ibid. The sense of these latter words is obscure. <sup>3</sup> Charitas fortissimus aries. (Farel to Ruer, 10th May 1529.) Charity is the strongest battering-ram.

has given us a memorable example of this truth. Such, also was the case with Berne. Its government, besides, was absorbed in political interests, and although it had little regard for the pope, it cared still less to see a reformer put himself, as Zwingle did, at the head of public affairs. As for the people, feasting on "the butter of their kine and milk of their sheep, with fat of lambs,"<sup>1</sup> they remained closely shut up within the narrow circle of their material wants. Religious questions were not to the taste either of the rulers or of their fellow-citizens.

The Bernese government, being without experience in religious matters, had proposed to check the movement of the Reform by its edict of 1523. As soon as it discovered its mistake, it moved towards the cantons that adhered to the ancient faith; and while that portion of the people whence the Great Council was recruited, listened to the voice of the Reformers, most of the patrician families, who composed the Smaller Council, believing their power, their interests, and their honour menaced, attached themselves to the old order of things. From this opposition of the two councils there arose a general uneasiness, but no violent shocks. Sudden movements, repeated starts, announced from time to time that incongruous matters were fermenting in the nation; it was like an indistinct earthquake, which raises the whole surface without causing any rents: then anon all returns to apparent tranquillity.<sup>2</sup> Berne, which was always decided in its politics, turned in religious matters at one time to the right, and at another to the left; and declared that it would be neither popish nor reformed. To gain time was, for the new faith, to gain everything.

What was to turn aside Berne from the Reformation, was the very cause of precipitating it into the new way. The haughtiness with which the five primitive cantons arrogated the guardianship of their confederates, the secret conferences to which Berne was not even invited, and the threat of addressing the people in a direct manner, deeply offended the Bernese oligarchs. Thomas Murner, a Carmelite of Lucerne, one of those rude men who act upon the populace, but who inspire disgust in elevated minds, made the cup run over. Furious against the Zurich calendar, in which the names of the saints had been purposely omitted, he published in opposition to it the "Almanack of Heretics and Church-robbers," a tract filled with lampoons and invectives, in which the portraits of the reformers and of their adherents, among whom were many of the most

<sup>1</sup> Deut., xxxii, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Hundeshagen, Konflikte der Bernischen Kirche, p. 19.



considerable men of Berne, were coupled with the most brutal inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> Zurich and Berne in conjunction demanded satisfaction, and from this time the union of these two states daily became closer.

This change was soon perceived at Berne. The elections of 1527 placed a considerable number of friends of the Reform in the Great Council; and this body, forthwith resuming its right to nominate the members of the Smaller Council, which had been usurped for twenty years by the Bannerets and the Sixteen, removed from the government the most decided partisans of the Roman hierarchy, and among others Gaspard de Mulinen and Sebastian de Stein,<sup>2</sup> and filled the vacancies with members of the evangelical majority. The union of Church and State, which had hitherto checked the progress of the Reform in Switzerland, was now about to accelerate its movements.

The reformer Haller was not alone in Berne. Kolb had quitted the Carthusian monastery at Nuremberg, in which he had been compelled to take refuge, and had appeared, before his compatriots, demanding no other stipend than the liberty of preaching Jesus Christ. Already bending under the weight of years, his head crowned with hoary locks, Kolb, young in heart, full of fire, and of indomitable courage, presented boldly before the chiefs of the nation that Gospel which had saved him. Haller, on the contrary, although only thirty-five years old, moved with a measured step, spoke with gravity, and proclaimed the new doctrines with unusual circumspection. The old man had taken the young man's part, and the youth that of the gray-beard.

Zwingle, whose eye nothing escaped, saw that a favourable hour for Berne was coming, and immediately gave the signal. "The dove commissioned to examine the state of the waters is returning with an olive-branch into the ark," wrote he to Haller; "come forth now, thou second Noah, and take possession of the land. Enforce, be earnest, and fix deeply in the hearts of men the hooks and grapnels of the Word of God, so that they can never again be rid of them."<sup>3</sup>—"Your bears," wrote he to Thomas ab Hofen, "have again put forth their claws. Please God that they do not draw them back until they have torn everything in pieces that opposes Jesus Christ."

Haller and his friends were on the point of replying to this

<sup>1</sup> Quum nudus-tertius Murneri Calendarium legissem, partim ridendo hominis stultissimam impudentiam. Ecolam. to Zwingle, Febr. 1527, Epp., ii, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Mullinen e Senatoria dignitate protrusus est. Lapides quoque. Haller to Zwingle, April 25, 1527.

<sup>3</sup> Aculeos ac hamos, sic in mortalium pectora dimitte, ut etiam si velint, non possint. Zw. Epp., ii, 10.

appeal, when their situation became complicated. Some anabaptists, who formed every where the extreme party, arriving at Berne in 1527, led away the people from the evangelical preachers "on account of the presence of idols."<sup>1</sup> Haller had a useless conference with them. "To what dangers is not Christianity exposed," cried he, "wherever these furies have crept in!"<sup>2</sup> There has never been any revival in the Church, without the hierarchical or radical sects endeavouring to disturb it. Haller, although alarmed, still maintained his unalterable meekness. "The magistrates are desirous of banishing them," said he; "but it is our duty to drive out their errors, and not their persons. Let us employ no other weapons than the sword of the Spirit."<sup>3</sup> It was not from popery that the Reformers had learnt these principles. A public disputation took place. Six anabaptists declared themselves convinced, and two others were sent out of the country.

The decisive moment was drawing near. The two great powers of the age, the Gospel and the Papacy, were stirring with equal energy; the Bernese councils were to speak out. They saw on the one hand the five primitive cantons taking daily a more threatening attitude, and announcing that the Austrian would soon reappear in Helvetia, to reduce it once more into subjection to Rome; and on the other they beheld the Gospel every day gaining ground in the confederation. Which was destined to prevail in Switzerland—the lances of Austria or the Word of God? In the uncertainty in which the councils were placed, they resolved to side with the majority. Where could they discover a firm footing, if not there? *Vox populi, vox Dei*. "No one," said they, "can make any change of his own private authority: the consent of all is necessary."<sup>4</sup>

The government of Berne had to decide between two mandates, both emanating from its authority: that of 1523, in favour of the free preaching of the Gospel, and that of 1526, in favour "of the sacraments, the saints, the mother of God, and the ornaments of the churches." State messengers set out and traversed every parish: the people gave their votes against every law contrary to liberty, and the councils, supported by the nation, decreed that "the Word of God should be preached publicly and freely, even if it should be in opposition to the

<sup>1</sup> Ne plebem dehortentur ab auditione concionum nostrarum ob idolorum præsentiam. (Zw. Epp., ii, 49.) Lest they dissuade the people from hearing our sermons, because of the presence of idols.

<sup>2</sup> Consideravimus omnes periculum urbis nostræ et totius Christianismi, ubi illæ furie irrepserint. Ibid., 50.

<sup>3</sup> Nostrum est, omnia gladio spiritus refellere. Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ut privata auctoritate nemo quippiam immutare præsumat. Haller to Vadian.

statutes and doctrines of men." Such was the victory of the Gospel and of the people over the oligarchy and the priests.

Contentions immediately arose throughout the canton, and every parish became a battle-field. The peasants began to dispute with the priests and monks, in reliance on the Holy Scriptures. "If the mandate of our lords," said many, "accords to our pastors the liberty of preaching, why should it not grant the flock the liberty of acting?"—"Peace, peace!" cried the councils, alarmed at their own boldness. But the flocks resolutely declared that they would send away the mass, and keep their pastors and the Bible.<sup>1</sup> Upon this the papal partisans grew violent. The banneret Kuttler called the good people of Emmenthal, "heretics, rascals, wantons;" but these peasants obliged him to make an apology.<sup>2</sup> The bailiff of Trachselwald was more cunning. Seeing the inhabitants of Rudersweil listening with eagerness to the Word of God, which a pious minister was preaching to them, he came with fifers and trumpeters, and interrupted the sermon, inviting the village girls by words and by lively tunes to quit the church for the dance.

These singular provocations did not check the Reform. Six of the city companies (the shoemakers, weavers, merchants, bakers, stone-masons, and carpenters) abolished in the churches and convents of their district all masses, anniversaries, advowsons, and prebends. Three others (the tanners, smiths, and tailors) prepared to imitate them;<sup>3</sup> the seven remaining companies were undecided, except the butchers, who were enthusiastic for the pope. Thus the majority of the citizens had embraced the Gospel. Many parishes throughout the canton had done the same; and the avoyer d'Erlach, that great adversary of the Reformation, could no longer keep the torrent within bounds.

Yet the attempt was made: the bailiffs were ordered to note the irregularities and dissolute lives of the monks and nuns; all women of loose morals were even turned out of the cloisters.<sup>4</sup> But it was not against these abuses alone that the Reformation was levelled; it was against the institutions themselves, and against popery on which they were founded. The people ought therefore to decide.—"The Bernese clergy," said

<sup>1</sup> Incolas vallis Emmenthal Senatum adiisse, missamque missam fecisse. (Zw. Epp. ii, 104.) The inhabitants of the valley of Emmenthal appealed to the senate, and gave the *missal* its *dismissal*.

<sup>2</sup> Pueros, hereticos, et homines lascivos.

Ibid., 106.

<sup>3</sup> Haller to Zwingle, 4th November 1527. Epp., ii, 105.

<sup>4</sup> J. J. Hottinger, H. Kirchen., viii, 394.



they, "must be convoked, as at Zurich, and let the two doctrines be discussed in a solemn conference. We will proceed afterwards in conformity with the result."

On the Sunday following the festival of Saint Martin (11th November), the council and citizens unanimously resolved that a public disputation should take place at the beginning of the succeeding year. "The glory of God and his Word," said they, "will at length appear!" Bernese and strangers, priests and laymen, all were invited by letter or by printed notice to come and discuss the controverted points, and by Scripture alone, without the glosses of the ancients, and renouncing all subtleties and abusive language.<sup>1</sup> Who knows, said they, whether all the members of the ancient Swiss confederation may not be thus brought to unity of faith?

Thus, within the walls of Berne, the struggle was about to take place that would decide the fate of Switzerland; for the example of the Bernese must necessarily lead with it a great part of the confederation.

The Five Cantons, alarmed at this intelligence, met at Lucerne, where they were joined by Friburg, Soleure, and Glaris. There was nothing either in the letter or in the spirit of the federal compact to obstruct religious liberty. "Every state," said Zurich, "is free to choose the doctrine that it desires to profess." The Waldstettes,<sup>2</sup> on the contrary, wished to deprive the cantons of this independence, and to subject them to the federal majority and to the pope. They protested, therefore, in the name of the confederation, against the proposed discussion. "Your ministers," wrote they to Berne, "dazzled and confounded at Baden by the brightness of truth, would desire by this new discussion to hide their shame; but we entreat you to desist from a plan so contrary to our ancient alliances."—"It is not we who have infringed them," replied Berne; "it is much rather your haughty missive that has destroyed them. We will not abandon the Word of our Lord Jesus Christ." Upon this the Roman cantons decided on refusing a safe-conduct to those who should proceed to Berne. This was giving token of sinister intentions.

The Bishops of Lausanne, Constance, Basle, and Sion, being invited to the conference under pain of forfeiting all their privileges in the canton of Berne, replied that, since it was to be a disputation according to the Scriptures, they had nothing to

<sup>1</sup> *Solam sacram Scripturam, absque veterum glossematis.* Haller to Zwingli. 19th November 1527. Epp., ii, 113.

<sup>2</sup> The inhabitants of the primitive democratic cantons. Schwytz, Uri, Underwald, and Lucerne, to which Zug may be added.

do with it: Thus did these priests forget the words of one of the most illustrious Roman doctors of the fifteenth century: "In heavenly things man should be independent of his fellows, and trust in God alone."<sup>1</sup>

The Romanist doctors followed the example of the bishops. Eck, Murner, Cochläus, and many others, said wherever they went: "We have received the letter of this leper, of this accursed heretic, Zwingli."<sup>2</sup> They want to take the Bible for their judge; but has the Bible a voice against those who do it violence? We will not go to Berne; we will not crawl into that obscure corner of the world; we will not go and combat in that gloomy cavern, in that school of heretics. Let these villians come out into the open air, and contend with us on level ground, if they have the Bible on their side, as they say." The emperor ordered the discussion to be adjourned; but on the very day of its opening, the council of Berne replied, that as every one was already assembled, delay would be impossible.

Then, in despite of the doctors and bishops, the Helvetic Church, assembled to decide upon its doctrines. Had it a right to do so? No;—not if priests and bishops were appointed as Rome pretends, to form a mystic bond between the Church and our Lord; Yes—if they were established, as the Bible declares, only to satisfy that law of order by virtue of which all society should have a directing power. The opinions of the Swiss reformers in this respect were not doubtful. The grace which creates the minister comes from the Lord, thought they; but the Church examines this grace, acknowledges it, proclaims it by the elders, and in every act in which faith is concerned, it can always appeal from the minister to the Word of God. *Try the spirits—prove all things*, it says to the faithful. The Church is the judge of controversies;<sup>3</sup> and it is this duty, in which it should never be found wanting, that it was now about to fulfil in the disputation at Berne.

The contest seemed unequal. On one side appeared the Roman hierarchy, a giant which had increased in strength during many centuries; and on the other, there was at first but one weak and timid man, the modest Berthold Haller. "I cannot wield the sword of the Word," said he in alarm to his friends. "If you do not stretch out your hands to me, all is over." He then threw himself trembling at the feet of the

<sup>1</sup> John Goch, *Dialogus de quatuor erroribus*, p. 237.

<sup>2</sup> *Epistolam leprosi, damnati, hæretici Zwinglii accepi.* (Eck to G. A. Zell, *Zw. Epp.*, ii, 126.) I have received the letter of the leprous damned heretic, Zwingli.

<sup>3</sup> *Judex controversiarum*—1 John, iv, 1; 1 Thess., v, 21.

Lord, and soon arose enlightened and exclaiming, "Faith in the Saviour gives me courage, and scatters all my fears."<sup>1</sup> Yet he could not remain alone: all his looks were turned towards Zwingle: "It was I who took the bath at Baden," wrote Ecolampadius to Haller, "and now it is Zwingle who should lead off the bear-dance in Berne."<sup>2</sup>—"We are between the hammer and the anvil," wrote Haller to Zwingle; "we hold the wolf by the ears, and know not how to let him go."<sup>3</sup> The houses of De Watteville, Noll, Tresp, and Berthold are open to you. Come, then, and command the battle in person." Zwingle did not hesitate. He demanded permission of the Council of Zurich to visit Berne, in order to show there "that his teaching was full of the fear of God, and not blasphemous; mighty to spread concord through Switzerland, and not to cause troubles and dissension."<sup>4</sup> At the very time that Haller received news of Zwingle's coming, Ecolampadius wrote to him: "I am ready, if it be necessary, to sacrifice my life. Let us inaugurate the new year, by embracing one another to the glory of Jesus Christ." Other doctors wrote to the same effect. "These, then," cried Haller with emotion, "these are the auxiliaries that the Lord sends to my infirmity, to aid me in fighting this rude battle!"

It was necessary to proceed with circumspection, for the violence of the oligarchs and of the Five Cantons is well known.<sup>5</sup> The doctors of Glaris, Schaffhausen, St. Gall, Constance, Ulm, Lindau, and Augsburg assembled at Zurich, to proceed under the same escort as Zwingle, Pellican, Collin, Megander, Grossman, the commander Schmidt, Bullinger, and a great number of the rural clergy, selected to accompany the reformer. "When all this game traverses the country," said the pensioners, "we will go a-hunting, and see if we cannot kill some, or at least catch them and put them into a cage."

Three hundred chosen men, selected from the companies of Zurich and from the parishes within its precincts, donned their breastplates and shouldered their arquebuses; but in order not to give the journey of these doctors the appearance of a military expedition, they took neither colours, fife, nor drum; and the trumpeter of the city, a civil officer, rode alone at the head of the company.

<sup>1</sup> Fides in Dominum me animat, ut nihil verear. Zw. Epp., ii, 123.

<sup>2</sup> An allusion to the dispute at Baden, a celebrated bathing-place, and to the arms of Berne. Ibid., 118.

<sup>3</sup> Lupum auribus tenemus. Zurich MS.

<sup>4</sup> Neque ad perturbationem nostræ almæ Helvetiæ. Zw. Epp., ii, 120.

<sup>5</sup> Oligarchæ in angulis obmurmurent. (Ibid., 123.) Let the oligarchs murmur in corners.



On Tuesday the 2d of January they set out. Never had Zwingle appeared more cheerful. "Glory be to the Lord," said he, "my courage increases every day."<sup>1</sup> The burgomaster Roust, the town-clerk of Mangoldt, with Funck and Jaekli, both masters of arts, and all four delegated by the council, were on horseback near him. They reached Berne on the 4th of January, having had only one or two unimportant alarms.

The Cordeliers' Church was to serve as the place of conference. Tillmann, the city architect, had made arrangements according to a plan furnished by Zwingle.<sup>2</sup> A large platform had been erected, on which were placed two tables, and around them sat the champions of the two parties. On the evangelical side were remarked, besides Haller, Zwingle, and Ecolampadius, many distinguished men of the Reformed Church, strangers to Switzerland, as Bucer, Capito, and Ambrose Blarer. On the side of the Papacy, Dr. Treger of Friburg, who enjoyed a high reputation, appeared to keep up the fire of the combat. As for the rest, whether through fear or contempt, the most famous Roman doctors were absent.

The first act was to publish the regulations of the conference. "No proof shall be proposed that is not drawn from the Holy Scriptures, and no explanation shall be given of those Scriptures that does not come from Scripture itself, explaining obscure texts by such as are clear." After this, one of the secretaries, rising to call over the roll, shouted with a loud voice that re-echoed through the church,—The Bishop of Constance! No one replied. He did the same for the Bishops of Zion, Basle, and Lausanne. Neither of these prelates was present at this meeting, either in person or by deputy. The Word of God being destined to reign alone, the Roman hierarchy did not appear. These two powers cannot walk together. There were present about three hundred and fifty Swiss and German ecclesiastics.

On Tuesday, 7th January, 1528, the burgomaster Vadian of St. Gall, one of the presidents, opened the disputation. After him the aged Kolb stood up and said: "God is at this moment agitating the whole world; let us, therefore, humble ourselves before him;" and he pronounced with fervour a confession of sins.

This being ended, the first thesis was read. It ran thus:

<sup>1</sup> Crescit Domino gloria, mihi animus in hac pugna. Zw. Epp. Vadiano.

<sup>2</sup> Tillmannus urbis architectus locum juxta tuam deformationem operabit. Ibid., ii, 123.

"The holy christian Church, of which Christ is the sole head, is born of the Word of God, abideth in it, and listeneth not to the voice of a stranger."

ALEXIS GRAT, a Dominican monk—"The word *sole* is not in Scripture. Christ has left a vicar here below."

HALLER.—"The vicar that Christ left is the Holy Ghost."

TREGER.—"See then to what a pass things have come these last ten years. This man calls himself a Lutheran, that a Zwinglian; a third, a Carlstadtian; a fourth an Œcolampadist, a fifth, an Anabaptist." . . .

BUCER.—"Whosoever preaches Jesus as the only Saviour, we recognise as our brother. Neither Luther, nor Zwingle, nor Œcolampadius, desires the faithful to bear his name. Besides, you should not boast so much of a mere external unity. When Antichrist gained the upperhand throughout the world, in the east by Mahomet, in the west by the pope, he was able to keep the people in unity of error. God permits divisions, in order that those who belong to him may learn not to look to men, but to the testimony of the Word, and to the assurance of the Holy Ghost in their hearts. Thus then, dearly beloved brethren, to the Scriptures, the Scriptures! <sup>1</sup> O Church of Berne, hold fast to the teaching of Him who said, *Come unto me*, and not, *Come unto my vicar!*"

The disputation then turned successively on Tradition, the merits of Christ, Transubstantiation, the Mass, Prayer to the Saints, Purgatory, Images, Celibacy, and the disorders of the Clergy. Rome found numerous defenders, and among others, Murer, priest of Rapperswyl, who had said: "If they wish to burn the two ministers of Berne, I will undertake to carry them both to the stake."

On Sunday the 19th of January, the day on which the doctrine of the mass was attacked, Zwingle, desirous of acting on the people also, went into the pulpit, and reciting the Apostles' Creed, made a pause after these words: "He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead." These three articles," said he, "are in contradiction to the mass." All his hearers redoubled their attention; and a priest, clothed in his sacerdotal vestments, who was preparing to celebrate the holy sacrifice in one of the chapels, stopped in astonishment at Zwingle's words. Erect before the consecrated altar on which lay the chalice and the body of the Saviour, with eyes fixed upon the reformer, whose words electrified the

<sup>1</sup> Darum fromme Christen! Zur Schrift, zur Schrift! Acta Zw., ii, 92.

people, a prey to the most violent struggles, and beaten down by the weight of truth, the agitated priest resolved to give up everything for it. In the presence of the whole assembly, he stripped off his priestly ornaments, and throwing them on the altar, he exclaimed: "Unless the mass reposes on a more solid foundation, I can celebrate it no longer!" The noise of this conversion, effected at the very foot of the altar, immediately spread through the city,<sup>1</sup> and it was regarded as an important omen. So long as the mass remains, Rome has gained everything: as soon as the mass falls, Rome has lost all. The mass is the creative principle of the whole system of Popery.

Three days later, on the 22d January, was the feast of St. Vincent, the patron of the city. The disputation that had been continued during Sunday was suspended on that day. The canons asked the council what they were to do. "Such of you," replied the council, "as receive the doctrine of the theses ought not to say mass; the others may perform divine worship as usual."<sup>2</sup> Every preparation was accordingly made for the solemnity. On St. Vincent's eve the bells from every steeple announced the festival to the inhabitants of Berne. On the morrow the sacristans lit up the tapers; incense filled the temple, but no one appeared. No priests to say mass, no faithful to hear it! Already there was a vast chasm in the Roman sanctuary, a deep silence, as on the field of battle, where none but the dead are lying.

In the evening it was the custom for the canons to chant vespers with great pomp. The organist was at his post, but no one else appeared. The poor man left thus alone beholding with sorrow the fall of that worship by which he gained his bread, gave utterance to his grief by playing a mourning-hymn instead of the majestic *Magnificat*: "Oh, wretched Judas, what hast thou done, that thou hast thus betrayed our Lord?" After this sad farewell, he rose and went out. Almost immediately, some men, excited by the passions of the moment, fell upon his beloved organ, an accomplice in their eyes of so many superstitious rites, and their violent hands broke it to pieces. No more mass, no more organ, no more anthems! A new Supper and new hymns shall succeed the rites of popery.

<sup>1</sup> Das lachet menklich und ward durch die gantzen Stadt kundt. Bulling., i, 436. In this and other quotations, we preserve the orthography of the times.

<sup>2</sup> Bullinger says, on the contrary, that the council positively forbade the mass. But Bullinger, who is a very animated writer, is not always exact in diplomatic matters. The council would not have come to such a resolution before the close of the discussion. Other contemporary historians and official documents leave no room for doubt on this point. Stettler, in his *Chronicle*, pars ii, 6. ad annum 1528, details these proceedings as in the text.



On the next day there was the same silence. Suddenly, however, a band of men with loud voices and hasty step was heard. It was the Butchers' Company that, at this moment so fatal to Rome, desired to support it. They advanced, carrying small fir-trees and green branches, for the decoration of their chapel. In the midst of them was a foreign priest, behind whom walked a few poor scholars. The priest officiated; the sweet voices of the scholars supplied the place of the mute organ, and the butchers retired proud of their victory.

The discussion was drawing to a close; the combatants had dealt vigorous blows. Burgauer, pastor of St. Gall, had maintained the real presence in the host; but on the 19th January he declared himself convinced by the reasonings of Zwingli, Ecolampadius, and Bucer; and Matthias, minister of Saengen, had done the same.

A conference in Latin afterwards took place between Farel and a Parisian doctor. The latter advanced a strange argument. "Christians," said he, "are enjoined to obey the devil;<sup>1</sup> for it is said, *Submit unto thine adversary* (Matt., v, 25); now our adversary is the devil. How much more then should we submit to the Church!" Loud bursts of laughter greeted this remarkable syllogism. A discussion with the anabaptists terminated the conference.

The two councils decreed that the mass should be abolished, and that every one might remove from the churches the ornaments he had placed there.

Immediately twenty-five altars and a great number of images were destroyed in the cathedral, yet without disorder or bloodshed; and the children began to sing in the streets (as Luther informs us):<sup>2</sup>

By the Word at length we're saved  
From a god in a mortar brayed.

The hearts of the adherents of the Papacy were filled with bitterness as they heard the objects of their adoration fall one after another. "Should any man," said John Schneider, "take away the altar of the Butchers' Company, I will take away his life." Peter Thorman compared the cathedral stripped of its ornaments to a stable. "When the good folks of the Oberland come to market," added he, "they will be happy to put up their cattle in it." And John Zehender member of the Great Council, to show the little value he set on such a

<sup>1</sup> Nos tenemur obedire diabolo. J. J. Hottinger, iii, 405.  
cantant: se esse a Deo pisto liberatos. L. Epp., iii, 290.

<sup>2</sup> Pueri in plateis

place of worship, entered it riding on an ass, insulting and cursing the Reform. A Bernese, who chanced to be there, having said to him, "It is by God's will that these images have been pulled down,"—"Say rather by the devil's," replied Zehender; "when have you ever been with God so as to learn his will?" He was fined twenty livres, and expelled from the council.<sup>1</sup> What times! what manners!" exclaimed many Romanists; "what culpable neglect! How easy would it have been to prevent so great a misfortune! Oh! if our bishops had only been willing to occupy themselves more with learning and a little less with their mistresses!"<sup>2</sup>

This Reform was necessary. When Christianity in the fourth century had seen the favour of princes succeed to persecution, a crowd of heathens rushing into the church had brought with them the images, pomps, statues, and demigods of paganism, and a likeness of the mysteries of Greece and Asia, and above all of Egypt, had banished the Word of Jesus Christ from the christian oratories. This Word returning in the sixteenth century, a purification must necessarily take place; but it could not be done without grievous rents.

The departure of the strangers was drawing near. On the 28th January, the day after that on which the images and altars had been thrown down, while their piled fragments still encumbered here and there the porches and aisles of the cathedral, Zwingli crossing these eloquent ruins, once more ascended the pulpit in the midst of an immense crowd. In great emotion, directing his eyes by turns on these fragments and on the people, he said: "Victory has declared for the truth, but perseverance alone can complete the triumph. Christ persevered even until death. *Ferendo vincitur fortuna*. Cornelius Scipio, after the disaster at Cannæ, having learnt that the generals surviving the slaughter meditated quitting Italy, entered the senate-house, although not yet of senatorial age, and drawing his sword, constrained the affrighted chiefs to swear that they would not abandon Rome. Citizens of Berne, to you I address the same demand: do not abandon Jesus Christ."

We may easily imagine the effect produced on the people by such words, pronounced with Zwingli's energetic eloquence.

Then, turning towards the fragments that lay near him: "Behold," said he, "behold these idols! Behold them conquered, mute, and shattered before us! These corpses must

<sup>1</sup> History of Berne, by Tillier, iii, 257.

<sup>2</sup> Si studiorum quam scortorum nostri episcopi amantiores essent. (Ruchat, i, 576. Letter of J. de Munster, priest at Soleure.) If our bishops were fonder of study than of harlots.

be dragged to the shambles, and the gold you have spent upon such foolish images must henceforth be devoted to comforting in their misery the living images of God. Feeble souls, ye shed tears over these sad idols; do ye not see that they break, do ye not hear that they crack like any other wood, or like any other stone? Look! here is one deprived of its head . . . . (Zwingle pointed to the image, and all the people fixed their eyes upon it); here is another maimed of its arms.<sup>1</sup> If this ill usage had done any harm to the saints that are in heaven, and if they had the power ascribed to them, would you have been able, I pray, to cut off their arms and their heads?"

"Now then," said the powerful orator in conclusion, "stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage (Gal., v, 1). Fear not! That God who has enlightened you, will enlighten your confederates also, and Switzerland, regenerated by the Holy Ghost, shall flourish in righteousness and peace."

The words of Zwingle were not lost. The mercy of God called forth that of man. Some persons condemned to die for sedition were pardoned, and all the exiles were recalled. "Should we not have done so," said the council, "had a great prince visited us? Shall we not much more do so, now that the King of kings and the Redeemer of our souls has made his entry among us, bearing an everlasting amnesty?"<sup>2</sup>

The Romish cantons, exasperated at the result of the discussion, sought to harass the return of the doctors. On arriving before Bremgarten, they found the gates closed. The bailiff Schutz, who had accompanied them with two hundred men-at-arms, placed two halberdiers before Zwingle's horse, two behind him, and one on each side; then putting himself at the Reformer's left hand, while the burgomaster Roust stationed himself on the right, he ordered the escort to proceed, lance in rest.<sup>3</sup> The avoyers of the town being intimidated, came to a parley; the gates were opened; the escort traversed Bremgarten amidst an immense crowd, and on the 1st February reached Zurich without accident, which Zwingle re-entered, says Luther, like a conqueror.<sup>4</sup>

The Roman-catholic party did not dissemble the check they had received. "Our cause is falling," said the friends of Rome.<sup>5</sup> "Oh! that we had had men skilled in the Bible! The impe-

<sup>1</sup> Hie lüt einer, dem ist's haupt ab, dem andern ein arm, &c. Zw. Opp., ii, 228.

<sup>2</sup> Da der König aller Könige . . . Haller, by Kirchhofer, p. 439.

<sup>3</sup> Mit iren

Spyessen für den hauffen. Bull. Chr., i, 439.

<sup>4</sup> Zwingle triumphator et impe-

rior gloriosus. L. Epp., iii, 290.

<sup>5</sup> Ruunt res nostræ. Letter of the priest

J. de Muller, an eyewitness of the discussion. Buchat, i, 575.



tuosity of Zwingle supported our adversaries; his ardour was never relaxed. That brute has more knowledge than was imagined.<sup>1</sup> Alas! alas! the greater party has vanquished the better.”<sup>2</sup>

The Council of Berne, desirous of separating from the pope, relied upon the people. On the 30th January, messengers going from house to house convoked the citizens; and on the 2d February, the burgesses and inhabitants, masters and servants, uniting in the cathedral, and forming but one family, with hands upraised to heaven, swore to defend the two councils in all they should undertake for the good of the State or of the Church.

On the 7th February 1528, the council published a general edict of Reform, and “threw for ever from the necks of the Bernese the yoke of the four bishops, who,” said they, “know well how to shear their sheep, but not how to feed them.”<sup>3</sup>

At the same time the reformed doctrines were spreading among the people. In every quarter might be heard earnest and keen dialogues, written in rhyme by Manuel, in which the pale and expiring mass, stretched on her death-bed, was loudly calling for all her physicians, and finding their advice useless, at length dictating with a broken voice her last will and testament, which the people received with loud bursts of laughter.

The Reformation generally, and that of Berne in particular, has been reproached as being brought about by political motives. But, on the contrary, Berne, which of all the Helvetic states was the greatest favourite of the court of Rome—which had in its canton neither a bishop to dismiss nor a powerful clergy to humiliate—Berne, whose most influential families, the Weingartens, Manuels, Mays, were reluctant to sacrifice the pay and the service of the foreigner, and all whose traditions were conservative, ought to have opposed the movement. The Word of God was the power that overcame this political tendency.<sup>4</sup>

At Berne, as elsewhere, it was neither a learned, nor a democratic, nor a sectarian spirit that gave birth to the Reformation. Undoubtedly, the men of letters, the liberals, the sectarian enthusiasts, rushed into the great struggle of the sixteenth century; but the duration of the Reform would not have been long had it received its life from them. The primitive strength of Christianity, reviving after ages of long and complete pros-

<sup>1</sup> Doctior tamen hæc bellua est quam putabam. Ruchat, i, 575.  
pars major meliorem. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Bull. Chron., i, 466.

<sup>2</sup> Vicitque

<sup>4</sup> Hundeshagen,

Conflikte der Bernischen Kirche, p. 22.

tration, was the creative principle of the Reformation; and it was ere long seen separating distinctly from the false allies that had presented themselves, rejecting an incredulous learning by elevating the study of the classics, checking all demagogic anarchy by upholding the principles of true liberty, and repudiating the enthusiastic sects by consecrating the rights of the Word and of the Christian people.

But while we maintain that the Reformation was at Berne, as elsewhere, a truly christian work, we are far from saying that it was not useful to the canton in a political sense. All the European states that have embraced the Reformation have been elevated, while those which have combated it have been lowered.

### CHAPTER III.

The Reform accepted by the People—Faith, Purity, and Charity—First Evangelical Communion—Bernese Proposition to the Diet—Cavern, and Head of Beatus—Threatening Storm from the mountains—Revolt—Confusion in Berne—Unterwalden crosses the Brunig—Energy of Berne—Victory—Political Advantages.

It now became a question of propagating throughout all the canton the Reform accomplished in the city. On the 17th February, the council invited the rural parishes to assemble on the following Sunday to receive and deliberate upon a communication. The whole Church, according to the ancient usage of Christendom, was about to decide for itself on its dearest interests.

The assemblies were crowded; all conditions and ages were present. Beside the hoary and the trembling head of the aged man might be seen the sparkling eye of the youthful herdsman. The messengers of the council first read the edict of the Reformation. They next proclaimed that those who accepted it should remain, and that those who rejected it should withdraw.

Almost all the assembled Parishioners remained in their places. An immense majority of the people chose the Bible. In some few parishes this decision was accompanied with energetic demonstrations. At Arberg, Zofingen, Brugg, Arau, and Buren, the images were burnt. "At Stauffberg," it was said, "idols were seen carrying idols, and throwing one another into the flames."

<sup>1</sup> Da trägt ein Cötz den andern in das flüwr. Bull. Chron., II, I. A man whose business it was to shear the flocks, and who had been nicknamed Götz-scherer (idol-shearer), had made himself very distinguished among those who carried the images to the fire. Such was the origin of this popular legend, and it is the key to many others.

The images and the mass had disappeared from this vast canton. "A great cry resounded far and wide," writes Bullinger.<sup>1</sup> In one day Rome had fallen throughout the country, without treachery, violence, or seduction, by the strength of truth alone. In some places, however, in the Hasli, at Frutigen, Unterseen, and Grindewald, the malcontents were heard to say: "If they abolish the mass, they should also abolish tithes."<sup>2</sup> The Roman form of worship was preserved in the Upper Simmenthal, a proof that there was no compulsion on the part of the state.

The wishes of the canton being thus manifested, Berne completed the Reformation. All excesses in gambling, drinking, and dancing, and all unbecoming dress, were forbidden by proclamation. The houses of ill-fame were destroyed, and their wretched inhabitants expelled from the city.<sup>3</sup> A consistory was appointed to watch over the public morals.

Seven days after the edict, the poor were received into the Dominican cloister, and a little later the convent of the Island was changed into an hospital; the princely monastery of Königsfeld was also devoted to the same useful purpose. Charity followed everywhere in the steps of faith. "We will show," said the council, "that we do not use the property of the convents to our own advantage;" and they kept their word. The poor were clothed with the priests' garments; the orphans decorated with the ornaments of the church. So strict were they in these distributions, that the state was forced to borrow money to pay the annuities of the monks and nuns; and for eight days there was not a crown in the public treasury.<sup>3</sup> Thus it was that the State, as it has been continually asserted, grew rich with the spoils of the Church! At the same time they invited from Zurich the ministers Hofmeister, Megander, and Rhellican, to spread throughout the canton the knowledge of the classics and of the Holy Scriptures.

At Easter the Lord's Supper was celebrated for the first time according to the evangelical rites. The two councils and all the people, with few exceptions, partook of it. Strangers were struck with the solemnity of this first communion. The citizens of Berne and their wives, dressed in decent garments, which recalled the ancient Swiss simplicity, approached Christ's table with gravity and fervour;<sup>4</sup> the heads of the state showed the

<sup>1</sup> Das wyt und breit ein gross geschrey und wunder gepar. Bull. Chron., ii, l.

<sup>2</sup> J. J. Hottinger, iii, 414.

<sup>3</sup> Hoc unum tibi dico secretissime. (Haller to

Zwingle, 21st January, 1530.) This one thing I tell you as the greatest secret.

<sup>4</sup> Relucet enim in illorum vestitu et habitu nescio quid veteris illius Helvetiæ simplicitatis. Hofmeister to Zwingle. Zw. Epp., ii, 167.



same holy devotion as the people, and piously received the bread from the hands of Berthold Haller. Each one felt that the Lord was among them. Thus Hofmeister, charmed at this solemn service, exclaimed: "How can the adversaries of the Word refuse to embrace the truth at last, seeing that God himself renders it so striking a testimony!"<sup>1</sup>

Yet everything was not changed. The friends of the Gospel witnessed with pain the sons of the chief families of the republic parading the streets in costly garments, inhabiting sumptuous houses in the city, dwelling in magnificent mansions in the country—true seignorial abodes, following the chase with hound and horn, sitting down to luxurious banquets, conversing in licentious language, or talking with enthusiasm of foreign wars and of the French party. "Ah," said the pious people, "could we but see old Switzerland revive with its ancient virtues!"

There was soon a powerful reaction. The annual renewal of the magistracy being about to take place, the councillor Butschelbach, a violent adversary of the Gospel, was ejected for adultery: four other senators and twenty members of the Great Council were also replaced by friends of the Reformation and of public morality. Emboldened by this victory, the evangelical Bernese proposed in the diet that every Swiss should renounce foreign service. At these words the warriors of Lucerne started under their weighty armour, and replied with a haughty smile: "When you have returned to the ancient faith we will listen to your homilies." All the members of the government, assembled at Berne in sovereign council, resolved to set the example, and solemnly abjured the pay of foreign princes. Thus the Reformation showed its faith by its works.

Another struggle took place. Above the lake of Thun rises a chain of steep rocks, in the midst of which is situated a deep cavern, where, if we may believe tradition, the pious Breton, Beatus, came in ancient times to devote himself to all the austerities of an ascetic life; but especially to the conversion of the surrounding district that was still heathen. It was affirmed that the head of this saint, who had died in Gaul, was preserved in this cavern; and hence pilgrims resorted thither from every quarter. The pious citizens of Zug, Schwytz, Uri, and Argovia, groaned, as they thought that the holy head of the apostle of Switzerland would hereafter remain in a land of heretics. The abbot of the celebrated convent of Muri in Argovia and some of his friends set out, as in ancient times the Argonauts

<sup>1</sup> *Ea res magnam spem mihi injectit de illis lucrandis qui hactenus fuerunt male morigeri verbo.* (Zw. Epp., ii, 167.) This thing gave me great hope of gaining those who have hitherto been disobedient to the Word.

went in quest of the golden fleece. They arrived in the humble guise of poor pilgrims, and entered the cavern; one skilfully took away the head, another placed it mysteriously in his hood, and they disappeared. The head of a dead man!—and this was all that Rome saved from the shipwreck. But even this conquest was more than doubtful. The Bernese, who had gained information of the procession, sent three deputies on the 18th May, who, according to their report, found this famous head, and caused it to be decently interred before their eyes in the cemetery belonging to the convent of Interlaken. This contest about a skull characterizes the Church that had just given way in Berne before the vivifying breath of the Gospel. *Let the dead bury their dead.*

The Reformation had triumphed in Berne; but a storm was gathering unperceived in the mountains, which threatened to overthrow it. The State in union with the Church recalled its ancient renown. Seeing itself attacked by arms, it took up arms in its turn, and acted with that decision which had formerly saved Rome in similar dangers.

A secret discontent was fermenting among the people of the valleys and mountains. Some were still attached to the ancient faith; some had only quitted the mass because they thought they would be exempted from tithes. Ancient ties of neighbourhood, a common origin, and similarity of manners, had united the inhabitants of the Obwald (Unterwalden) to those of the Hasli and of the Bernese Oberland, which were separated only by Mount Brunig and the high pass of the Yoke. A rumour had been set afloat that the government of Berne had profaned the spot where the precious remains of Beatus, the apostle of these mountains, were preserved, and indignation immediately filled these pastoral people, who adhere firmer than others to the customs and superstitions of their forefathers.

But while some were excited by attachment to Rome, others were aroused by a desire for liberty. The subjects of the monastery of Interlaken, oppressed by the monkish rule, began to cry out, “We desire to become our own masters, and no longer pay rent or tithes.” The provost of the convent in affright ceded all his rights to Berne for the sum of one hundred thousand florins;<sup>1</sup> and a bailiff accompanied by several councillors, went and took possession of the monastery. A report was soon spread that they were about to transfer all the property of the convent to Berne; and on the 21st April bands of men

<sup>1</sup> Totum regnum suum tradiderunt in manus magistratus nostri. Haller to Zwingle, 31st March.

from Grindelwald, Lauterbrunnen, Ringelberg, Brienz, and other places, crossed the lake, or issued from their lofty valleys, and taking forcible possession of the cloister, swore they would go even to Berne in quest of the goods which the citizens had dared to take from them.

They were quieted for a time; But in the beginning of June, the people, at the instigation of Unterwalden, again arose in all the Hasli. The *Landsgemeinde*<sup>1</sup> having been convoked, it decided by a majority of forty voices for the re-establishment of the mass. The pastor Jaekli was immediately expelled; a few men crossed the Brunig, and brought back some priests from Unterwalden, to the sound of fifes and trumpets. They were seen from afar descending the mountain, and shouts, both loud and long, replied to them from the bottom of the valley. At last they arrived:—all embraced one another, and the people celebrated the mass anew with great demonstrations of joy. At the same time, the people of Frutigen and of the fertile valley of Adelboden assailed the castellan Reuter, carried off his flocks, and established a Roman-catholic priest in the place of their pastor. At Aeschi even the women took up arms, drove out the pastor from the church, and brought back the images in triumph. The revolt spread from hamlet to hamlet and from valley to valley, and again took possession of Interlaken. All the malcontents assembled there on the 22d October, and swore, with hands upraised to heaven, boldly to defend their rights and liberty.

The republic was in great danger. All the kings of Europe, and almost all the cantons of Switzerland, were opposed to the Gospel. The report of an army from Austria, destined to interpose in favour of the pope, spread through the reformed cantons.<sup>2</sup> Seditious meetings took place every day,<sup>3</sup> and the people refused to pay their magistrates either quit-rent, service, tithes, or even obedience, unless they shut their eyes to the designs of the Roman-catholics. The council became confused. Amazed and confounded, exposed to the mistrust of some and to the insults of others, they had the cowardice to separate under the pretext of gathering the vintage, and folding their arms, in the presence of this great danger, they waited until a Messiah should descend from heaven (says a reformer) to save the republic.<sup>4</sup> The ministers pointed out the

<sup>1</sup> The assembly of all the people. <sup>2</sup> Audisti, nimirum quam se apparent *Austriaci* ad bellum, adversus quos ignoratur. *Suspiscantur* quidam in *Helvetios*. (*Ecol. to Zw. Epp.*, ii, 161.) You have heard, no doubt, how the Austrians are preparing for war, against whom is unknown. Some suspect it is against the Swiss.

<sup>3</sup> *Seditiosorum concursus sunt quotidiani.* *Zw. Epp.*, ii, 227. <sup>4</sup> *Nunc, nunc suum Messiam advenisse sperantes.* (*Ibid.*) Hoping that now, now their Messiah had arrived.



danger, forewarned and conjured them; but they all turned a deaf ear. "Christ languishes in Berne," said Haller, "and appears nigh perishing."<sup>1</sup> The people were in commotion: they assembled, made speeches, murmured, and shed tears! Everywhere—in all their tumultuous meetings—might be heard this complaint of Manuel on Papists and the Papacy:<sup>2</sup>

With rage our foes their hateful threats denounce,

Because, O Lord, we love Thee best of all;

Because at sight of Thee the idols fall;

And war and bloodshed, shuddering, we renounce.

Berne was like a troubled sea, and Haller, who listened to the roaring of the waves, wrote in the deepest anguish: "Wisdom has forsaken the wise, counsel has departed from the councillors, and energy from the chiefs and from the people. The number of the seditious augments every day. Alas! what can the Bear, oppressed with sleep, oppose to so many and to such sturdy hunters?"<sup>3</sup> If Christ withdraw himself, we shall all perish."

These fears were on the point of being realized. The smaller cantons claimed to have the power of interfering in matters of faith without infringing the federal compact. While six hundred men of Uri kept themselves ready to depart, eight hundred men of Unterwalden, bearing pine-branches in their hats, symbols of the old faith, with haughty heads, with gloomy and threatening looks, crossed the Brunig under the ancient banner of the country, which was borne by Gaspard de Flue, a very unworthy grandson of the great Nicholas.<sup>4</sup> This was the first violation of the national peace for many a year. Uniting at Hasli with the men of Brienz, this little army crossed the lake, passed under the cascades of Giesbach, and arrived at Unterseen, thirteen hundred strong, and ready to march on Berne to re-establish the pope, the idols, and the mass in that rebellious city. In Switzerland, as in Germany, the Reformation at its outset met with a peasant war. At the first success, new combatants would arrive and pour through the passes of the Brunig upon the unfaithful republic. The army was only six leagues from Berne, and already the sons of Unterwalden were proudly brandishing their swords on the banks of the lake of Thun.

Thus were the federal alliances trodden under foot by those

<sup>1</sup> Ita languet Christus apud nos. Zw. Epp., ii, 227.

zen geworfen hin. Hymn and Prayer.

<sup>2</sup> Quid hæc inter tot et tantos venatores robustos. Zw. Epp., ii, 223.

<sup>4</sup> A celebrated hermit who prevented a civil war in Switzerland in 1481.

<sup>3</sup> Dass wir hand d' Gotzen geworfen hin.

<sup>4</sup> A celebrated hermit who prevented a civil war in Switzerland in 1481.

very persons who aspired to the name of conservatives. Berne had the right to repel this criminal attack by force. Suddenly calling to mind her ancient virtues, the city roused herself, and vowed to perish rather than tolerate the intervention of Unterwalden, the restoration of the mass, and the fiery violence of the peasants.<sup>1</sup> There was at that moment in the hearts of the Bernese one of those inspirations that come from above, and which save nations as well as individuals. "Let the strength of the city of Berne," exclaimed the avoyer d'Erlach, "be in God alone, and in the loyalty of its people." All the council and the whole body of the citizens replied by noisy acclamations. The great banner was hastily brought forth, the townspeople ran to arms, the companies assembled and the troops of the republic marched out with the valiant avoyer at their head.

Scarcely had the Bernese government acted thus energetically, before it saw the confidence of its friends increase, and the courage of its adversaries diminish. God never abandons a people who are true to themselves. Many of the Oberlanders became intimidated, and deserted the ranks of the revolt. At the same time deputies from Basle and Lucerne represented to Unterwalden that it was trampling the ancient alliances under foot. The rebels, disheartened by the firmness of the republic, abandoned Unterseen, and retired to the convent of Interlaken. And soon after, when they beheld the decision of their adversaries, distressed besides by the cold rains that fell incessantly, and fearing that the snow, by covering the mountains, would prevent their return to their homes, the men of Unterwalden evacuated Interlaken during the night. The Bernese, to the number of five thousand men, entered it immediately, and summoned the inhabitants of the Hasli and of the bailiwick of Interlaken to assemble on the 4th November in the plain that surrounds the convent.<sup>2</sup> The day being arrived, the Bernese army drew up in order of battle, and then formed a circle within which D'Erlach ordered the peasants to enter. Hardly had he placed the rebels on the left and the loyal citizens on the right, before the muskets and artillery fired a general discharge, whose report re-echoing among the mountains, filled the insurgents with terror. They thought it the signal of their death. But the avoyer only intended to show that they were in the power of the republic. D'Erlach, who

<sup>1</sup> *Quam missam reducem aut violentiam villanorum pati.* Haller to Zwingle, 26th October.

<sup>2</sup> Tradition says that it was on the spot where the hotel of Interlaken now stands.

addressed them immediately after this strange exordium, had not finished his speech, before they all fell on their knees, and, confessing their crime, begged for pardon. The republic was satisfied: the rebellion was over. The banners of the district were carried to Berne, and the Eagle of Interlaken in union with the Wild-goat of Hasli, hung for a time beneath the Bear, as a trophy of this victory. Four of the chiefs were put to death, and an amnesty was granted to the remainder of the rebels. "The Bernese," said Zwingle, "as Alexander of Macedon in times of old, have cut the Gordian knot with courage and with glory." <sup>1</sup> Thus thought the reformer of Zurich; but experience was one day to teach him, that to cut such knots is required a different sword from that of Alexander and of D'Erlach. However that may be, peace was restored, and in the valleys of the Hasli no other noise was heard than the sublime tumult borne afar by the Reichenbach and the surrounding torrents, as they pour from the mountain-tops their multitudinous and foaming waters.

While we repudiate on behalf of the Church the swords of the Helvetic bands, it would be unwise not to acknowledge the political advantages of this victory. The nobles had imagined that the Reformation of the Church would endanger the very existence of the State. They now had a proof to the contrary: they saw that when a nation receives the Gospel, its strength is doubled. The generous confidence with which, in the hour of danger, they had placed some of the adversaries of the Reformation at the head of affairs and of the army, produced the happiest results. All were now convinced that the Reformation would not trample old recollections under foot: prejudices were removed, hatred was appeased, the Gospel gradually rallied all hearts around it, and then was verified the ancient and remarkable saying, so often repeated by the friends and enemies of that powerful republic—"God is become a citizen of Berne."

<sup>1</sup> Bernenses pro sua dignitate nodum hunc, quemadmodum Alexander Macedo, Gordium dissectari. (Zw. Epp., ii, 243.) The Bernese, as became them, have cut this Gordian knot, like Alexander of Macedon.



## CHAPTER IV.

Reformation of St. Gall—Nuns of St. Catherine—Reformation of Glaris, Berne, Appenzell, the Grisons, Schaffhausen, and the Rhine District—A Popish Miracle—Obstacles in Basle—Zeal of the Citizens—Ecolampadius marries—Witticism of Erasmus—First Action—Half Measures—Petition of the Reformed.

THE reformation of Berne was decisive for several cantons. The same wind that had blown from on high with so much power on the country of De Watteville and Haller, threw down "the idols" in a great part of Switzerland. In many places the people were indignant at seeing the Reformation checked by the timid prudence of diplomatists; but when diplomacy was put to flight at Berne, the torrent so long restrained poured violently onwards.

Vadian, burgomaster of St. Gall, who presided at the Bernese disputation, had scarcely returned home, when the citizens, with the authority of the magistrates, removed the images from the church of St. Magnus, carried to the mint a hand of the patron saint in silver, with other articles of plate, and distributed among the poor the money they received in exchange; thus, like Mary, pouring their precious ointment on the head of Christ.<sup>1</sup> The people of St. Gall, being curious to unveil the ancient mysteries, laid their hands on the abbey itself, on the shrines and crosses which had so long been presented to their adoration; but instead of saintly relics, they found, to their great surprise, nothing but some resin, a few pieces of money, several paltry wooden images, some old rags, a skull, a large tooth, and a snail's shell! Rome, instead of that noble fall which marks the ends of great characters, sunk in the midst of stupid superstitions, shameful frauds, and the ironical laughter of a whole nation.

Such discoveries unfortunately excited the passions of the multitude. One evening some evil-disposed persons, wishing to alarm the poor nuns of St. Catherine, who had obstinately resisted the Reform, surrounded the convent with loud cries. In vain did the nuns barricade the doors: the walls were soon scaled, and the good wine, meat, confectionaries, and all the far from ascetic delicacies of the cloister became the prey of these rude jesters. Another persecution awaited them. Doctor Schappeler having been appointed their catechist, they were

<sup>1</sup> War gemünzet und den Armen ausgetheilt. J. J. Hottinger, iii, 415. St. Matthew, xxvi, 7

recommended to lay aside their monastic dress, and to attend his heretical sermons "clothed like all the world," said the sister Wiborath. Some of them embraced the Reform, but thirty others preferred exile.<sup>1</sup> On the 5th February, 1528, a numerous synod framed the constitution of the church of St. Gall.

The struggle was more violent at Glaris. The seeds of the Gospel truth, which Zwingli had scattered there, prospered but little. The men in power anxiously rejected every innovation, and the people loved better "to leap and dance, and work miracles, *glass in hand*," as an old chronicle says, "than to busy themselves about the Gospel." The Landsgemeinde having pronounced, on the 15th May, 1528, in favour of the mass by a majority of thirty-three voices, the two parties were marked out with greater distinctness: the images were broken at Matt, Elm, and Bettschwanden, and as each man remained aloof in his own house and village, there was no longer in the canton either council of state or tribunal of justice. At Schwanden, the minister Peter Rumelin, having invited the Roman-catholics to a disputation with him in the church, the latter, instead of discussing, marched in procession to the sound of drums round the place of worship in which the Reformed were assembled, and then rushing into the pastor's house, which was situated in the middle of the city, destroyed the stoves and the windows: the irritated Reformed took their revenge and broke the images. On the 15th April, 1529, an agreement was concluded, by virtue of which every man was free to choose between the mass and the sermon.

At Wesen, where Schwytz exercised sovereignty conjointly with Glaris, the deputies of the former canton threatened the people. Upon this the young men took the images out of the churches, carried them to an open place near the banks of the picturesque lake of Wallenstadt, above which soar the mountains of the Ammon and of the Seven Electors, and cried: "Look! this road (that by the lake) leads to Coire and to Rome; that (to the south) to Glaris; this other (to the west) to Schwytz; and the fourth (by the Ammon) to St. Gall. Take which you please! But if you do not move off, you shall be burnt!" After waiting a few moments, these young people flung the motionless images into the fire, and the Schwytz deputies, eye-witnesses of this execution, withdrew in consternation, and filled the whole canton with projects of vengeance that were but too soon realized.

In the canton of Appenzell, where a conference had been

<sup>1</sup> *Arx*, Gesch. St. Gall, ii, 529. J. J. Hottinger, 416. Müller; Hottinger, ii, 91.

opened, there suddenly appeared a band of Roman-catholics, armed with whips and clubs, and crying out; "Where are these preachers? we are resolved to put them out of the village." These strange doctors wounded the ministers and dispersed the assembly with their whips. Out of the eight parishes of the canton, six embraced the Reform, and Appenzell became finally divided into two little sections, the one Romanist and the other Reformed.

In the Grisons religious liberty was proclaimed; the parishes had the election of their pastors, several castles were rased to the ground to render all return to arbitrary government impossible, and the affrighted bishop went and hid in the Tyrol his anger and his desire for vengeance. "The Grisons," said Zwingle, "advance daily. It is a nation that by its courage reminds us of the ancient Tuscans, and by its candour of the ancient Swiss."<sup>1</sup>

Schaffhausen, after having long "halted between two opinions," at the summons of Zurich and of Berne removed the images from its churches without tumult or disorder. At the same time the Reformation invaded Thurgovia, the valley of the Rhine, and other bailiwicks subordinate to these cantons. In vain did the Roman-catholic cantons, that were in the majority, protest against it. "When temporal affairs are concerned," replied Zurich and Berne, "we will not oppose a plurality of votes; but the Word of God cannot be subjected to the suffrages of men." All the districts that lie along the banks of Thur, of the lake of Constance, and of the Upper Rhine, embraced the Gospel. The inhabitants of Mammeren, near the place where the Rhine issues from the lake, flung their images into the water. But the statue of St. Blaise, after remaining some time upright, and contemplating the ungrateful spot whence it was banished, swam across the lake to Catahorn, situated on the opposite shore, if we may believe the account of a monk named Lang.<sup>2</sup> Even while running away, Popery worked its miracles.

Thus were the popular superstitions overthrown in Switzerland, and sometimes not without violence. Every great development in human affairs brings with it an energetic opposition to that which has existed. It necessarily contains an aggressive element, which ought to act freely, and by that means opens the new path. In the times of the Reformation the doctors attacked the pope, and the people the images. The

<sup>1</sup> *Gens animo veteres Tuscos referens, candore veteres Helvetios.* Zw. Epp.

<sup>2</sup> J. J. Hottinger, iii, 426.



movement almost always exceeded a just moderation. In order that human nature may make one step in advance, its pioneers must take many. Every superfluous step should be condemned, and yet we must acknowledge their necessity. Let us not forget this in the history of the Reformation, and especially in that of Switzerland.

Zurich was reformed; Berne had just become so: Basle still remained, before the great cities of the Confederation were gained over to the evangelical faith. The reformation of this learned city was the most important consequence resulting from that of the warlike Berne.

For six years the Gospel had been preached in Basle. The meek and pious *Æcolampadius* was always waiting for happier times. "The darkness," said he, "is about to retire before the rays of truth."<sup>1</sup> But his expectation was vain. A triple aristocracy—the superior clergy, the nobles, and the university—checked the free expansion of christian convictions. It was the middle classes who were destined to effect the triumph of the Reformation in Basle.<sup>2</sup> Unhappily the popular wave invades nothing without tossing up some foul scum.

It is true that the Gospel had many friends in the councils: but being men of a middle party, they tacked backwards and forwards like Erasmus, instead of sailing straight to the port. They ordered "the pure preaching of the Word of God;" but stipulated at the same time that it should be "without Lutheranism." The aged and pious Bishop Utenheim, who was living in retirement at Bruntrut, tottered daily into the church, supported by two domestics, to celebrate mass with a broken voice. Gundelsheim, an enemy of the Reformation, succeeded him ere long; and on the 23d September, followed by many exiles and with a train of forty horses, he made his triumphal entry into Basle, proposing to restore everything to its ancient footing. This made *Æcolampadius* write in alarm to Zwingli: "Our cause hangs upon a thread."

But in the citizens the Reform found a compensation for the disdain of the great, and for the terrors inspired by the new bishop. They organized repasts for fifty and a hundred guests each; *Æcolampadius* and his colleagues took their seats at these tables with the people, where energetic acclamations and reiterated cheers greeted the work of the Reformation. In a

<sup>1</sup> *Sperabam enim tenebras veritatis radio cessuras tandem.* Zw. Epp., ii, 136.

<sup>2</sup> *Major pars civitatis quæ toto corde dolet tantis nos dissidiis laborare.* (*Ibid.*, 36.) The greater part of the city, who are grieved with their whole heart that we labour under such suspicions.

short time even the council appeared to incline to the side of the Gospel. Twenty feast-days were retrenched, and the priests were permitted to refuse celebrating the mass. "It is all over with Rome," was now the cry. But Æcolampadius, shaking his head replied; "I am afraid that, by wishing to sit on two stools, Basle will at last fall to the ground."<sup>1</sup>

This was at the period of his return from the discussion at Berne. He arrived in time to close the eyes of his pious mother; and then the reformer found himself alone, succumbing under the weight of public and domestic cares; for his house was like an inn for all fugitive Christians. "I shall marry a Monica,"<sup>2</sup> he had often said, "or else I shall remain a bachelor." He thought he had now discovered the "christian sister" of whom he was in search. This was Wilibrandis, daughter of one of the Emperor Maximilian's knights, and widow of a master of arts named Keller,—a woman already proved by many trials. He married her, saying: "I look to the ordinances of God, and not to the scowling faces of men." This did not prevent the sly Erasmus from exclaiming: "Luther's affair is called a tragedy, but I maintain it is a comedy, for each act of the drama ends in a wedding." This witticism has been often repeated. For a long time it was the fashion to account for the Reformation by the desire of the princes for the church-property, and of the priests for marriage. This vulgar method is now stigmatized by the best Roman controversialists as "a proof of a singularly narrow mind. The Reformation originated," added they, in a true and christian, although unenlightened zeal."

The return of Æcolampadius had still more important consequences for Basle than it had for himself. The discussion at Berne caused a great sensation there. "Berne, the powerful Berne, is reforming!" was passed from mouth to mouth. "How, then!" said the people one to another, "the fierce Bear has come out of his den, . . . he is groping about for the rays of the sun. . . . and Basle, the city of learning—Basle, the adopted city of Erasmus and of Æcolampadius, remains in darkness!"

On Good Friday (10th April 1528), without the knowledge of the council and Æcolampadius, five workmen of the Spinners' Company entered the church of St. Martin, which was

<sup>1</sup> Vereorque ne dum semper utraque sella sedere veſt, utraque extrudatur aliquando. (Zw. Epp., ii, 157.) I am afraid lest, while she always wishes to sit on both stools, she be at length pushed from both.

<sup>2</sup> The name of St. Augustine's mother.

<sup>3</sup> See Möhler's *Symbolik*, both in the preface and in the body of the work. This is one of the most important writings produced by Rome since the time of Bossuet.

that of the reformer, and where the mass was already abolished, and carried away all the "idols." On Easter Monday, after the evening sermon, thirty-four citizens removed all the images from the church of the Augustines.

This was going too far. Were they desirous, then, of drawing Basle and its councils from that just medium in which they had till this moment so wisely halted? The council met hastily on Tuesday morning, and sent the five men to prison; but, on the intercession of the burghers, they were released, and the images suppressed in five other churches. These half measures sufficed for a time.

On a sudden the flame burst out anew with greater violence. Sermons were preached at St. Martin's and St. Leonard's against the abominations of the cathedral; and at the cathedral the reformers were called "heretics, knaves, and profligates."<sup>1</sup> The papists celebrated mass upon mass. The burgomaster Meyer, a friend of the Reform, had with him the majority of the people; the burgomaster Meltinger, an intrepid leader of the partizans of Rome, prevailed in the councils: a collision became inevitable. "The fatal hour approaches," says Ecolampadius, "terrible for the enemies of God!"<sup>2</sup>

On Wednesday the 23d December, two days before Christmas, three hundred citizens from all the companies, pious and worthy men, assembled in the hall of the Gardeners' Company, and there drew up a petition to the senate. During this time the friends of popery, who resided for the most part in Little Basle and the suburb of St. Paul, took up arms, and brandished their swords and lances against the reformed citizens at the very moment that the latter were bearing their petition to the council, and endeavoured, although ineffectually, to bar their road. Meltinger haughtily refused to receive the petition, and charged the burghers, on the faith of their civic oath, to return to their homes. The burgomaster Meyer, however, took the address, and the senate ordered it to be read.

"Honoured, wise, and gracious Lords," it ran, "we, your dutiful fellow-citizens of the companies, address you as well-beloved fathers, whom we are ready to obey at the cost of our goods and of our lives. Take God's glory to heart; restore peace to the city; and oblige all the people's preachers to discuss freely with the ministers. If the mass be true, we desire to have it in our churches; but if it is an abomination before

<sup>1</sup> Ketzler, schelmen, und büben. Bulling., ii, 36.  
et tremor de hostibus Dei. Zw. Epp., iv, 213.

<sup>2</sup> Maturatur fatalis hora.



God, why, through love for the priests, should we draw down His terrible anger upon ourselves and upon our children?"

Thus spoke the citizens of Basle. There was nothing revolutionary either in their language or in their proceedings. They desired what was right with decision, but also with calmness. All might still proceed with order and decorum. But here begins a new period: the vessel of reform is about to enter the port, but not until it has passed through violent storms.

---

## CHAPTER V.

Crisis in Basle—Half-measures rejected—Reformed Propositions—A Night of Terror—Idols broken in the Cathedral—The Hour of Madness—Idols broken in all the Churches—Reform legalized—Erasmus in Basle—A great Transformation—Revolution and Reformation.

THE bishop's partisans first departed from the legal course. Filled with terror on learning that mediators were expected from Zurich and Berne, they ran into the city, crying that an Austrian army was coming to their aid, and collected stones in their houses. The reformed did the same. The disturbance increased hourly, and in the night of the 25th December the Papists met under arms: priests with arquebuse in hand were numbered among their ranks.

Scarcely had the reformed learnt this, when some of them running hastily from house to house, knocked at the doors and awoke their friends, who, starting out of bed, seized their muskets and repaired to the Gardeners' Hall, the rendezvous of their party. They soon amounted to three thousand.

Both parties passed the night under arms. At every moment a civil war, and what is worse, "a war of hearths," might break out. It was at last agreed that each party should nominate delegates to treat with the senate on this matter. The reformed chose thirty men of respectability, courage, faith, and experience, who took up their quarters at the Gardeners' Hall. The partisans of the ancient faith chose also a commission, but less numerous and less respectable: their station was at the Fishmongers' Hall. The council was constantly sitting. All the gates of the city, except two, were closed; strong guards were posted in every quarter. Deputies from Lucerne, Uri, Schaffhausen, Zug, Schwytz, Mulhausen, and Strasburg, arrived successively. The agitation and tumult increased from hour to hour.

It was necessary to put an end to so violent a crisis. The senate faithful to its ideas of half-measures, decreed that the priests should continue to celebrate the mass; but that all, priests and ministers, should preach the Word of God, and for this purpose should meet once a-week to confer upon the Holy Scriptures. They then called the Lutherans together in the Franciscan church, and the Papsits in that belonging to the Dominicans. The senate first repaired to the former church, where they found two thousand five hundred citizens assembled. The secretary had hardly read the ordinance before a great agitation arose. "That shall not be," cried one of the people.<sup>1</sup> "We will not put up with the mass, not even a single one!" exclaimed another; and all repeated, "No mass,—no mass,—we will die sooner!"<sup>2</sup>

The senate having next visited the Dominican church, all the Romanists, to the number of six hundred, among whom were many foreign servants, cried out: we are ready to sacrifice our lives for the mass. We swear it, we swear it!" repeated they with uplifted hands. "If they reject the mass—to arms! to arms!"<sup>3</sup>

The senate withdrew more embarrassed than ever.

The two parties were again assembled three days after. Œcolampadius was in the pulpit. "Be meek and tractable," said he; and he preached with such unction that many were ready to burst into tears.<sup>4</sup> The assembly offered up prayers, and then decreed that it would accept a new ordinance, by virtue of which, fifteen days after Pentecost, there should be a public disputation, in which no arguments should be employed but such as were drawn from the Word of God: after this a general vote should take place upon the mass, that the majority should decide the question, and that in the meanwhile the mass should be celebrated in three churches only; it being however understood, that nothing should be taught there that was in opposition to the Holy Scriptures.

The Romanist minority rejected these propositions: "Basle," said they, "is not like Berne and Zurich. Its revenues are derived in great measure from countries opposed to the Reformation!" The priests having refused to resort to the weekly conferences, they were suspended; and during a fortnight there was neither sermon nor mass at the cathedral, or in the churches of St. Ulric, St. Peter, and St. Theodore.

<sup>1</sup> Quidam e plebe clamitabat: Hoc non fiet! Zw. Epp., ii, 255.

<sup>2</sup> Nos plane ea

non feremus, aut moriemur omnes. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> At altera pars minitabat

pælia si missam rejicerent. Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ut nemo non commoveretur et profecto

fere nihi lacrymas excussisset. Ibid.

Those who remained faithful to Rome resolved upon an intrepid defence. Meltinger placed Sebastian Muller in the pulpit at St. Peter's, from which he had been interdicted, and this hot-headed priest vented such abusive sarcasms against the Reform, that several of the evangelicals, who were listening to the sermon, were insulted and nearly torn in pieces.

It was necessary to arouse Basle from this nightmare, and strike a decisive blow. "Let us remember our liberty," said the reformed citizens, "and what we owe to the glory of Christ, to public justice, and to our posterity."<sup>1</sup> They then demanded that the enemies of the Reformation, friends and relations of the priests, who were the cause of all these delays and of all these troubles, should no longer sit in the councils until peace was re-established. This was the 8th February. The council notified that they would return an answer on the morrow.

At six o'clock in the evening, twelve hundred citizens were assembled in the corn-market. They began to fear that the delay required by the senate concealed some evil design. "We must have a reply this very night," they said. The senate was convoked in great haste.

From that period affairs assumed a more threatening attitude in Basle. Strong guards were posted by the burghers in the halls of the different guilds; armed men patrolled the city, and bivouacked in the public places, to anticipate the machinations of their adversaries;<sup>2</sup> the chains were stretched across the streets; torches were lighted, and resinous trees, whose flickering light scattered the darkness, were placed at intervals through the town; six pieces of artillery were planted before the town-hall; and the gates of the city, as well as the arsenal and the ramparts, were occupied. Basle was in a state of siege.

There was no longer any hope for the Romish party. The burgomaster, Meltinger, an intrepid soldier and one of the heroes of Marignan, where he had led eight hundred men into battle, lost courage. In the darkness he gained the banks of the Rhine with his son-in-law, the councillor Egloff d'Offenburgh, embarked unnoticed in a small boat, and rapidly descended the stream amid the fogs of the night.<sup>3</sup> Other members of the council escaped in a similar manner.

This gave rise to new alarms. "Let us beware of their secret manœuvres," said the people. "Perhaps they are gone

<sup>1</sup> Cogitans quid gloriæ Christi, quid justitiæ publicæ, quidquæ posteritati suæ deberet. Ecol. Zurich MS.

<sup>2</sup> Ne quid forte ab adversariis insidiarum

strueretur. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Clam consensa navicula fuga, nescio senatu, elapsus

est. Ibid.



to fetch the Austrians, with whom they have so often threatened us!" The affrighted citizens collected arms from every quarter, and at break of day they had two thousand men on foot. The beams of the rising sun fell on this resolute but calm assembly.

It was midday. The senate had come to no decision: the impatience of the burghers could be restrained no longer. Forty men were detached to visit the posts. As this patrol was passing the cathedral, they entered it, and one of the citizens, impelled by curiosity, opened a closet with his halberd, in which some images had been hidden. One of them fell out, and was broken into a thousand pieces against the stone pavement.<sup>1</sup> The sight of these fragments powerfully moved the spectators, who began throwing down one after another all the images that were concealed in this place. None of them offered any resistance: heads, feet, and hands—all were heaped in confusion before the halberdiers. "I am much surprised," said Erasmus, "that they performed no miracle to save themselves; formerly the saints worked frequent prodiges for much smaller offences."<sup>2</sup> Some priests ran to the spot, and the patrol withdrew.

A rumour, however, having spread that a disturbance had taken place in this church, three hundred men came to the support of the forty. "Why," said they, "should we spare the idols that light up the flames of discord?" The priests in alarm had closed the gates of the sanctuary, drawn the bolts, raised barricades, and prepared everything for maintaining a siege. But the townspeople, whose patience had been exhausted by the delays of the council, dashed against one of the doors of the church; it yielded to their blows, and they rushed into the cathedral. The hour of madness had arrived. These men were no longer recognizable, as they brandished their swords, rattled their pikes, and uttered formidable cries: were they Goths, or fervent worshippers of God, animated by the zeal which in times of yore inflamed the prophets and the kings of Israel? However that may have been, these proceedings were disorderly, since public authority alone can interfere in public reforms. Images, altars, pictures—all were thrown down and destroyed. The priests who had fled into the vestry, and there concealed themselves, trembled in every limb at the terrible noise made by the fall of their holy decorations. The work of destruction was completed without one of them ventur-

<sup>1</sup> Cum halpardis quasi per ludum aperirent armarium idolorum, unumque idolum educerent. (Ecol. Zurich MS.

<sup>2</sup> Erasm. Opp., p. 291.

ing to save the objects of his worship, or to make the slightest remonstrance. The people next piled up the fragments in the squares and set fire to them; and during the chilly night the armed burghers stood round and warmed themselves at the crackling flame.<sup>1</sup>

The senate collected in amazement, and desired to interpose their authority and appease the tumult; but they might as well have striven to command the winds. The enthusiastic citizens replied to their magistrates in these haughty words: "What you have not been able to effect in three years, we will complete in one hour."<sup>2</sup>

In truth the anger of the people was no longer confined to the cathedral. They respected all kinds of private property;<sup>3</sup> but they attacked the Churches of St. Peter, St. Ulric, St. Alban, and of the Dominicans; and in all these temples the "idols" fell under the blows of these good citizens of Basle, who were inflamed by an extraordinary zeal. Already they were making preparations to cross the bridge and enter Little Basle, which was devoted to the cause of popery, when the alarmed inhabitants begged to be allowed to remove the images themselves, and with heavy hearts they hastily carried them into the upper chambers of the church, whence they hoped to be able after a time to restore them to their old position.

They did not stop at these energetic demonstrations; the most excited talked of going to the town-hall, and of constraining the senate to accede to the wishes of the people; but the good sense of the majority treated these brawlers as they deserved, and checked their guilty thoughts.

The senators now perceived the necessity of giving a legal character to this popular movement, and of thus changing a tumultuous revolution into a durable reformation.<sup>4</sup> Democracy and the Gospel were thus established simultaneously in Basle. The senate, after an hour's deliberation, granted that in future the burghers should participate in the election of the two councils; that from this day the mass and images should be abolished throughout all the canton, and that in every deliberation which concerned the glory of God or the good of the state the opinion of the guilds should be taken. The people, delighted at having obtained these conditions, which secured their politi-

<sup>1</sup> *Lignis imaginum usi sunt vigiles, pro arcendo frigore nocturno.* Zurich MS.

<sup>2</sup> *De quo vos per triennium deliberastis, nihil efficientes, nos intra horam omnem absolvemus.* (Ecol. Capitoni, Basle MS.) What you have deliberated upon for three years, doing nothing, we shall accomplish within the hour.

<sup>3</sup> *Nulli enim vel opolum abstulerunt.* (Ibid.) None carried off a single penny.

<sup>4</sup> *Cadendum*

*plebi.* Ibid.

cal and religious liberty, returned joyful to their houses. It was now the close of day.<sup>1</sup>

On the morrow, Ash-Wednesday, it was intended to distribute the ruins of the altars and other ornaments of the church among the poor, to serve them for firewood. But these unhappy creatures, in their eagerness for the fragments, having begun to dispute about them, great piles were constructed in the cathedral close and set on fire. "The idols," said some wags, "are really keeping their Ash-Wednesday to-day!" The friends of popery turned away their horror-stricken eyes from this sacrilegious sight, says Æcolampadius, and shed tears of blood. "Thus severely did they treat the idols," continues the reformer, "and the mass died of grief in consequence."<sup>2</sup> On the following Sunday hymns in German were sung at every church; and on the 18th February a general amnesty was published. Everything was changed in Basle. The last had become first, and the first last. While Æcolampadius, who a few years before had entered the city as a stranger, without resources and without power, found himself raised to the first station in the Church, Erasmus, disturbed in the quiet study whence during so long a period he had issued his absolute commands to the world of letters, saw himself compelled to descend into the arena. But this king of the schools had no desire to lay down his sceptre before the sovereign people. For a long time he used to turn aside his head when he met his friend Æcolampadius. Besides, he feared by remaining at Basle to compromise himself with his protectors. "The torrent," said he, "which was hidden underground has burst forth with violence, and committed frightful ravages."<sup>3</sup> My life is in danger: Æcolampadius possesses all the churches. People are continually bawling in my ears; I am besieged with letters, caricatures, and pamphlets. It is all over: I am resolved to leave Basle. Only shall I or shall I not depart by stealth? The one is more becoming, the other more secure."

Wishing as much as possible to make his honour and his prudence agree, Erasmus desired the boatman with whom he was to descend the Rhine to depart from an unfrequented spot. This was opposed by the senate, and the timid philosopher was compelled to enter the boat as it lay near the bridge, at that time covered with a crowd of people. He floated down the river, sadly bade adieu to the city he had so much loved,

<sup>1</sup> His conditionibus plebs læta domum rediit, sub ipsum noctis crepusculum. Ibid. Zurich MS.

<sup>2</sup> Ita sævitum est in idola, ac missa præ dolore expiravit. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Basilica torrens quidem, qui sub terra labeatur, subito erumpens, &c. Err. Epi. ad Pirkheimer, July 1539.



and retired to Friburg in Brisgau with several other learned men.

New professors were invited to fill the vacant chairs in the university, and in particular Oswald Myconius, Phrygio, Sebastian Munster, and Symon Grynæus. At the same time was published an ecclesiastical order and confession of faith, one of the most precious documents of this epoch.

Thus had a great transformation been effected without the loss of a single drop of blood. Popery had fallen in Basle in despite of the secular and spiritual power. "The wedge of the Lord," says Œcolampadius, "has split this hard knot."<sup>1</sup>

We cannot, however, help acknowledging that the Basle Reformation may afford ground for some objections. Luther had opposed himself to the power of the many. "When the people prick up their ears, do not whistle too loud. It is better to suffer at the hand of one tyrant, that is to say, of a king, than of a thousand tyrants, that is to say, of the people." On this account the German Reformer has been reproached for acknowledging no other policy than servilism.

Perhaps when the Swiss reformation is canvassed, a contrary objection will be made against it, and the Reform at Basle in particular, will be looked upon as a revolution.

The Reformation must of necessity bear the stamp of the country in which it is accomplished: it will be monarchical in Germany, republican in Switzerland. Nevertheless, in religion as in politics, there is a great difference between reformation and revolution.

In no sphere does Christianity desire either despotism, servitude, stagnation, retrogression, or death. But while looking for progress, it seeks to accomplish it by reformation and not by revolution.

Reformation works by the power of the Word, of doctrine, cultivation, and truth; while revolution, or rather revolt, operates by the power of riot, of the sword, and of the club.

Christianity proceeds by the inner man, and charters themselves, if they stand alone, cannot satisfy it. No doubt political constitutions are one of the blessings of our age; but it is not sufficient for these securities to be committed to parchment: they must be written in the heart, and guaranteed by the manners of the people.

Such were the principles of the Swiss Reformers; such were those of the Reform at Basle, and by these it is distinguished from a revolution.

<sup>1</sup> *Malo nodo saus cuneus obvenit.* Œcol. Capit.

There were, it is true, some excesses. Never perhaps has a reformation been accomplished among men without some mixture of revolution. But it was doctrines, however, that were in question at Basle: these doctrines had acted powerfully on the moral convictions and on the lives of the people; the movement had taken place within before it showed itself without. But more than this: the Reformation was not satisfied with taking away; it gave more than it took; and, far from confining itself to the work of destruction, it scattered rich blessings over all the people.<sup>1</sup>

## CHAPTER VI.

Farel's Commission—Farel at Lausanne and Morat—Neufchatel—Farel preaches at Serrière—Enters Neufchatel—Sermon—The Monks—Farel's Preaching—Popery in Neufchatel—Canons and Monks unite—Farel at Morat and in the Vully—Reformation of the Bishopric of Basle—Farel again in Neufchatel—Placards—The Hospital Chapel—Civil Power invoked by the Romanists.

THE recoil of the discussion at Berne had overthrown Popery in a considerable part of German Switzerland. It was also felt in many of the churches of French Switzerland, lying at the foot of the Jura, or scattered amid the pine-forests of its elevated valleys, and which up to this time had shown the most absolute devotion to the Roman pontiff.

Farel, seeing the Gospel established in the places where the Rhone mingles its sandy waters with the crystal Leman, turned his eyes to another quarter. He was supported by Berne. This state, which possessed jointly with Friburg the bailiwicks of Morat, Orbe, and Granson, and which had alliances with Lausanne, Avenches, Payerne, Neufchatel, and Geneva, saw that both its interest and its duty alike called it to have the Gospel preached to its allies and subjects. Farel was empowered to carry it among them, provided he obtained the consent of the respective governments.

One day, therefore, journeying towards Morat, Farel arrived and preached the Gospel at the foot of those towers and battlements that had been attacked at three different periods by the armies of Conrad the Salic, Rodolph of Hapsburg, and Charles the Bold. Ere long the friends of the Reform amounted to a great number. A general vote, having nevertheless declared in favour of the Pope, Farel proceeded to Lausanne.

He was at first driven away by the bishop and the clergy.

but soon reappeared provided with a letter from the lords of Berne. "We send him to you," said their excellencies to the authorities of the city, "to defend his own cause and ours. Allow him to preach the Word of God, and beware that you touch not a hair of his head."

There was great confusion in the councils. Placed between Berne and the bishop, what could they do? The Council of Twenty-four, finding the matter very serious, convoked the Council of Sixty; and this body excusing itself, they convoked the Council of Two Hundred, on the 14th November, 1529. But these in their turn referred the business to the Smaller Council. No one would have anything to do with it. The inhabitants of Lausanne, it is true, complained loudly of the holy members of their chapters, whose lives (they said) were one long train of excesses; but when their eyes turned on the austere countenance of Reform, they were still more terrified. Besides, how deprive Lausanne of her bishop, her court, and her dignitaries? What! no more pilgrims in the churches,—no more suitors in the ecclesiastical courts,—no more purchasers in the markets, or boon companions in the taverns!—The widowed and desolate Lausanne would no longer behold the noisy throng of people, that were at once her wealth and her glory!—Better far a disorder that enriches, than a reform that impoverishes! Farel was compelled to depart a second time.

He returned to Morat, and soon the Word gained over the hearts of the people. On feast-days, the roads from Payerne and Avenches were covered with merry bands, who laughingly said to one another, "Let us go to Morat and hear the preachers!" and exhorted each other slyly as they went along the road, "not to fall into the nets of the heretics." But at night all was changed. Grasped by the strong hand of truth, these very people returned,—some in deep thought, others discussing with animation the doctrines they had heard. The fire was sparkling throughout all this district, and spreading in every direction its long rays of light. This was enough for Farel; he required new conquests.

At a short distance from Morat lay one of the strongholds of Popery—the earldom of Neufchatel. Joan of Hochberg, who had inherited this principality from her ancestors, had married, in 1504, Louis of Orleans, duke of Longueville. This French nobleman having supported the King of France in 1512, in a war against the Swiss, the cantons had taken possession of Neufchatel, but had restored it to his widow in 1529.

Few countries could have presented greater difficulties to



the daring reformer. The Princess of Longueville, residing in France in the suite of Francis I., a woman of courtly habits, vain, extravagant, always in debt, and thinking of Neufchatel only as a farm that should bring her in a large revenue, was devoted to the Pope and Popery. Twelve canons with several priests and chaplains formed a powerful clergy, at whose head was the provost Oliver of Hochberg, natural brother to the princess. Auxiliaries full of zeal flanked this main army. On the one side there was the abbey of the Premonstrantes of Fontaine-André, three quarters of a league beyond the town, the monks of which, after having in the twelfth century cleared the grounds with their own hands,<sup>1</sup> had gradually become powerful lords, and, on the other side, the Benedictines of the Island of St. John, whose abbot, having been deposed by the Bernese, had taken refuge, burning with hatred and vengeance, in his priory at Corcelles.

The people of Neufchatel had a great respect for ancient rights, and it was easy to take advantage of this state of feeling, considering the general ignorance, to maintain the innovations of Popery. The canons improved the opportunity. For the instructions of the Gospel they substituted pomps and shows. The church, situated on a steep rock, was filled with altars, chapels, and images of saints: and religion, descending from this sanctuary, ran up and down the streets, and was travestied in dramas and mysteries, mingled with indulgences, miracles, and debauchery.<sup>2</sup>

The soldiers of Neufchatel, however, who had made the campaign of 1529 with the Bernese army, brought back to their homes the liveliest enthusiasm for the evangelical cause. It was at this period that a frail boat, quitting the southern bank of the lake, on the side opposite Morat, and carrying a Frenchman of mean appearance, steered towards the Neufchatel shore. Farel, for it was he, had learnt that the village of Serrière, situated at the gates of Neufchatel, depended as to spiritualities on the evangelical city of Bienne, and that Emer Beynon, the priest of the place, "had some liking for the Gospel." The plan of his campaign was immediately drawn up. He appeared before parson Emer, who received him with joy; but what could be done? for Farel had been interdicted from preaching in any church whatever in the earldom. The poor priest thought to reconcile everything by permitting Farel to mount

<sup>1</sup> *Propriis manibus.* Hist. of Neufchatel, by F. de Chambrier, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoires sur l'Eglise collégiale de Neufchatel*, p. 240.

on a stone in the cemetery, and thus preach to the people, turning his back upon the church.<sup>1</sup>

A great disturbance arose in Neufchatel. On one side the government, the canons, and the priests, cried, "Heresy!" but on the other, "some inhabitants of Neufchatel, to whom God had given a knowledge of the truth,"<sup>2</sup> flocked to Serrière. In a short time these last could not contain themselves: "Come," said they to Farel, "and preach to us in the town."

This was at the beginning of December. They entered by the gate of the castle, and leaving the church on the hill to the left, they passed in front of the canons' houses, and descended to the narrow streets inhabited by the citizens. On reaching the market-cross, Farel ascended a platform and addressed the crowd, which gathered together from all the neighbourhood,—weavers, vine-dressers, husbandmen, a worthy race, possessing more feeling than imagination. The preacher's exterior was grave, his discourse energetic, his voice like thunder: his eyes, his features, his gestures, all showed him a man of intrepidity. The citizens accustomed to run about the streets after the mountebanks, were touched by his powerful language. "Farel preached a sermon of such great efficacy," says a manuscript, "that he gained over much people."

Some monks, however, with shaven crowns<sup>4</sup> glided among his hearers, seeking to excite them against the heretical minister. "Let us beat out his brains," said some. "Duck him, duck him!" cried others, advancing to throw Farel into a fountain, which may still be seen near the spot where he preached. But the reformer stood firm.

This first preaching was succeeded by others. To this Gospel missionary every place was a church; every stone, every bench, every platform was a pulpit. Already the cutting winds and the snows of December should have kept the Neufchatelans around their firesides; "the canons made a vigorous defence;"<sup>5</sup> and in every quarter "the shorn crowns" were in agitation, supplicating, menacing, shouting, and threatening,—but all was useless. No sooner did this man of small stature rise up in any place, with his pale yet sunburnt complexion, with red and uncombed beard, with sparkling eye and expressive mouth, than the monks' labour was lost: the people

<sup>1</sup> M. de Perrot, ex-pastor of Serrière, and author of a work entitled "L'Eglise et la Réformation," has shown me the stone on which Farel stood.

<sup>2</sup> "Aucuns de Neufchatel, auxquels Dieu avaiient donné connoissance de la vérité," &c. Choupard MS.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in the Choupard MS.

<sup>4</sup> Rasorum

remoramenta. Farellus Molano, Neufchatel MS.

<sup>5</sup> Contra tyrannica præ-

cepta. Ibid.

collected around him, for it was the Word of God that fell from his lips.<sup>1</sup> All eyes were fixed on him: with open mouth and attentive ears they hung upon his words.<sup>2</sup> And scarcely did he begin to speak, when—Oh! wonderful work of God! he himself exclaims—this multitude believed as if it had but one soul.

The Word of God carried the town, as it were, at the first assault; and throwing down the devices Rome had taken ages to compose, established itself in triumph on the ruins of human traditions. Farel saw in imagination Jesus Christ himself walking in spirit through the midst of this crowd, opening the eyes of the blind, softening the hard heart, and working miracles<sup>3</sup> . . . so that scarcely had he returned to his humble residence before he wrote to his friends with a heart full of emotion: "Render thanks with me to the Father of mercies, in that he has shown his favour to those bowed down by a weighty tyranny;" and falling on his knees, he worshipped God.<sup>4</sup>

But during this time what were the adherents of the pope doing in Neufchatel?

The canons, members of the General Audiences, of which they formed the first estate, treated both priests and laymen with intolerable haughtiness. Laying the burden of their offices on poor curates, they publicly kept dissolute women, clothed them sumptuously, endowed their children by public acts, fought in the church, haunted the streets by night, or went into a foreign country to enjoy in secret the produce of their avarice and of their intrigues. Some poor lepers placed in a house near the city were maintained by the produce of certain offerings. The rich canons, in the midst of their banquets, dared take away the bread of charity from these unhappy wretches.

The Abbey of Fontaine-André was at a little distance from the town. Now the canons of Neufchatel and the monks of Fontaine were at open war. These hostile powers, encamped on their two hills, disputed each other's property, wrested away each other's privileges, launched at one another the coarsest insults, and even came to blows. "Debaucher of women!" said the canons to the Abbot of Fontaine-André, who returned the compliment in the same coin. It is the Reformation which, through faith, has re-established the moral

<sup>1</sup> Ad verbum festinarent. Farellus Moiano, Neufchatel MS.

dientes. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Quid Christus in suis egerit. Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Gratias ergo, Fratres, mecum agite Patri misericordiarum, quod sit propitius gravi pressis tyrannide. Ibid.



law in Christendom,—a law that Popery had trodden under foot.

For a long time these conventual wars had disturbed the country. On a sudden they ceased. A strange event was passing in Neufchatel,—the Word of God was preached there. The canons, seized with affright in the midst of their disorders, looked down from their lofty dwellings on this new movement. The report reached Fontaine-André. The monks and priests suspended their orgies and their quarrels. The heathen sensualism that had invaded the Church was put to the rout; Christian spiritualism had re-appeared.

Immediately the monks and canons, so long at war, embrace and unite against the reformer. "We must save religion," said they, meaning their tithes, banquets, scandals, and privileges. Not one of them could oppose a doctrine to the doctrine preached by Farel: to insult him was their sole weapon. At Corcelles, however, they went farther. As the minister was proclaiming the Gospel near the priory, the monks fell upon him: in the midst of them was the prior Rodolph de Benoit, storming, exciting, and striving to augment the tempest. He even had a dagger in his hand, according to one writer.<sup>1</sup> Farel escaped with difficulty.

This was not enough. Popery, as it has always done, had recourse to the civil power. The canons, the abbot, and the prior, solicited the governor George de Rive at the same time. Farel stood firm. "The glory of Jesus Christ," said he, "and the lively affection his sheep bear to his Word, constrain me to endure sufferings greater than tongue can describe."<sup>2</sup> Erelong, however, he was compelled to yield. Farel again crossed the lake; but this passage was very different from the former. The fire was kindled!—On the 22d December he was at Morat; and shortly after at Aigle.

He was recalled thence. On the 7th January, religion was put to the vote at Morat, and the majority was in favour of the Gospel. But the Romish minority, supported by Friburg, immediately undertook to recover its ancient position by insults and bad treatment. "Farel! Farel!" cried the reformed party.<sup>3</sup>

A few days after this, Farel, accompanied by a Bernese messenger, scaled that magnificent amphitheatre of mountains above Vevey, whence the eye plunges into the waters of the

<sup>1</sup> Rosselet in Annotat. Farel Leben von Kirchhofer. <sup>2</sup> At *levia facit omnia* Christus, added he. (Farel to Dumoulin, 15th December. Neufchâtel MS.). But Christ makes all things light. <sup>3</sup> Choupart MS. Chambrier, Hist. de Neufchâtel, p. 293.

Leman; and soon he crossed the estates of Count John of Gruyère, who was in the habit of saying, "We must burn this French Luther!"<sup>1</sup> Scarcely had Farel reached the heights of Saint Martin de Vaud,<sup>2</sup> when he saw the vicar of the place with two priests running to meet him. "Heretic! devil!" cried they. But the knight, through fear of Berne, remained behind his walls, and Farel passed on.

The reformer, not allowing himself to be stopped by the necessity of defending himself in Morat, or by the inclemency of the season, immediately carried the Gospel to those beautiful hills that soar between the smiling waters of lakes Morat and Neufchatel into the villages of the Vully. This manœuvre was crowned with the most complete success. On the 15th February four deputies from the Vully came to Morat to demand permission to embrace the Reform, which was immediately granted them. "Let our ministers preach the Gospel," said their excellencies of Berne to the Friburgers, "and we will let your priests play their monkey tricks. We desire to force no man."<sup>3</sup> The Reform restored freedom of will to the christian people. It was about this time that Farel wrote his beautiful letter "To all lords, people, and pastors," which we have so often quoted.<sup>4</sup>

The indefatigable reformer now went forward to new conquests. A chain of rocks separates the Juran valley of Erguel, already evangelized by Farel, from the country of the ancient Rauraci, and a passage cut through the rock serves as a communication between the two districts. It was the end of April when Farel, passing through the *Pierre-Pertuis*,<sup>5</sup> descended to the village of Tavannes, and entered the church just as the priest was saying mass. Farel went into the pulpit: the astonished priest stopped,—the minister filled his hearers with emotion, and seemed to them an angel come down from heaven. Immediately the images and the altars fell, and "the poor priest who was chanting the mass could not finish it."<sup>6</sup> To put down Popery had required much less time than the priest had spent at the altar.

A great part of the bishopric of Basle was, in a few weeks gained over to the Reformation.

During this time the Gospel was fermenting in Neufchatel. The young men who had marched with Berne to deliver Geneva

<sup>1</sup> Missive of Berne to the Count of Gruyère, 5th and 16th January 1530.

<sup>2</sup> To the left of the modern road from Vevay to Friburg.

<sup>3</sup> Missive of Berne, Choupard MS.

<sup>4</sup> A tous seigneurs, peuples, et pasteurs. See above, Vol. III,

book xii.

<sup>5</sup> Petra Pertusa.

<sup>6</sup> Donc le pauvre prêtre qui chantoit sa messe ne la peut pas achever. Old MS. quoted in the Choupard MS.

from the attacks of Savoy, recounted in their jovial meetings the exploits of the campaign, and related how the soldiers of Berne, feeling cold, had taken the images from the Dominican church at Geneva, saying, "Idols of wood are of no use but to make a fire with in winter."

Farel re-appeared in Neufchatel.<sup>1</sup> Being master of the lower part of the town, he raised his eyes to the lofty rocks on which soared the cathedral and the castle. The best plan, thought he, is to bring these proud priests down to us. One morning his young friends spread themselves in the streets, and posted up large placards bearing these words: "*All those who say mass are robbers, murderers, and seducers of the people.*"<sup>2</sup> Great was the uproar in Neufchatel. The canons summoned their people, called together the clerks, and marching at the head of a large troop, armed with swords and clubs, descended into the town, tore down the sacrilegious placards, and cited Farel before the tribunal as a slanderer, demanding ten thousand crowns damages.

The two parties appeared in court, and this was all that Farel desired. "I confess the fact," said he, "but I am justified in what I have done. Where are there to be found more horrible murderers than these seducers who sell paradise, and thus nullify the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ? I will prove my assertion by the Gospel." And he prepared to open it, when the canons, flushed with anger, cried out: "The common law of Neufchatel, and not the Gospel, is in question here! Where are the witnesses?" But Farel, constantly reverting to that fearful assertion, proved by the Word of God that the canons were really guilty of murder and robbery. To plead such a cause was to ruin Popery. The court of Neufchatel, that had never heard a similar case, resolved according to ancient custom to lay it before the council of Besançon,<sup>3</sup> which not daring to pronounce the first estate of the General Audiences guilty of murder and robbery, referred the matter to the emperor and to a general council. Bad causes gain nothing by making a disturbance.

At every step they wished to drive him back, Farel made one in advance. The streets and the houses were still his temple. One day when the people of Neufchatel were around him, "Why," cried they, "should not the Word of God be proclaimed in a church?" They then hurried Farel along with them, opened the doors of the Hospital Chapel, set the minister

<sup>1</sup> Farelus suo more magna fortitudine jam-jam agit. (Megander to Zwingli, 6th Aug. 1530.) Farel, as usual, behaves with great fortitude.  
Hist. de Neufchatel, i, 293.

<sup>2</sup> De Chambrier,

<sup>3</sup> Prendre les entrailles.



in the pulpit, and a numerous crowd stood silent before him. "In like manner as Jesus Christ, appearing in a state of poverty and humility, was born in a stable at Bethlehem," said the reformer; "so this hospital, this abode of the sick and of the poor, is to-day become his birthplace in the town of Neufchatel." Then feeling ill at ease in the presence of the painted and carved figures that decorated the chapel, he laid his hands on these objects of idolatry, removed them, and broke them in pieces.<sup>1</sup>

Popery, which anger had blinded, now took a step that it undoubtedly had a right to take, but which destroyed it: it had recourse to the secular arm, and the governor sent a deputation to the Bernese council, praying the removal of Farel and his companions.

But almost at the same time deputies from the townspeople arrived at Berne. "Did not these hands bear arms at Interlaken and at Bremgarten to support your Reformation," said they, "and will you abandon us in ours?"

Berne hesitated. A public calamity was at that time filling the whole city with mourning. One of the most illustrious citizens of the republic, the Banneret of Weingarten, attacked by the plague, was expiring amid the tears of his sons and of his fellow-citizens. Being informed of the arrival of the Neufchatelans, he rallied his waning strength: "Go," said he, and beg the senate in my name to ask for a general assembly of the people of Neufchatel for Sunday next.<sup>2</sup> This message of the dying banneret decided the council.

The deputies from Berne arrived in Neufchatel on the 7th August. Farel thought that during the debates he had time to make a new conquest, and quitted the city. His zeal can be compared only to St. Paul's. His body was small and feeble, but his activity was wholly apostolic: danger and bad treatment wasted him every day, but he had within him a divine power that rendered him victorious.

<sup>1</sup> Choupard MS.

<sup>2</sup> Wingarterus iste infectus peste apud senatum nostrum, pia legatione. Megander to Zwingle.

## CHAPTER VII.

Valangin—Guillemette de Vergy—Farel goes to the Val de Ruz—The Mass interrupted—Farel dragged to the River—Farel in Prison—Apostles and Reformers compared—Farel preaching at Neufchatel—Installed in the Cathedral—A Whirlwind sweeps over the People—The Idols destroyed—Interposition of the Governor—Triumph of the Reformed.

AT the distance of a league from Neufchatel, beyond the mountain, extends the Val de Ruz, and near its entrance, in a precipitous situation, where roars an impetuous torrent, surrounded by steep crags, stands the town of Valangin. An old castle built on a rock, raises its vast walls into the air, overlooking the humble dwellings of the townspeople, and extending its jurisdiction over five valleys of these lofty and severe mountains, at that time covered with forests of pine, but now peopled by the most active industry.<sup>1</sup>

In this castle dwelt Guillemette de Vergy, dowager-countess of Valangin, strongly attached to the Romish religion and full of respect for the memory of her husband. A hundred priests had chanted high mass at the count's burial: when many penitent young women had been married, and large alms distributed; the curate of Locle had been sent to Jerusalem, and Guillemette herself had made a pilgrimage for the repose of the soul of her departed lord.

Sometimes, however, the Countess of Gruyère and other ladies would come and visit the widow of Vergy, who assembled in the castle a number of young lords. The fife and tambourine re-echoed under its vaulted roofs, chattering groups collected in the immense embrasures of its Gothic windows, and merry dances followed hard upon a long silence and gloomy devotion.<sup>2</sup> There was but one sentiment that never left Guillemette—this was her hatred against the Reformation, in which she was warmly seconded by her intendant, the Sieur of Bellegarde.

Guillemette and the priests had in fact reason to tremble. The 15th August was a great Romish festival—Our Lady of August, or the Assumption, which all the faithful of the Val de Ruz were preparing to keep. This was the very day Farel selected. Animated by the fire and courage of Elijah, he set out for Valangin, and a young man, his fellow-countryman,

<sup>1</sup> Here are situated Chaux de Fonds, Locle, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Chambrier, Hist de

Neufchatel, p. 276.

and, as it would appear, a distant relation, Anthony Boyve, an ardent Christian and a man of decided character, accompanied him.<sup>1</sup> The two missionaries climbed the mountain, plunged into the pine forest, and then descending again into the valley, traversed Valangin, where the vicinity of the castle did not give them much encouragement to pause, and arrived at a village, probably Boudevilliers, proposing to preach the Gospel there.<sup>2</sup>

Already on all sides the people were thronging to the church; Farel and his companion entered also with a small number of the inhabitants who had heard him at Neufchatel. The reformer immediately ascended the pulpit, and the priest prepared to celebrate mass. The combat began. While Farel was preaching Jesus Christ and his promises, the priest and the choir were chanting the missal. The solemn moment approached: the ineffable transubstantiation was about to take place: the priest pronounced the sacred words over the elements. At this instant the people hesitate no longer; ancient habits, an irresistible influence, draw them towards the altar; the preacher is deserted; the kneeling crowd has recovered its old worship; Rome is triumphant. . . . Suddenly a young man springs from the throng,—traverses the choir,—rushes to the altar,—snatches the host from the hands of the priest, and cries, as he turns towards the people: "This is not the God whom you should worship. He is above,—in heaven,—in the majesty of the Father, and not, as you believe, in the hands of a priest."<sup>3</sup> This man was Anthony Boyve.

Such a daring act at first produced the desired effect. The mass was interrupted, the chanting ceased, and the crowd, as if struck by a supernatural intervention, remained silent and motionless. Farel, who was still in the pulpit, immediately took advantage of this calm, and proclaimed that Christ "whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things."<sup>4</sup> Upon this the priests and choristers with their adherents rushed to the towers, ran up into the belfry, and sounded the tocsin.

These means succeeded: a crowd was collected, and if Farel had not retired, his death and Boyve's would have been inevitable. "But God," says the chronicle, "delivered them."

<sup>1</sup> Annals of Boyve and a family MS.—This family has since given several pastors to the Church of Neufchatel.

<sup>2</sup> There are two original manuscripts (both quoted in the Choupard MS.) which give an account of this transaction. One says that Farel preached at Valangin, the other indicates a village near Valangin. Ruchat has adopted the former version; I think the latter preferable. The second MS. appears to me older and more correct than the first.

<sup>3</sup> Choupard MS.

<sup>4</sup> Acts, ii, 21.



They crossed the interval that separates Boudevilliers from Valangin, and drew near the steep gorges of the torrent of the Seyon. But how traverse that town, which the tocsin had already alarmed?

Leaving Chaumont and its dark forests to the left, these two heralds of the Gospel took a narrow path that wound beneath the castle: they were stealing cautiously along, when suddenly a shower of stones assailed them, and at the same time a score of individuals,—priests, men, and women,—armed with clubs, fell furiously upon them. “The priests had not the gout either in their feet or arms,” says a chronicler; “the ministers were so beaten that they nearly lost their lives.”<sup>1</sup>

Madame de Vergy, who descended to the terrace, far from moderating the anger of the priests, cried out, “Drown them—drown them! throw them into the Seyon—these Lutheran dogs, who have despised the host!”<sup>2</sup> In fact, the priests were beginning to drag the two heretics towards the bridge. Never was Farel nearer death.

On a sudden, from behind the last rock that hides Valangin in the direction of the mountain, there appeared “certain good persons of the Val de Ruz, coming from Neufchatel”<sup>3</sup> and descending into the valley. “What are you doing?” asked they of the priests, with the intention no doubt of saving Farel; “put them rather in a place of safety, that they may answer for their proceedings? Would you deprive yourselves of the only means in your power of discovering those infected by the poison of heresy?”

The priests left off at these words, and conducted the prisoners to the castle. As they were passing before a little chapel, which contained an image of the virgin, “Kneel down,” said they to Farel and Boyve, showing them the statue; “prostrate yourselves before Our Lady!” Farel began to admonish them: “Worship one God alone in spirit and in truth,” said he to them, “and not dumb images without life or power.” But they, continues the chronicle, “greatly vexed at his words and his firmness, inflicted on him so many blows that he was covered with blood, which even spirted on the walls of the chapel. For a long time after the traces of it might still be seen.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Les prêtres n'avoient pas la goutte aux pieds et aux bras, et ils les battirent tellement que peu s'en fallut qu'ils ne perdissent la vie. Choupard MS.

<sup>2</sup> A l'eau! à l'eau! jettez les dans le Seyon ces chiens de Luthériens qui ont méprisé le bon Dieu! Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Choupard MS. Mais eux, rudement fâchés de ses propos et constance, lui donnèrent tant de coups, qu'ils le mirent tout en sang, jusques là que son sang jaillissoit sur les murailles de la chapelle. On en voyoit long temps après encore les marques.

They resumed their march—they entered the town—they climbed the steep road that led to the esplanade where Guillemette de Vergy and her attendants waited for the “Lutheraus;” so that, continues the chronicle, “from beating them thus continually, they were conducted all covered with filth and blood to the prisons, and let down almost lifeless into the dungeon (*croton*) of the castle of Valangin.” Thus had Paul at Lystra been stoned by the Jews, drawn out of the city, and left for dead.<sup>1</sup> The apostles and the reformers preached the same doctrine and suffered the same treatment.

It may perhaps be said, that Farel and Boyve were too violent in their attack; but the Church of the Middle Ages, which had fallen back into the legal spirit of Judaism, and into all the corruptions that flow from it, needed an energetic opposition to lead it again to the principle of grace. Augustine and St. Paul reappeared in the Church of the sixteenth century; and when we read of Boyve rushing in great emotion on those who were about to worship the bread of the mass, may we not recall to mind the action of St. Paul, rending his clothes, and running in among the people, who were desirous of worshipping “men of like passions with themselves”?<sup>2</sup>

Farel and Boyve, thrust into the dungeons of the castle, could, like Paul and Silas in the prison at Philippi, “sing praises unto God.” Messire de Bellegarde, ever ready to persecute the Gospel, was preparing for them a cruel end, when some townsmen of Neufchatel arrived to claim them. Madame de Valangin dared not refuse, and at the demand of the Bernese even instituted an inquiry, “to put a good face on the matter,” says a manuscript. “Nevertheless the priest who had beaten Farel most, never after failed to eat daily at the lady’s table, by way of recompense.”<sup>3</sup> But this was of little consequence: the seed of truth had been sown in the Val de Ruz.

At Neufchatel the Bernese supported the evangelical citizens. The governor, whose resources were exhausted, sent deputies to the princess, “begging her to cross the mountains, to appease her people, who were in terrible trouble in consequence of this Lutheran religion.”<sup>4</sup>

Meantime the ferment increased. The townspeople prayed the canons to give up the mass: they refused; whereupon the citizens presented them their reasons in writing, and begged them to discuss the question with Farel. Still the same re-

<sup>1</sup> Acts, xiv, 19.<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 14.<sup>3</sup> Choupard MS.<sup>4</sup> Letter from the Governor to the Princess.

fatal!—"But, for goodness' sake, speak either for or against!" It was all of no use!

On Sunday, the 23d of October, Farel, who had returned to Neufchâtel, was preaching at the hospital. He knew that the magistrates of the city had deliberated on the expediency of consecrating the cathedral itself to the evangelical worship. "What then," said he, "will you not pay as much honour to the Gospel as the other party does to the mass? . . . And if this superstitious act is celebrated in the high church, shall not the Gospel be proclaimed there also?" At these words all his hearers arose. "To the church!" cried they; "to the church!" Impetuous men are desirous of putting their hands to the work, to accomplish what the prudence of the burgesses had proposed.<sup>1</sup> They leave the hospital, and take Farel with them. They climb the steep street of the castle: in vain would the canons and their frightened followers stop the crowd: they force a passage. Convinced that they are advancing for God's glory, nothing can check them. Insults and shouts assail them from every side, but in the name of the truth they are defending, they proceed: they open the gates of the Church of our Lady; they enter, and here a fresh struggle begins. The canons and their friends assembled around the pulpit endeavour to stop Farel; but all is useless. They have not to deal with a band of rioters. God has pronounced in his Word, and the magistrates themselves have passed a definitive resolution. The townspeople advance, therefore, against the sacerdotal coterie; they form a close battalion, in the centre of which they place the reformer. They succeed in making their way through the opposing crowd, and at last place the minister in the pulpit without any harm befalling him.<sup>2</sup> Immediately all is calm within the church and without; even the adversaries are silent, and Farel delivers "one of the most effective sermons he had hitherto preached." Their eyes are opened; their emotion increases; their hearts are melted; the most obstinate appear converted; and from every part of the old church these cries resound: "We will follow the evangelical religion, both we and our children, and in it will we live and die."<sup>3</sup>

Suddenly a whirlwind, as it were, sweeps over this multi-

<sup>1</sup> This is the conclusion I draw from various papers, and in particular from the report of the meeting held at Neufchâtel by the Bernese deputies, in which the heads of the burgesses declare, that it appeared to them a very good matter to take down the altars, &c. Hitherto only one phasis of this action has been seen,—the popular movement; and the other, namely, the legal resolution of the magistrates of the city, appears to have been overlooked.

<sup>2</sup> Choupard MS.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.



tude, and stirs it up like a vast sea. Farel's hearers desire to imitate the pious King Josiah.<sup>1</sup> "If we take away these idols from before our eyes, will it not be aiding us," said they, "in taking them from our own hearts? Once these idols broken, how many souls among our fellow-citizens, now disturbed and hesitating, will be decided by this striking manifestation of the truth! We must save them as it were by fire."<sup>2</sup>

This latter motive decided them, and then began a scene that filled the Romanists with horror, and which must, according to them, bring down the terrible judgment of God on the city.

The very spot where this took place would seem to add to its solemnity. To the north, the castle-walls rise above the pointed crags of the gloomy but picturesque valley of the Seyon, and the mountain in front of the castle presents to the observer's eye little more than bare rocks, vines, and black firs. But to the south, beneath the terrace on which this tumultuous scene was passing, lay the wide and tranquil waters of the lake, with its fertile and picturesque shores; and in the distance the continuous summits of the higher Alps, with their dazzling snows, their immense glaciers, and gigantic peaks, stretch far away before the enraptured eye.

On this platform the people of Neufchatel were in commotion, paying little attention to these noble scenes of nature. The governor, whose castle adjoined the church, was compelled to remain an idle spectator of the excesses that he could not prevent; he was content to leave us a description of them. "These daring fellows," says he, "seize mattocks, hatchets, and hammers, and thus march against the images of the saints." They advance—they strike the statues and the altars—they dash them to pieces. The figures carved in the fourteenth century by the "imagers" of Count Louis are not spared; and scarcely do the statues of the counts themselves, which were mistaken for idols, escape destruction. The townspeople collect all these fragments of an idolatrous worship; they carry them out of the church, and throw them from the top of the rock. The paintings meet with no better treatment. "It is the devil," thought they with the early Christians, "who taught the world this art of statues, images, and all sorts of likenesses."<sup>3</sup> They tear out the eyes in the pic-

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron., xxiv, 7. <sup>2</sup> Choupard MS. <sup>3</sup> Diabolum seculo intulisse artifices statuarum et imaginum et omnis generis simulacrorum. Tertullian, de idolatria, cap. 3.

tures of the saints, and cut off their noses. The crucifix itself is thrown down, for this wooden figure usurps the homage that Jesus Christ claims in the heart. One image, the most venerated of all, still remains: it is our Lady of Mercy, which Mary of Savoy had presented to the collegiate church; but Our Lady herself is not spared. A hand more daring than the rest strikes it, as in the fourth century the colossal statue of Serapis was struck.<sup>1</sup> "They have even bored out the eyes of Our Lady of Mercy, which the departed lady your mother had caused to be made," wrote the governor to the Duchess of Longueville.

The reformed went still further: they seized the patens in which lay the *corpus Domini*; and flung them from the top of the rock into the torrent; after which, being desirous of showing that the consecrated wafers are mere bread, and not God himself, they distributed them one to another and ate them. . . . At this sight the canons and chaplains could no longer remain quiet. A cry of horror was heard; they ran up with their adherents, and opposed force to force. At length began the struggle that had been so much dreaded.

The provost Oliver of Hochberg, the canons Simon of Neufchatel and Pontus of Soleilant, all three members of the privy council, had repaired hastily to the castle, as well as the other councillors of the princess. Until this moment they had remained silent spectators of the scene; but when they saw the two parties coming to blows, they ordered all "the supporters of the evangelical doctrine" to appear before the governor. This was like trying to chain the winds. Besides, why should the reformers stop? They were not acting without legitimate authority.<sup>2</sup> "Tell the governor," replied the townspeople haughtily, "that in the concerns of God and of our souls he has no command over us."<sup>3</sup>

George de Rive then discovered that his authority failed against a power superior to his own. He must yield, and save at least some remnants. He hastened therefore to remove the images that still remained, and to shut them up in secret chambers. The citizens of Neufchatel allowed him to execute this measure. "Save your gods," thought they, "preserve them under strong bars, lest perchance a robber should deprive you of the objects of your adoration!"<sup>4</sup> By degrees the

<sup>1</sup> Socrates, v. 16.

<sup>2</sup> 'Par les quatre du dit Neufchatel,' by the Four (the municipal authorities) of the said Neufchatel, remarks the priest Besancenet. See also the *recess* of the council held at Neufchatel by MM. of Berne, 4th November, 1530.

<sup>3</sup> The Governor's letter to the Princess.

<sup>4</sup> Cur vos sub validissimis clavibus, ingentibusque sub claustris conservatis, ne forte fur aliquis irrepit? (Ar-

tumult died away, the popular torrent returned within its channel, and a short time after, in commemoration of this great day, these words were inscribed on a pillar of the church:—

L'AN 1530, LE 23 OCTOBRE, FUT OTEE ET ABATTUE L'IDOLATRIE  
DE CEANT PAR LES BOURGEOIS.<sup>1</sup>

An immense revolution had been effected. Doubtless it would have been better if the images had been taken away and the Gospel substituted in their place with calmness, as at Zurich; but we must take into consideration the difficulties that so profound and contested a change brings with it, and make allowance for the inexperience and excesses inseparable from a first explosion. He who should see in this revolution its excesses only, would betray a singularly narrow mind. It is the Gospel that triumphed on the esplanade of the castle. It was no longer a few pictures or legends that were to speak to the imagination of the Neufchatelans: the revelation of Christ and of the apostles, as it had been preserved in the Holy Scriptures, was restored to them. In place of the mysteries, symbols, and miracles of Popery, the Reformation brought them sublime tenets, powerful doctrines, holy and eternal truths. Instead of a mass, void of God, and filled with human puerilities, it restored to them the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ, his invisible yet real and mighty presence, his promises giving peace to the soul, and his Spirit, which changes the heart, and is a sure pledge of a glorious resurrection. All is gain in such an exchange.

## CHAPTER VIII.

The Romanists demand a Ballot—The Bernese in favour of the Reform—Both parties come to the Poll—The Prudhommes of Neufchatel—Proposed Delay—The Romanists grasp the Sword—The Voting—Majority for Reform—Protestantism perpetual—The image of Saint John—A Miracle—Retreat of the Canons—Popery and the Gospel.

THE governor and his trusty friends had not, however, lost all hope. "It is only a minority," said they at the castle, "which has taken part in the destruction of the images; the

nobis contra gentes, vi, 257.) Why do you keep them under very strong keys and huge doors? lest, perchance, some thief should creep in.

<sup>1</sup> On the 23d of October 1530, idolatry was overthrown and removed from this church by the citizens.



majority of the nation still obeys the ancient doctrine." M. de Rive had yet to learn that if, in a popular movement, the minority only appears, it is in some cases because the majority, being of the same mind with it, prefers leaving the action to others. However that may be, the governor, thinking himself upon sure ground, resolved to put the preservation of the mass to the vote. If the majority were doubtful, the combined influence of the government and clergy would make it incline to the side of Rome. The friends of the Reformation perceiving this trick, and feeling the necessity of securing the integrity of the votes, demanded the presence of Bernese commissioners. This was at first refused. But Neufchatel, divided into two hostile parties, might at any time see her streets run blood: De Rive therefore called Berne to his aid.

Anthony Noll and Sulpice Archer, both members of the council, with Jacques Tribolet, bailiff of the Isle of St. John, all three devoted to the Reform, made their entry into Neufchatel on the 4th November,—an eventful day for the principality, and one which would decide its reformation. The deputies proceeded to the castle, where they spoke with great haughtiness.<sup>1</sup> "Their excellencies of Berne," said they to the governor, "are much astonished that you should oppose the true and pure Word of God. Desist immediately, or else your state and lordship may suffer for it."<sup>2</sup>

George de Rive was amazed; he had thought to summon helpers, and he had found masters. He made, however, an attempt to escape from the strait in which he was caught. The Roman-catholic cantons of Lucerne, Friburg, and Soleure, were also allies of the state. The governor insinuated to the Bernese deputies that he might well claim their intervention. At these words the deputies indignantly arose, and declared to M. de Rive, that if he did so, he might be the cause of his sovereign's losing Neufchatel. The governor saw the impossibility of escaping from the net into which he had fallen. There remained no alternative but submission, and to watch the current of events which it was impossible for him to direct.

It was not thus with the canons and the nobles. Not considering themselves beaten, they surrounded the Bernese; and mingling religion and politics, as is their wont in similar cases, endeavoured to shake them. "Do you not see," said they, "that unless we support the spiritual power, we shall compromise the civil power? The surest bulwark of the throne is the

<sup>1</sup> *Trois ambassadeurs qui me tinrent assez gros et rudes propos.* The Governor to the Princess.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

altar! These men, whose defenders you have become, are but a handful of mischief-makers: the majority are for the mass!"—"Turn which way you like," replied one of the stubborn Bernese, "even though the majority should be on your side, still you must go that way; never will our lordships abandon the defenders of the evangelical faith."<sup>1</sup>

The people assembled at the castle for the definitive vote. The destiny of Neufchatel was about to be decided. On one hand were crowded around the governor the privy council, the canons, and the most zealous of the Romanists; on the other were to be seen the four aldermen, the town-council, and a great number of the citizens, gravely ascending the steep avenue leading to the government-house, and drawing up in front of their adversaries. On both sides there was the same attachment to their faith and the same decision; but around the canons were many anxious minds, troubled hearts, and downcast eyes, while the friends of the Reform advanced with uplifted heads, firm looks, and hearts full of hope.

George de Rive, wishing to gain over their minds, began to address them. He described the violence with which the reformed had broken the images and thrown down the altars. "And yet," continued he, "who founded this church? It was the princess's predecessors, and not the citizens. For which reason, I demand that all those who have violently infringed our sovereign's authority, be obliged to restore what they have taken away, so that the holy mass and the canonical hours may be celebrated anew."<sup>2</sup>

Upon this the *prudhommes* of Neufchatel advanced. They were not a troop of young and giddy persons, as the Papists had pretended; they were grave citizens, whose liberties were guaranteed, and who had weighed what they had to say. "By the illumination of the Holy Ghost," replied they, "and by the holy doctrines of the Gospel, which are taught us in the pure Word of God, we will show that the mass is an abuse, without any utility, and which conduces much more to the damnation than to the salvation of souls. And we are ready to prove that by taking away the altars, we have done nothing that was not right and acceptable to God."<sup>3</sup>

Thus the two parties met face to face with "great hatred and division," says the Bernese report. The arbitrators consulted together. The governor persisted, feeling that this

<sup>1</sup> Chambrier, Hist. de Neufchatel, p. 296. The Governor's letter. Quand bien le plus sera des votres, si passerez vous par là, &c.

<sup>2</sup> Choupard MS.; Reces du

M.M. de Berne.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

movement would decide the future. A few votes would suffice for the triumph of Rome, and he reckoned on gaining them by his assurance. "You should understand," said he, "that the majority of this town, men and women, adhere firmly to the ancient faith. The others are hot-headed young soldiers, vain of their persons, and puffed up with the new doctrine."<sup>1</sup>—"Well!" replied the Bernese deputies, "to prevent all mischief, let us settle this difference by the plurality of suffrages, in accordance with the treaty of peace made at Bremgarten between the cantons."

This was what the reformed desired. "The vote! the vote!" cried they according to the expression consecrated to such cases.<sup>2</sup> But the lord of Prangins and the priests, who had desired it when they were alone, shrunk back in the presence of Berne. "We ask for time," said they. If the reformed allowed themselves to be cheated by these dilatory measures, all was over. When once the Bernese had quitted Neufchatel, the governor and the clergy would easily have the upperhand. They therefore remained firm. "No, no," said they, "now!—no delay!—not a day! not an hour!" But the governor, in the face of a proceeding that would decide the legal fall of Popery, trembled, and obstinately opposed the cries of the people. The magistrates were already indignant, the burghers murmured, and the most violent looked at their swords. "They were resolved to compel us, sword in hand," wrote the governor to the princess. A fresh storm was gathering over Neufchatel. Yet a few more minutes' resistance, and it would burst forth upon the church, the town, and the castle, destroying not only statues, images, and altars, but "there would have remained dead men," said the lord of Rive.<sup>3</sup> He gave way in trouble and affright.

At the news of this concession, the partizans of Rome saw all their danger. They conferred, they concerted their measures, and in an instant their resolution was taken: they were resolved to fight.<sup>4</sup> "My Lord," said they, turning to M. de Rive, and touching the hilt of their swords, "all of us who adhere to the holy Sacrament are resolved to die martyrs for our holy faith."<sup>5</sup> This demonstration did not escape the notice of the young soldiers who had returned from the Genevese war. One moment more and the swords would have been drawn, and the platform changed into a battlefield.

<sup>1</sup> Devez entendre que la plupart de cette ville, hommes et femmes, tiennent fermement à l'ancienne foi. Les autres sont jeunes gens de guerre, forts de leurs personnes, remplis de la nouvelle doctrine, ayants le feu à la tête. Ibid. <sup>2</sup> *Le plus,* the majority. <sup>3</sup> The Governor's letter to the Princess. <sup>4</sup> Ibid. <sup>5</sup> Ibid.



Monseigneur de Prangins, more wily than orthodox, shuddered at the thought. "I cannot suffer it," said he to the most violent of his party; "such an enterprise would forfeit my mistress's state and lordship."<sup>1</sup>—"I consent," said he to the Bernese, "to take the votes, with reserve nevertheless of the sovereignty, rights, and lordship of Madame."<sup>2</sup>—"And we," replied the townspeople, "with the reserve of our liberties and privileges."

The Romanists, seeing the political power they had invoked now failing them, felt that all was lost. They will save their honour at least in this great shipwreck; they will subscribe their names, that posterity may know who had remained faithful to Rome. These proud supporters of the hierarchy advanced towards the governor; tears coursed down their rough cheeks, betraying thus their stifled anger. They wrote their signatures as witnesses at the foot of the solemn testament that Popery was now drawing up in Neufchatel, in the presence of the Bernese deputies. They then asked, with tears in their eyes, "that the names and surnames of the good and of the perverse should be written in perpetual memory, and declared that they were still good and faithful burghers of Madame, and would do her service unto death!"<sup>3</sup>

The reformed burgesses were convinced that it was only by frankly bearing testimony to their religious convictions that they could discharge their duty before God, their sovereign, and their fellow-citizens. So that the Catholics had scarcely protested their fidelity towards their lady, when, turning towards the governor, the reformed cried out: "We say the same in every other thing in which it shall please our Mistress to command us, save and except the evangelical faith, in which we live and die."<sup>3</sup>

Everything was then prepared for taking the votes. The Church of Our Lady was opened, and the two parties advanced between the shattered altars, torn pictures, mutilated statues, and all those ruins of Popery, which clearly foretold to its partisans the last and irrevocable defeat it was about to undergo. The three lords of Berne took their station beside the governor as arbitrators of the proceedings and presidents of the assembly, and the voting began.

<sup>1</sup> The Governor's letter to the Princess. <sup>2</sup> Alors iceux dirent en pleurant que les noms et les surnoms des bons et des pervers fussent écrits en perpétuelle mémoire, et qu'ils protestoient être bons et fidèles bourgeois de Madame, et lui faire service jusqu'à la mort. <sup>3</sup> Governor's letter. Nous disons le semblable en toute autre chose où il plaira à Madame nous commander, sauf et reserve icelle foi évangélique, dans laquelle nous voulons vivre et mourir.

George de Rive, notwithstanding the despondency of his friends, was not altogether without hope. All the partisans of the ancient worship in Neufchatel had been forewarned; and but a few days previously the reformed themselves, by refusing a poll, had acknowledged the numerical superiority of their adversaries. But the friends of the Gospel in Neufchatel had a courage and a hope that seemed to repose on a firmer basis. Were they not for the victorious party, and could they be vanquished in the midst of their triumph.

The two parties, however, moved forward, confounded with one another, and each man gave his vote in silence. They counted each other: the result appeared uncertain; fear froze each party by turns. At length the majority seemed to declare itself;—they took out the votes,—the result was proclaimed. A majority of eighteen voices gave the victory to the Reformation, and the last blow to the Papacy!

The Bernese lords immediately hastened to profit by this advantage. “Live henceforth,” said they, “in good understanding with one another; let the mass be no longer celebrated; let no injury be done to the priests; and pay to your Lady, or to whomsoever they may be justly due, all tithes, quit-rent, cense, and revenues.” These different points were proclaimed by the assembly, and a report was immediately drawn up, to which the deputies, the governors, and the magistrates of the city of Neufchatel affixed their respective seals.<sup>1</sup>

Farel did not appear in all this business: one might have said that the reformer was not at Neufchatel: the citizens appealed only to the Word of God; and the governor himself, in his long report to the princess, does not once mention him. It was the apostles of our Lord, St. Peter, St. John, St. Paul, and St. James, who by their divine writings re-established the true foundations of the Church in the midst of the people of Neufchatel. The Word of God was the law of the *prudhommes*. In vain will the Roman Church say, “But these very Scriptures,—it is I who give them to you; you cannot therefore believe in them without believing in me.” It is *not* from the Church of Rome that the Protestant Church receives the Bible. Protestantism has always existed in the Church. It has existed alone in every place where men have been engaged in the study of the Holy Scriptures, of their divine origin, of their interpretation, and in their dissemination. The Protestantism of the sixteenth century received the Bible from the Protestant-

<sup>1</sup> Reces de MM. de Berne, MS. Et que l'on paie à Madame ou à qui il sera dû justement dîmes, cens, rentes et revenss.

ism of every age. When Rome speaks of the hierarchy, she is on her own ground: as soon as she speaks of the Scriptures, she is on ours. If Farel had been put forward in Neufchatel, he would not perhaps have been able to stand against the pope; but the Word of Christ alone was concerned, and Rome must fall before Jesus.

Thus terminated, by a mutual contract, that day at first so threatening. If the Reformed had sacrificed any of their convictions to a false peace, disorder would have been perpetuated in Neufchatel. A bold manifestation of the truth, and the inevitable shocks that accompanied it, far from destroying society, preserved it. This manifestation is the wind that lifts the vessel from the rocks and brings it into the harbour.

The lord of Prangins felt that, between fellow-citizens, "it is better to touch one another, even if it be by collision, than to avoid each other continually." The free explanation that had taken place had rendered the opposition of the two parties less irritating. "I give my promise," said the governor, "to undertake nothing against the vote of this day, for I am myself a witness that it has been honest, upright, without danger, and without coercion."<sup>1</sup>

It was necessary to dispose of the spoils of the vanquished party: the governor opened the castle to them. Thither were transported the relics, the ornaments of the altars, the church papers, and even the organ; and the mass, expelled from the city, was there mournfully chanted every day.

All the ornaments, however, did not take this road. Some days after, as two citizens, named Fauche and Sauge, were going out together to their vineyards, they passed a little chapel, in which the latter had set up a wooden figure of St. John. He said to his companion, "There is an image I shall heat my stove with to-morrow." And, in fact, as he returned, he carried away the saint and laid it down in front of his house.

The next morning he took the image and put it on the fire. Immediately a horrible explosion spread dismay through this humble family. The trembling Fauche doubted not that it was a miracle of the saint, and hastened to return to the mass. In vain did his neighbour Sauge protest to him upon oath that, during the night, he had made a hole in the statue, filled it with gunpowder, and closed it up again. Fauche would listen

<sup>1</sup> Ungefährlich, ungezwungen, aufrecht und redlich. Berne to the Governor, 17th Dec. 1530.



to nothing, and resolved to flee from the vengeance of the saints. He went and settled with his family at Morteau in Franche Comte.<sup>1</sup> Such are the miracles upon which the divinity of Rome reposes!

By degrees everything became settled: some of the canons, as Jacques Baillo, William de Pury, and Benedict Chambrier, embraced the Reformation. Others were recommended by the governor to the priory of Motiers, in the Val de Travers; and, in the middle of November, at the time when the winds began to rage among the mountains, several canons, surrounded by a few singing-boys,—sad relics of the ancient, powerful, rich, voluptuous, and haughty chapter of Neufchatel,—painfully climbed the gorges of the Jura, and went to conceal in these lofty and picturesque valleys the disgrace of a defeat, which their long disorders and their insupportable tyranny had but too justly provoked.

During this time the new worship was organised. In room of the high-altar were substituted two marble tables to receive the bread and wine; and the Word of God was preached from a pulpit stripped of every ornament. The pre-eminence of the Word, which characterises the evangelical worship, replaced in the church of Neufchatel the pre-eminence of the sacrament, which characterises Popery. Towards the end of the second century, Rome, that ancient metropolis of all religions, after having welcomed the christian worship in its primitive purity, had gradually transformed it into mysteries; a magic power had been ascribed to certain forms; and the reign of the sacrifice offered by the priest had succeeded to the reign of the Word of God. The preaching of Farel had restored the Word to the rights which belonged to it; and those vaulted roofs, which the piety of Count Ulric II. had, on his return from Jerusalem, dedicated to the worship of the Virgin, served at last, after four centuries, to nourish the faithful, as in the time of the Apostles, “in the words of faith and of good doctrine.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Boyve Annals, MS.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Tim., iv. 6.

## CHAPTER IX.

Reaction preparing—Failure of the Plot—Farel in Valangin and near the Lake—De Bély at Fontaine—Farel's Sufferings—Marcourt at Valangin—Disgraceful Expedient—Vengeance—The Reform established—French Switzerland characterized.—Gathering Tempest.

THE convention, drawn up under the mediation of Berne, stipulated that "the change should take place only in the city and parish of Neufchatel." Must the rest of the country remain in darkness? This was not Farel's wish, and the zeal of the citizens, in its first fervour, effectually seconded him. They visited the surrounding villages, exhorting some, combating others. Those who were compelled to labour with their hands during the day went thither at night. "Now, I am informed," writes the governor to the princess, "that they are working at a reformation night and day."

George de Rive, in alarm, convoked the magistrates of all the districts in the earldom. These good folks believed that their consciences, as well as their places, depended upon Madame de Longueville. Affrighted at the thought of freely receiving a new conviction from the Word of God, they were quite ready to accept it from the countess as they would a new impost;—a sad helotism, in which religion springs from the soil, instead of descending from heaven! "We desire to live and die under the protection of our Lady," said the magistrates to the lord of Rive, "without changing the ancient faith, *until it be so ordered by her.*"<sup>1</sup> Rome, even after her fall, could not receive a deeper insult.

These assurances of fidelity and the absence of the Bernese restored De Rive's confidence, and he secretly prepared a reaction among the nobles and the lower classes. There is in every historical catastrophe, in the fall of great establishments, and in the spectacle of their ruins, something which excites and improves the mind. This was what happened at the period in question. Some were more zealous for Popery after its fall than in its day of power. The clergy gliding into the houses said mass to a few friends mysteriously called together around a temporary altar. If a child was born, the priest noiselessly arrived, breathed on the infant, made the sign of

<sup>1</sup> Choupard MS. Nous voulons vivre et mourir sous la protection de Madame, sans changer l'ancienne foi, jusqu'à ce que par elle en soit ordonné.

the cross on its forehead and breast, and baptized it according to the Roman ritual.<sup>1</sup> Thus they were rebuilding in secret what had been overthrown in the light of day. At length a counter-revolution was agreed upon; and Christmas-day was selected for the restoration of Roman-catholicism. While the Christians' songs of joy should be rising to heaven, the partisans of Rome were to rush into the church, expel the heretical assembly, overthrow the pulpit and the holy table, restore the images, and celebrate the mass in triumph. Such was the plan of the Neufchatelan vespers.<sup>2</sup>

The plot got wind. Deputies from Berne arrived at Neufchatel on the very eve of the festival. "You must see to this," said they to the governor: if the reformed are attacked, we, their co-burghers, will protect them with all our power." The conspirators laid down their arms, and the Christmas hymns were not disturbed.

This signal deliverance augmented the devotion and zeal of the friends of the Gospel. Already Emer Beynon of Serrière, where Farel had one day landed from a small boat, ascending the pulpit, had said to his parishioners: If I have been a good priest, I desire by the grace of God to be a still better pastor." It was necessary for these words to be heard from every pulpit. Farel recommenced a career of labours, fatigues, and struggles, which the actions of the apostles and missionaries alone can equal.

Towards the end of the year 1530, he crossed the mountain in the middle of winter, entered the church of Valangin, went into the pulpit, and began to preach at the very moment that Guillemette de Vergy was coming to mass. She endeavoured to shut the reformer's mouth, but in vain, and the aged and noble dowager retired precipitately saying: "I do not think this is according to the old Gospels; if there are any new ones that encourage it, I am quite amazed."<sup>3</sup> The people of Valangin embraced the Gospel. The affrighted lieutenant ran to Neufchatel, thence to Berne, and on the 11th February, 1531, laid his complaint before the council; but all was useless. "Why," said their excellencies of Berne to him, "why should you disturb the water of the river? let it flow freely on."

Farel immediately turned to the parishes on the slopes between the lake and Mount Jura. At Corcelles a fanatic crowd,

<sup>1</sup> Berne to Neufchatel, 17th December.

<sup>2</sup> Berne to the Governor, 23d Dec.

<sup>3</sup> Chambrier, Hist. de Neufchatel et Valangin, p. 299. Je ne crois pas que ce soit selon les vieux évangiles; s'il y en a de nouveaux qui fassent cela faire, j'en suis esbahi.



well armed and led on by the curate of Neufchatel, rushed into the church where the minister was preaching, and he did not escape without a wound. At Bevay, the abbot John of Livron and his monks collected a numerous body of friends, surrounded the church, and having thus completed the blockade, entered the building, dragged the minister from the pulpit, and drove him out with blows and insults. Each time he reappeared, they pursued him as far as Auvernier with stones and gun-shots.

While Farel was thus preaching in the plain, he sent one of his brethren into the valley: it was John de Bély, a man of good family from Crest in Dauphiny. Beyond Valangin, at a little distance from Fontaine, on the left side of the road to Cernier, was a stone that remains to this day. Here in the open air, as if in a magnificent temple, this herald of the Gospel began to proclaim salvation by grace.<sup>1</sup> Before him stretched the declivity of Chaumont, dotted with the pretty villages of Fenin, Villars, Sole, and Savagnier, and beyond, where the mountains fell away, might be seen the distant and picturesque chain of the Alps. The most zealous of his hearers entreated him to enter the church. He did so; but suddenly the priest and his curate "arrived with great noise." They proceeded to the pulpit, dragged Bély down; and then turning to the women and young persons of the place, "excited them to beat him and drive him away."<sup>2</sup>

John de Bély returned to Neufchatel, hooted and bruised, like his friend after the affair at Valangin; but these evangelists followed the traces of the Apostle Paul, whom neither whips nor scourges could arrest.<sup>3</sup> De Bély often returned to Fontaine. The mass was abolished ere long in this village; Bély was its pastor for twenty-seven years; his descendants have more than once exercised the ministry there, and now they form the most numerous family of agriculturists in the place.

Farel, after evangelizing the shores of the lake to the south of Neufchatel, had gone to the north and preached at St. Blaise. The populace, stirred up by the priests and the lieutenant, had fallen upon him, and Farel escaped from their hands, severely beaten, spitting blood, and scarcely to be recognised. His friends had thrown him hurriedly into a boat, and conveyed him to Morat, where his wounds detained him for some time.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It does not appear that Bély could have stood and preached on this stone, as is generally said, unless what now remains is but a fragment of the original.

<sup>2</sup> MS. AA. in the Choupard MS.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Cor., xi, 24, 25.

<sup>4</sup> De Perrot; *L'Eglise et la Réformation*, ii, 432.

At the report of this violence the reformed Neufchatelans felt their blood boil. If the lieutenant, the priest, and his flock have bruised the body of Christ's servant, which is truly the altar of the living God, why should they spare dead idols? Immediately they rush to St. Blaise, throw down the images, and do the same at the abbey of Fontaine-André,—a sanctuary of the ancient worship.

The images still existed at Valangin, but their last hour was about to strike. A Frenchman, Anthony Marcourt, had been nominated pastor of Neufchatel. Treading in Farel's footsteps, he repaired with a few of the citizens to Valangin on the 14th June, a great holiday in that town.<sup>1</sup> Scarcely had they arrived when a numerous crowd pressed around the minister, listening to his words. The canons, who were on the watch in their houses, and Madame de Vergy and M. de Bellegarde from their towers, sought how they could make a diversion against this heretical preaching? They could not employ force because of Berne. They had recourse to a brutal expedient, worthy of the darkest days of Popery, and which, by insulting the minister, might divert (they imagined) the attention of the people, and change it into shouts and laughter. A canon,<sup>2</sup> assisted by the countess's coachman, went to the stables and took thence two animals, which they led to the spot where Marcourt was preaching. We will throw a veil over this scene: it is one of those disgraceful subjects that the pen of history refuses to transcribe.<sup>3</sup> But never did punishment follow closer upon crime. The conscience of the hearers was aroused at the sight of this infamous spectacle. The torrent, that such a proceeding was intended to check, rushed out of its channel. The indignant people, undertaking the defence of that religion which their opponents had wished to insult, entered the church like an avenging wave; the ancient windows were broken, the shields of the lords were demolished, the relics scattered about, the books torn, the images thrown down, and the altar overturned. But this was not enough: the popular wave, after sweeping out the church, flowed back again, and dashed against the canons' houses. Their inhabitants fled in consternation into the forests, and everything was destroyed in their dwellings.

<sup>1</sup> This incident is generally attributed to Farel, but Choupard, following an older manuscript, says *le ministre de Neufchatel*, by which title he always means Marcourt and never Farel.

<sup>2</sup> Some historians say "the coachman of the countess;" but Choupard, on three different occasions, writes *a canon*. The latter is no doubt more revolting; but there is nothing incredible in it.

<sup>3</sup> *De equo admissario loquitur qui equam init.*

Guillemette de Vergy and M. de Bellegarde, agitated and trembling behind their battlements, repented, but too late, of their monstrous expedient. They were the only ones who had not yet felt the popular vengeance. Their restless eyes watched the motions of the indignant townspeople. The work is completed: the last house is sacked! The burghers consult together.—O horror!—they turn towards the castle,—they ascend the hill,—they draw near. Is then the abode of the noble counts of Arberg about to be laid waste? But no!—"We come," said the delegates standing near the gate of the castle, "We are come to demand justice for the outrage committed against religion and its minister." They are permitted to enter, and the trembling countess orders the poor wretches to be punished who had acted solely by her orders. But at the same time she sends deputies to Berne, complaining of the "great insults that had been offered her."<sup>1</sup> Berne declared that the reformed should pay for the damage; but that the countess should grant them the free exercise of their worship. Jacques Veluzat, a native of Champagne, was the first pastor of Valangin. A little later we shall see new struggles at the foot of Mount Jura.

Thus was the Reformation established at Valangin, as it had been at Neuchâtel: the two capitals of these mountains were gained to the Gospel. Ere long it received a legal sanction. Francis, marquis of Rothelin, son of the Duchess of Longueville, arrived in the principality in March 1531, with the intention of playing on this small theatre the part of a Francis I. But he soon found out that there are revolutions which an irresistible hand has accomplished, and that must be submitted to. Rothelin excluded from the estates of the earldom the canons who had hitherto formed the first power, and replaced them by four bannerets and four burgesses. Then, availing himself of the principle that all abandoned property falls to the state, he laid his hands upon their rich heritage, and proclaimed freedom of conscience throughout the whole country. All the necessary forms having been observed with Madame, the politic M. de Rive became reformed also. Such was the support Rome received from the state, to which she had looked for her deliverance.

A great energy characterized the Reformation of French Switzerland; and this is shown by the events we have just witnessed. Men have attributed to Farel this distinctive feature of his work; but no man has ever created his own times;

<sup>1</sup> Curate of Beaucenet's Chronicle. Des grands vitupères qu'on lui avait faits.



it is always, on the contrary, the times that create the man. The greater the epoch, the less do individualities prevail in it. All the good contained in the events we have just related came from that Almighty Spirit, of which the strongest men are but weak instruments. All the evil proceeded from the character of the people; and, indeed, it was almost always Popery that began these scenes of violence. Farel submitted to the influence of his times, rather than the times received his. A great man may be the personification and the type of the epoch for which God destines him: he is never its creator.

But it is time to quit the Jura and its beautiful valleys, brightened by the vernal sun, to direct our steps towards the Alps of German Switzerland, along which thick clouds and horrible tempests are gathering. The free and courageous people, who dwell there below the eternal glaciers, or on the smiling banks of the lakes, daily assume a fiercer aspect, and the collision threatens to be sudden, violent, and terrible. We have just been witnessing a glorious conquest: a dreadful catastrophe awaits us.

## BOOK XVI.

SWITZERLAND—CATASTROPHE. 1528-1521.

### CHAPTER I.

Two great Lessons—Christian Warfare—Zwingle, Pastor, Statesman, and General—His noble Character—Persecutions—Swiss Catholics seek an Alliance with Austria—Great Dissatisfaction—Deputation to the Forest Cantons—Zwingle's Proposal—Moderation of Berne—Keyser's Martyrdom—Zwingle and War—Zwingle's Error.

It was the will of God that at the very gates of his revived Church there should be two great examples to serve as lessons for future generations. Luther and the German Reformation, declining the aid of the temporal power, rejecting the force of arms, and looking for victory only in the confession of the truth, were destined to see their faith crowned with the most brilliant success; while Zwingle and the Swiss Reformation, stretching out their hands to the mighty ones of the earth, and grasping the sword, were fated to witness a horrible, cruel, and bloody catastrophe fall upon the Word of God—a catastrophe which threatened to engulf the evangelical cause in the most furious whirlpool. God is a jealous God, and gives not his glory to another; he claims to perform his own work himself, and to attain his ends sets other springs in motion than those of a skilful diplomacy.

We are far from forgetting that we are called upon to relate facts and not to discuss theories; but there is a principle which the history we are narrating sets forth in capital letters: it is that professed in the Gospel, where it says: THE WEAPONS OF OUR WARFARE ARE NOT CARNAL, BUT MIGHTY THROUGH GOD! In maintaining this truth we do not place ourselves on the ground of any particular school, but on that of universal conscience and of the Word of God.

Of all carnal support that religion can invoke, there is none more injurious to it than arms and diplomacy. The latter throws it into tortuous ways; the former hurries it into paths of bloodshed; and religion, from whose brow has been torn the double wreath of truth and meekness, presents but a degraded

and humiliated countenance that no person can, that no person desires to recognise.

It was the very extension of the Reform in Switzerland that exposed it to the dangers under which it sunk. So long as it was concentrated at Zurich, it continued a religious matter; but when it had gained Berne, Basle, Schaffhausen, St. Gall, Glaris, Appenzell, and numerous bailiwicks, it formed inter-cantonal relations; and—here was the error and misfortune—while the connexion should have taken place between church and church, it was formed between state and state.

As soon as spiritual and political matters became mingled together, the latter took the upperhand. Zwingle ere long thought it his duty to examine not only doctrinal, but also federal questions; and the illustrious reformer might be seen, unconscious of the snares beneath his feet, precipitating himself into a course strewn with rocks, at the end of which a cruel death awaited him.

The primitive Swiss cantons had resigned the right of forming new alliances without the consent of all; but Zurich and Berne had reserved the power. Zwingle thought himself therefore quite at liberty to promote an alliance with the evangelical states. Constance was the first city that gave her adhesion. But this christian co-burghery, which might become the germ of a new confederation, immediately raised up numerous adversaries against Zwingle, even among the partisans of the Reformation.

There was yet time: Zwingle might withdraw from public affairs, and occupy himself entirely with those of the Gospel. But no one in Zurich had, like him, that application to labour, that correct, keen, and sure eye, so necessary for politicians. If he retired, the vessel of the state would be left without a pilot. Besides, he was convinced that political acts alone save the Reform. He resolved, therefore, to be at one and the same time the man of the State and of the Church. The registers prove that in his later years he took part in the important deliberations; and he was commissioned by the councils of his canton to write letters, compose proclamations, and draw up opinions. Already, before the dispute with Berne, looking upon war as possible, he had traced out a very detailed plan of defence, the manuscript of which is still in existence.<sup>1</sup> In 1528 he did still more; he showed in a remarkable paper, how the republic should act with regard to the empire, France, and other European states, and with respect to the several cantons

<sup>1</sup> Escher et Hottinger, Archives, ii, 263.



and bailiwicks. Then, as if he had grown gray at the head of the Helvetic troops (and it is but just to remark that he had long lived among soldiers), he explained the advantages there would be in surprising the enemy; and described even the nature of the arms, and the manner of employing them. In truth, an important revolution was then taking place in the art of war. The pastor of Zurich is at once the head of the state and general of the army: this double—this triple part of the reformer was the ruin of the Reformation and of himself. Undoubtedly we must make allowances for the men of this age, who, being accustomed to see Rome wield two swords for so many centuries, did not understand that they must take up one and leave the other. We must admire the strength of that superior genius, which, while pursuing a political course, in which the greatest minds would have been absorbed, ceased not however to display an indefatigable activity as pastor, preacher, divine, and author. We must acknowledge that the republican education of Zwingli had taught him to confound his country with his religion, and that there was in this great man enough to fill up many lives. We must appreciate that indomitable courage which relying upon justice, feared not, at a time when Zurich had but one or two weak cities for allies, to confront the redoubtable forces of the empire and of the confederation; but we should also see in the great and terrible lesson that God gave him, a precept for all times and every nation; and finally, understand what is often forgotten, “that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world.”

The Roman-catholic cantons, on hearing of the new alliances of the reformed, felt a violent indignation. William of Diesbach, deputy from Berne at the diet, was forced to submit to the keenest reproaches. The sitting, for a while interrupted, was resumed immediately after his departure. “They may try to patch up the old faith,” said the Bernese, as he withdrew; “it cannot, however, last any longer.”<sup>1</sup> In truth, they patched away with all their might, but with a sharp and envenomed needle that drew blood. Joseph Am Berg of Schwytz and Jacques Stocker of Zug, bailiffs of Thurgovia, behaved with cruelty towards all who were attached to the Gospel. They enforced against them fines, imprisonment, torture, the scourge, confiscation, and banishment; they cut out the ministers’ tongues, beheaded them, or condemned them to be burnt.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mögen sie blätzen am alten Glauben. Hottinger, Zwingli, p. 389.

<sup>2</sup> Die Zungen geschlitzt, mit dem Schwerdt richten und verbrannt. Bull. ii, 31.

At the same time they took away the Bibles and all the evangelical books; and if any poor Lutherans, fleeing from Austria, crossed the Rhine and that low valley where its calm waters flow between the Alps of the Tyrol and of Appenzell,—if these poor creatures, tracked by the lansquenets, came to seek a refuge in Switzerland, they were cruelly given up to their persecutors.

The heavier lay the hands of the bailiffs on Thurgovia and the Rheinthal, the greater conquests did the Gospel make. The Bishop of Constance wrote to the Five Cantons, that if they did not act with firmness, all the country would embrace the Reform. In consequence of this, the cantons convoked at Frauenfeld all the prelates, nobles, judges, and persons of note in the district; and a second meeting taking place six days after (6th December, 1528) at Weinfeld, deputies from Berne and Zurich entreated the assembly to consider the honour of God above all things, and in no respect to care for the threats of the world.<sup>1</sup> A great agitation followed upon this discourse. At last a majority called for the preaching of the Word of God; the people came to the same decision; and the Rheinthal, as well as Bremgarten, followed this example.

What was to be done? The flood had become hourly more encroaching. Must then the Forest Cantons open their valleys to it at last? Religious antipathies put an end to national antipathies; and these proud mountaineers, directing their looks beyond the Rhine, thought of invoking the succour of Austria, which they had vanquished at Morgarten and at Sempach.<sup>2</sup> The fanatical German party that had crushed the revolted Swabian peasants was all-powerful on the frontiers. Letters were exchanged; messengers passed to and fro across the river; at last they took advantage of a wedding in high rank that was to take place at Feldkirch in Swabia, six leagues from Appenzell. On the 16th February, 1529, the marriage-party, forming a brilliant cavalcade, in the midst of which the deputies of the Five Cantons were concealed, made their entry into Feldkirch, and Am Berg had an immediate interview with the Austrian governor. “The power of the enemies of our ancient faith has so increased,” said the Swiss, “that the friends of the Church can resist them no longer. We therefore turn our eyes to that illustrious prince who has saved in Germany the faith of our fathers.”

This alliance was so very unnatural, that the Austrians had some difficulty in believing it to be sincere. “Take hostages,”

<sup>1</sup> Die Eer Gottes, uwer Seelen Heil. Bulling. Chron., ii, 28.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 48.

said the Waldstettes, "write the articles of the treaty with your own hands; command and we will obey!"—"Very good!" replied the Austrians; "in two months you will find us again at Waldshut, and we will let you know our conditions."

A rumour of these negotiations which spread abroad excited great dissatisfaction, even in the partisans of Rome. In no place did it burst out with greater force than in the council of Zug. The opposing parties were violently agitated; they stamped their feet, they started from their seats, and were nearly coming to blows; but hatred prevailed over patriotism. The deputies of the Forest Cantons appeared at Waldshut, they suspended the arms of their cantons by the side of those of the oppressors of Switzerland; decorated their hats with peacocks' feathers (the badge of Austria), and laughed, drank, and chattered with the Imperialists. This strange alliance was at last concluded.<sup>1</sup> "Whoever shall form new sects among the people," it ran, "shall be punished with death; and, if need be, with the help of Austria. This power, in case of emergency, shall send into Switzerland six thousand foot soldiers, and four hundred horse, with all requisite artillery. If necessary, the reformed cantons shall be blockaded, and all provisions intercepted." To the Romish cantons, then, belongs the initiative of this measure so much decried. Finally, Austria guaranteed to the Waldstettes the possession, not only of the common bailiwicks, but of all the *conquests* that might be made on the left bank of the Rhine.

Dejection and consternation immediately pervaded all Switzerland. This national complaint, which Bullinger has preserved, was sung in every direction:—

Wail, Helvetians, wail,  
For the peacock's plume of pride  
To the forest cantons' savage bull  
In friendship is allied.

All the cantons not included in this alliance, with the exception of Friburg, assembled in diet at Zurich, and resolved to send a deputation to their mountain confederates, with a view to reconciliation. The deputation, admitted at Schwytz in the presence of the people, was able to execute its mission without tumult. At Zug there was a cry of "No sermon! no sermon!" At Altorf the answer was: "Would to God that your new faith was buried for ever!" At Lucerne they received this haughty reply: "We shall know how to defend ourselves, our children, and

<sup>1</sup> Bullinger gives the treaty at full length. Chron., ii, 49-59.



our children's children, from the poison of your rebellious priests." It was at Unterwalden that the deputation met with the worst reception. "We declare our alliance at an end," said they. "It is we,—it is the other Waldstettes who are the real Swiss. We graciously admitted you into our confederation, and now you claim to become our masters!—The emperor, Austria, France, Savoy, and Valais will assist us!" The deputies retired in astonishment, shuddering, as they passed before the house of the secretary of state, where they saw the arms of Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Strasburg hanging from a lofty gibbet.

The deputation had scarcely returned to Zurich and made this report, when men's minds were inflamed. Zwingle proposed to grant no peace to Unterwalden, if it would not renounce foreign service, the alliance with Austria, and the government of the common bailiwicks. "No! no!" said Berne, that had just stifled a civil war in its own canton, "let us not be so hasty. When the rays of the sun shine forth, each one wishes to set out; but as soon as it begins to rain, every man loses heart! The Word of God enjoins peace. It is not with pikes and lances that faith is made to enter the heart. For this reason, in the name of our Lord's sufferings, we entreat you to moderate your anger."

This christian exhortation would have succeeded, if the fearful news that reached Zurich, on the very day when the Bernese delivered their moderate speech, had not rendered it unavailing.

On Saturday the 22d May, Jacques Keyser, a pastor and father of a family in the neighbourhood of the Greiffensee, after coasting the fertile shores of this little lake, crossed the rich pastures of the bailiwick of Gruningen, passed near the Teutonic house of Bubikon and the convent of Ruti, and reached that simple and wild district bathed by the upper part of Lake Zurich. Making his way to Oberkirk, a parish in the Gaster district, between the two lakes of Zurich and Wallenstadt, of which he had been nominated pastor, and where he was to preach on the morrow, he crossed on foot the lengthened and rounded flanks of the Buchberg, fronting the picturesque heights of the Ammon. He was confidently advancing into those woods which for many weeks he had often traversed without obstruction, when he was suddenly seized by six men, posted there to surprise him, and carried off to Schwytz. "The bailiffs," said they to the magistrates, "have ordered all innovating ministers to be brought before the tribunals: here is one that we may bring you." Although Zurich and Glaris interposed; although the government of Gaster, where Keyser

had been taken, did not then belong to Schwytz; the landsgemeinde desired a victim, and on the 29th May they condemned the minister to be burnt alive. On being informed of his sentence, Keyser burst into tears.<sup>1</sup> But when the hour of execution arrived, he walked cheerfully to death, freely confessed his faith, and gave thanks to the Lord even with his latest breath. "Go and tell them at Zurich how he thanks us!" said one of the Schwytz magistrates, with a sarcastic smile, to the Zurich deputies. Thus had a fresh martyr fallen under the hands of that formidable power that is "drunk with the blood of the saints."<sup>2</sup>

The cup was full. The flames of Keyser's pile became the signal of war. Exasperated Zurich uttered a cry that resounded through all the confederation. Zwingli above all called for energetic measures. Everywhere,—in the streets, in the councils, and even in the pulpits,—he surpassed in daring even the most valiant captains. He spoke at Zurich,—he wrote to Berne. "Let us be firm, and fear not to take up arms," said he. "This peace, which some desire so much, is not peace, but war: while the war that we call for is not war but peace." We thirst for no man's blood, but we will clip the wings of the oligarchy.<sup>4</sup> If we shun it, the truth of the Gospel and the ministers' lives will never be secure among us."

Thus spoke Zwingli. In every part of Europe he beheld the mighty ones of the earth aiding one another to stifle the reviving animation of the Church; and he thought that without some decisive and energetic movement, Christianity, overwhelmed by so many blows, would soon fall back into its ancient slavery. Luther under similar circumstances arrested the swords ready to be crossed, and demanded that the Word of God alone should appear on the field of battle. Zwingli thought not thus. In his opinion war was not revolt, for Switzerland had no master. "Undoubtedly," said he, "we must trust in God alone; but when He gives us a just cause, we must also know how to defend it, and like Joshua and Gideon, shed blood in behalf of our country and our God."

If we adopt the principles of justice which govern the rulers of nations, the advice of Zwingli was judicious and irreproachable. It was the duty of the Swiss magistrates to defend the oppressed against the oppressor. But is not such language, which might have been suitable in the mouth of a

<sup>1</sup> Weinet häufig. Bull., ii, 149.

<sup>2</sup> Rev., xvii, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Bellum cui nos

instamus, pax est, non bellum. Vita Zwingly, per O. Myconium.

<sup>4</sup> Oligarchie nervi succidantur. Ibid.

magistrate, blamable in a minister of Christ? Perhaps Zwingle forgot his quality of pastor, and considered himself only as a citizen, consulted by his fellow-citizens; perhaps he wished to defend Switzerland, and not the Church, by his counsels; but it is a question if he ought ever to have forgotten the Church and his ministry. We think we may go even further; and while granting all that may be urged in favour of the contrary supposition, we may deny that the secular power ought ever to interfere with the sword to protect the faith.

To accomplish his designs, the reformer needed even in Zurich the greatest unity. But there were many men in that city devoted to interests and superstitions which were opposed to him. "How long," he had exclaimed in the pulpit on the 1st December, 1528, "how long will you support in the council these unbelievers, these impious men, who oppose the Word of God?"<sup>1</sup> They had decided upon purging the council, as required by the reformer; they had examined the citizens individually; and then had excluded all the hostile members.

---

## CHAPTER II.

Free Preaching of the Gospel in Switzerland—Zwingle supports the common Bailiwicks—War—Zwingle joins the army—The Zurich Army threatens Zug—The Landamman Aebli—Bernese Interposition—Zwingle's Opposition—Swiss Cordiality—Order in the Zurich Camp—A Conference—Peace restored—Austrian Treaty torn—Zwingle's Hymn—Nuns of Saint Catherine.

On Saturday the 15th June 1529, seven days after Keyser's martyrdom, all Zurich was in commotion. The moment was come when Unterwalden should send a governor to the common bailiwicks; and the images, having been burnt in those districts, Unterwalden had sworn to take a signal revenge.<sup>2</sup> Thus the consternation had become general. "Keyser's pile," thought they, "will be rekindled in all our villages." Many of the inhabitants flocked to Zurich, and on their alarmed and agitated features, one might, in imagination, have seen reflected the flames that had just consumed the martyr.

These unhappy people found a powerful advocate in Zwingle. The reformer imagined that he had at last attained the object he never ceased to pursue—the free preaching of the Gospel in

<sup>1</sup> Den rath reinigen. Füssli Beyträge, iv, 91  
mitt der Hand zu rächen. Bull. Chron., ii, 193.

<sup>2</sup> Den götzen brand, an inen



Switzerland. To inflict a final blow would, in his idea, suffice to bring this enterprise to a favourable issue. "Greedy pensioners," said Zwingle to the Zurichers, "profit by the ignorance of the mountaineers to stir up these simple souls against the friends of the Gospel. Let us therefore be severe upon these haughty chiefs. The mildness of the lamb would only serve to render the wolf more ferocious.<sup>1</sup> Let us propose to the Five Cantons to allow the free preaching of the Word of the Lord, to renounce their wicked alliances, and to punish the abettors of foreign service. As for the mass, idols, rites, and superstitions, let no one be forced to abandon them. It is for the Word of God alone to scatter with its powerful breath all this idle dust.<sup>2</sup> Be firm, noble lords, and despite of certain black horses, as black at Zurich as they are at Lucerne,<sup>3</sup> but whose malice will never succeed in overturning the chariot of Reform, we shall clear this difficult pass, and arrive at the unity of Switzerland and at unity of faith." Thus Zwingle, while calling for force against political abuses, asked only liberty for the Gospel; but he desired a prompt intervention, in order that this liberty might be secured to it. Ecolampadius thought the same: "It is not a time for delay," said he: "it is not a time for parsimony and pusillanimity! So long as the venom shall not be utterly removed from this adder in our bosoms we shall be exposed to the greatest dangers."<sup>4</sup>

The council of Zurich, led away by the reformer, promised the bailiwicks to support religious liberty among them; and no sooner had they learnt that Anthony ab Acker of Unterwalden was proceeding to Baden with an army, than they ordered five hundred men to set out for Bremgarten with four pieces of artillery. This was the 5th June, and on the same evening the standard of Zurich waved over the convent of Mouri.

The war of religion had begun. The horn of the Waldstettes re-echoed afar in the mountains: men were arming in every direction, and messengers were sent off in haste to invoke the assistance of the Valais and of Austria. Three days later (Tuesday the 8th June), six hundred Zurichers, under the command of Jacques Werdmüller, set out for Rapperschwyl and the district of Gaster; and, on the morrow, four thousand men repaired to Cappel, under the command of the valiant Captain George Berguer, to whom Conrad Schmidt, pastor of

<sup>1</sup> Lupus lenitate agni, magis magisque vorax fit. Zw. Epp., ii, 296.

<sup>2</sup> Dei verbum enim hos pulveres omnes facile flatu suo disperget. Ibid., 296.

<sup>3</sup> The Pensioners.—Exceptis aliquot nigris equis. Ibid., 298.

<sup>4</sup> Venenum a domestico illo colubro. Ibid.

Kussnacht, had been appointed chaplain. "We do not wish you to go to the war," said Burgomaster Roust to Zwingle; "for the pope, the Archduke Ferdinand, the Romish cantons, the bishops, the abbots, and the prelates, hate you mortally. Stay with the council: we have need of you."—"No!" replied Zwingle, who was unwilling to confide so important an enterprise to any one; "when my brethren expose their lives I will not remain quietly at home by my fireside. Besides, the army also requires a watchful eye, that looks continually around it." Then, taking down his glittering halberd, which he had carried (as they say) at Marignan, and placing it on his shoulder, the reformer mounted his horse and set out with the army.<sup>1</sup> The walls, towers, and battlements were covered with a crowd of old men, children, and women, among whom was Anna, Zwingle's wife.

Zurich had called for the aid of Berne; but that city, whose inhabitants showed little disposition for a religious war, and which besides was not pleased at seeing the increasing influence of Zurich, replied, "Since Zurich has begun the war without us, let her finish it in like manner." The evangelical states were disunited at the very moment of the struggle.

The Romish cantons did not act thus. It was Zug that issued the first summons; and the men of Uri, of Schwytz, and of Underwalden had immediately begun to march. On the 8th June, the great banner floated before the townhouse of Lucerne, and on the next day the army set out to the sound of the antique horns that Lucerne pretended to have received from the Emperor Charlemagne.

On the 10th June, the Zurichers, who were posted at Cappel, sent a herald at daybreak to Zug, who was commissioned, according to custom, to denounce to the Five Cantons the rupture of the alliance. Immediately Zug was filled with cries and alarm. This canton, the smallest in Switzerland, not having yet received all the confederate contingents, was not in a condition to defend itself. The people ran to and fro, sent off messengers, and hastily prepared for battle; the warriors fitted on their armour, the women shed tears, and the children shrieked.

Already the first division of the Zurich army, amounting to two thousand men, under the command of William Thöming, and stationed near the frontier below Cappel, was preparing to march, when they observed, in the direction of Baar, a horseman pressing the flanks of his steed, and galloping up as fast

<sup>1</sup> Sondern sass auf ein Ross, und führte eine habsche Helparten auf den Achseln. Füssli Beytr., iv, 103.

as the mountain which he had to ascend would permit. It was Aebli, landamman of Glaris. "The Five Cantons are prepared," said he, as he arrived, "but I have prevailed upon them to halt, if you will do the same. For this reason I entreat my lords and the people of Zurich, for the love of God and the safety of the confederation, to suspend their march at the present moment." As he uttered these words, the brave Helvetian shed tears.<sup>1</sup> "In a few hours," continued he, "I shall be back again. I hope with God's grace to obtain an honourable peace, and to prevent our cottages from being filled with widows and orphans."

Aebli was known to be an honourable man, friendly to the Gospel and opposed to foreign service: his words, therefore, moved the Zurich captains, who resolved to halt. Zwingle alone, motionless and uneasy, beheld in his friend's intervention the machinations of the adversary. Austria, occupied in repelling the Turks, and unable to succour the Five Cantons, had exhorted them to peace. This, in Zwingle's opinion, was the cause of the propositions brought to them by the Landamman of Glaris. So at the moment Aebli turned round to return to Zug,<sup>2</sup> Zwingle approaching him, said with earnestness, "Gossip landamman, you will render to God an account of all this. Our adversaries are caught in a sack: and hence they give you sweet words. By and by they will fall upon us unawares, and there will be none to deliver us." Prophetic words whose fulfilment went beyond all foresight! "Dear gossip!" replied the landamman, "I have confidence in God that all will go well. Let each one do his best." And he departed.

The army, instead of advancing upon Zug, now began to erect tents along the edge of the forest and the brink of the torrent, a few paces from the sentinels of the Five Cantons: while Zwingle, seated in his tent, silent, sad, and in deep thought, anticipated some distressing news from hour to hour.

He had not long to wait. The Deputies of the Zurich council came to give reality to his fears. Berne, maintaining the character that it had so often filled as representative of the federal policy, declared that if Zurich or the cantons would not make peace, they would find means to compel them: this state at the same time convoked a diet at Arau, and sent five thousand men into the field, under the command of Sebastian Diesbach. Zwingle was struck with consternation.

<sup>1</sup> Das redt er mitt weynenden Ougen. Bull., ii, 169.  
wiederumm zu den 5 orten ryten wollt. Ibid., 170. Zwingle was godfather to one of Aebli's children.

<sup>2</sup> Alls nun der Amman



Aebli's message, supported by that of Berne, was sent back by the council to the army; for, according to the principles of the time, "wherever the banner waves, there is Zurich."—"Let us not be staggered," cried the reformer, ever decided and firm; "our destiny depends upon our courage; to-day they beg and entreat, and in a month, when we have laid down our arms, they will crush us. Let us stand firm in God. Before all things, let us be just: peace will come after that." But Zwingle, transformed to a statesman, began to lose the influence which he had gained as a servant of God. Many could not understand him, and asked if what they had heard was really the language of a minister of the Lord. "Ah!" said one of his friends, who perhaps knew him best, Oswald Myconius. "Zwingle certainly was an intrepid man in the midst of danger; but he always had a horror of blood, even of that of his most deadly enemies. The freedom of his country, the virtues of our forefathers, and, above all, the glory of Christ, were the sole end of all his designs.<sup>1</sup>—I speak the truth, as if in the presence of God," adds he.

While Zurich was sending deputies to Arau, the two armies received reinforcements. The men of Thurgovia and St. Gall joined their banners to that of Zurich: the Valaisans and the men of St. Gothard united with the Romanist cantons. The advanced posts were in sight of each other at Thun, Leematt, and Goldesbrunnen, on the delightful slopes of the Albis.

Never, perhaps, did Swiss cordiality shine forth brighter with its ancient lustre. The soldiers called to one another in a friendly manner, and shook hands, styling themselves confederates and brothers. "We shall not fight," said they. "A storm is passing over our heads, but we will pray to God, and he will preserve us from every harm. Scarcity afflicted the army of the Five Cantons, while abundance reigned in the camp of Zurich.<sup>2</sup> Some young famishing Waldstettes one day passed the outposts: the Zurichers made them prisoners, conducted them to the camp, and then sent them back laden with provisions, with still greater good-nature than was shown by Henry IV. at the siege of Paris. At another time, some warriors of the Five Cantons, having placed a bucket filled with milk on the frontier-line, cried out to the Zurichers that they had no bread. The latter came down immediately, and cut their bread into the enemies' milk, upon which the soldiers of the two

<sup>1</sup> *Libertas patriæ, virtutes avitæ, et imprimis gloria Christi.* Osw. Myc. *Devita Zw.*

<sup>2</sup> A measure of corn was sold for a florin, and one of wine for a half-batz, about three half-pence. *Bull. Chron.*, ii, 182.

parties began with jokes to eat out of the same dish,—some on this side, some on that. The Zurichers were delighted that notwithstanding the prohibition of their priests, the Waldstettes ate with heretics. When one of the troop took a morsel that was on the side of his adversaries, the latter sportively struck him with their spoons, and said: “Do not cross the frontier!” Thus did these good Helvetians make war upon one another; and hence it was that the Burgomaster Sturm of Strasburg, one of the mediators, exclaimed: “You confederates are a singular people! When you are disunited, you live still in harmony with one another, and your ancient friendship never slumbers.”<sup>1</sup>

The most perfect order reigned in the camp of Zurich. Every day Zwingli, the commander Schmidt, Zink, abbot of Cappel, or some other minister, preached among the soldiers. No oath or dispute was heard; all disorderly women were turned out of the camp; prayers were offered up before and after every meal; and each man obeyed his chiefs. There were no dice, no cards, no games calculated to excite quarrels; but psalms, hymns, national songs, bodily exercise, wrestling, or pitching the stone, were the military recreations of the Zurichers.<sup>2</sup> The spirit that animated the reformer had passed into the army.

The assembly at Arau, transported to Steinhausen in the neighbourhood of the two camps, decreed that each army should hear the complaints of the opposite party. The reception of the deputies of the Five Cantons by the Zurichers was tolerably calm; it was not so in the other camp.

On the 15th June, fifty Zurichers, surrounded by a crowd of peasants, proceeded on horseback to the Waldstettes. The sound of the trumpet, the roll of the drum, and repeated salvos of artillery announced their arrival. Nearly twelve thousand men of the smaller cantons, in good order, with uplifted heads and arrogant looks, were under arms. Escher of Zurich spoke first, and many persons from the rural districts enumerated their grievances after him, which the Waldstettes thought exaggerated. “When have we ever refused you the federal right?” asked they. “Yes, yes!” replied Funk, Zwingli’s friend; “we know how you exercise it. That pastor (Keyser) appealed to it, and you referred him—to the executioner!” “Funk, you would have done better to have held your tongue,” said one of his friends. But the words had slipped out: a

<sup>1</sup> Wenn ihr schon uneins sind, so sind ir eins. Bull. Chron., ii, 183.

<sup>2</sup> Sondern sang, sprang, wurf und Stieß die Steine. Füssli Beyt., iv, 108.

dreadful tumult suddenly arose; all the army of the Waldstettes was in agitation; the most prudent begged the Zurichers to retire promptly, and protected their departure.

At length the treaty was concluded on the 26th June, 1529. Zwingle did not obtain all he desired. Instead of the free preaching of the Word of God, the treaty stipulated only liberty of conscience; it declared that the common bailiwicks should pronounce for or against the Reform by a majority of votes. Without decreeing the abolition of foreign pensions, it was recommended to the Romish cantons to renounce the alliance formed with Austria; the Five Cantons were to pay the expenses of the war, Murner to retract his insulting words, and an indemnity was secured to Keyser's family.<sup>1</sup>

An incontrovertible success had just crowned the warlike demonstration of Zurich. The Five Cantons felt it. Gloomy, irritated, silently champing the bit that had been placed in their mouths, their chiefs could not decide upon giving up the deed of their alliance with Austria. Zurich immediately recalled her troops, the mediators redoubled their solicitations, and the Bernese exclaimed: "If you do not deliver up this document, we will ourselves go in procession and tear it from your archives." At last it was brought to Cappel on the 26th June, two hours after midnight. All the army was drawn out at eleven in the forenoon, and they began to read the treaty. The Zurichers looked with astonishment at its breadth and excessive length, and the nine seals which had been affixed, one of which was in gold. But scarcely had a few words been read, when Aebli, snatching the parchment, cried out, "Enough, enough!"—"Read it, read it!" said the Zurichers; "we desire to learn their treason!" But the Bailiff of Glaris replied boldly: "I would rather be cut in a thousand pieces than permit it." Then dashing his knife into the parchment, he cut it in pieces in the presence of Zwingle and the soldiers,<sup>2</sup> and threw the fragments to the secretary, who committed them to the flames. "The paper was not Swiss," says Bullinger, with sublime simplicity.

The banners were immediately struck. The men of Unterwalden retired in anger; those of Schywtz swore they would for ever preserve their ancient faith; while the troops of Zurich returned in triumph to their homes. But the most opposite thoughts agitated Zwingle's mind. "I hope," said he, doing

<sup>1</sup> Supra, p. 277. The treaty is given entire in Bullinger, ii, 185, and Ruchat, ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Tabellæ fœderis a prætore Pagi Glaronensis gladio concisæ et delatæ, id quod ipse vidi.* Zw. Epp., ii, 310.



violence to his feelings, "that we bring back an honourable peace to our dwellings. It was not to shed blood that we set out.<sup>1</sup> God has once again shown the great ones of the earth that they can do nothing against us." Whenever he gave way to his natural disposition, a very different order of thoughts took possession of his mind. He was seen walking apart in deep dejection, and anticipating the most gloomy future. In vain did the people surround him with joyful shouts. "This peace," said he, "which you consider a triumph, you will soon repent of, striking your breasts." It was at this time that, venting his sorrow, he composed, as he was descending the Albis, a celebrated hymn often repeated to the sound of music in the fields of Switzerland, among the burghers of the confederate cities, and even in the palaces of kings. The hymns of Luther and of Zwingle play the same part in the German and Swiss Reformation as the Psalms in that of France.

Do thou direct thy chariot, Lord,  
And guide it at thy will;  
Without thy aid our strength is vain,  
And useless all our skill.  
Look down upon thy saints brought low,  
And prostrate laid before the foe.

Beloved Pastor, who hast saved  
Our souls from death and sin,  
Uplift thy voice, awake thy sheep  
That slumbering lie within  
Thy fold, and curb with thy right hand  
The rage of Satan's furious band.

Send down thy peace, and banish strife,  
Let bitterness depart;  
Revive the spirit of the past  
In every Switzer's heart:  
Then shall thy Church for ever sing  
The praises of her heavenly King.

An edict, published in the name of the confederates, ordered the revival everywhere of the old friendship and brotherly concord; but decrees are powerless to work such miracles.

This treaty of peace was nevertheless favourable to the Reformation. Undoubtedly it met with a violent opposition in some places. The nuns of the vale of St. Catherine in Thurgovia, deserted by their priests and excited by some noblemen beyond

<sup>1</sup> Cum non cædem factum profecti sumus. Zw. Epp., ii, 310.

the Rhine, who styled them in their letters, "Chivalrous women of the house of God," sang mass themselves, and appointed one of their number preacher to the convent. Certain deputies from the protestant cantons having had an interview with them the abbess and three of the nuns secretly crossed the river by night, carrying with them papers of the monastery and the ornaments of the church. But such insolated resistance as this was unavailing. Already in 1529 Zwingle was able to hold a synod in Thurgovia, which organized the church there, and decreed that the property of the convents should be consecrated to the instruction of pious young men in sacred learning. Thus concord and peace seemed at last to be re-established in the confederation.

---

### CHAPTER III.

Conquests of Reform in Schaffhausen and Zurzack—Reform in Glaris—To-day the Cowl, To-morrow the Reverse—Italian Bailiwicks—The Monk of Como—Egidio's Hope for Italy—Call of the Monk of Locarno—Hopes of reforming Italy—The Monks of Wettingen—Abbey of Saint Gall—Kilian Kouff—Saint Gall recovers its Liberty—The Reform in Soieure—Miracle of Saint Ours—Popery triumphs—The Grisons invaded by the Spaniards—Address of the Ministers to the Romish Cantons—God's Word the Means of Unity—Æcolampadius for spiritual influence—Autonomy of the Church.

WHENEVER a conqueror abandons himself to his triumph, in that very confidence he often finds destruction. Zurich and Zwingle were to exemplify this mournful lesson of history. Taking advantage of the national peace, they redoubled their exertions for the triumph of the Gospel. This was a legitimate zeal, but it was not always wisely directed. To attain the unity of Switzerland by unity of faith was the object of the Zurichers; but they forgot that, by desiring to force on a unity, it is broken to pieces, and that freedom is the only medium in which contrary elements can be dissolved, and a salutary union established. While Rome aims at unity by anathemas, imprisonment, and the stake, christian truth demands unity through liberty. And let us not fear that liberty, expanding each individuality beyond measure, will produce by this means an infinite multiplicity. While we urge every mind to attach itself to the Word of God, we give it up to a power capable of restoring its diverging opinions to a wholesome unity.

Zwingle at first signalized his victory by legitimate con-

quests. He advanced with courage. "His eye and his arm were everywhere." "A few wretched mischief-makers," says Salat, a Romanist chronicler, "penetrating into the Five Cantons, troubled men's souls, distributed their frippery, scattered everywhere little poems, tracts, and testaments, and were continually repeating that the people ought not to believe the priests."<sup>1</sup> This was not all: while the Reform was destined to be confined around the lake of the Waldstettes to a few fruitless efforts, it made brilliant conquests among the cantons,—the allies and subjects of Switzerland; and all the blows there inflicted on the Papacy re-echoed among the lofty valleys of the primitive cantons, and filled them with affright. Nowhere had Popery shown itself more determined than in the Swiss mountains. A mixture of Romish despotism and Helvetian roughness existed there. Rome was resolved to conquer all Switzerland, and yet she beheld her most important positions successively wrested from her.

On the 29th September 1529, the citizens of Schaffhausen removed the "great God"<sup>2</sup> from the cathedral, to the deep regret of a small number of devotees whom the Roman worship still counted in this city; then they abolished the mass, and stretched out their hands to Zurich and to Berne.

At Zurzack, near the confluence of the Rhine and the Aar, at the moment when the priest of the place, a man devoted to the ancient worship, was preaching with zeal, a person named Tüfel (devil), raising his head, observed to him: "Sir, you are heaping insults on good men, and loading the pope and the saints of the Roman calendar with honour; pray where do we find that in the Holy Scriptures?" This question, put in a serious tone of voice, raised a sly smile on many faces, and the congregation with their eyes fixed on the pulpit awaited the reply. The priest in astonishment and at his wit's end, answered with a trembling voice: "Devil is thy name; thou actest like the Devil, and thou art the Devil! For this reason I will have nothing to do with thee." He then hastily left the pulpit, and ran away as if Satan himself had been behind him. Immediately the images were torn down, and the mass abolished. The Roman-catholics sought to console themselves by repeating everywhere: "At Zurzack it was the Devil who introduced the Reformation."<sup>1</sup>

The priests and warriors of the Forest Cantons beheld the

<sup>1</sup> Die sectischen haltend vil elends Hüdel volk gefunden, &c. Salat, Chron.

<sup>2</sup> Le bon Dieu, probably the patron saint. W. Angriff.

<sup>3</sup> That der Tüfel den ersten



overthrow of the Romish faith in countries that lay nearer to them. In the canton of Glaris, whence by the steep passes of the Klaus and the Prigel,<sup>1</sup> the Reform might suddenly fall upon Uri and Schwytz, two men met face to face. At Mollis, Fridolin Brunner who questioned himself every day by what means he could advance the cause of Christ,<sup>2</sup> attacked the abuses of the Church with the energy of his friend Zwingli,<sup>3</sup> and endeavoured to spread among the people, who were passionately fond of war, the peace and charity of the Gospel. At Glaris, on the contrary, Valentine Tschudi studied with all the circumspection of his friend Erasmus to preserve a just medium between Rome and the Reform. And although, in consequence of Fridolin's preaching, the doctrines of purgatory, indulgences, meritorious works, and intercession of the saints, were looked at by the Glaronais as mere follies and fables,<sup>4</sup> they still believed with Tschudi that the body and blood of Christ were substantially in the bread of the Lord's Supper.

At the same time a movement in opposition to the Reform was taking place in that high and savage valley, where the Linth, roaring at the foot of vast rocks with jagged crests—enormous citadels which seem built in the air,—bathes the villages of Schwanden and Ruti with its waters. The Roman-catholics, alarmed at the progress of the Gospel, and wishing to save these mountains at least, had scattered with liberal hands the money they derived from their foreign pensions; and from that time violent hostility divided old friends, and men who appeared to have been won over to the Gospel basely sought for a pretext to conceal a disgraceful flight.<sup>5</sup> “Peter<sup>6</sup> and I,” wrote Rasdorfer, pastor of Ruti, in despair, “are labouring in the vineyard, but alas! the grapes we gathered are not employed for the sacrifice, and the very birds do not eat them. We fish, but after having toiled all night, we find that we have only caught leeches.<sup>7</sup> Alas! we are casting pearls before dogs, and roses before swine!” The spirit of

<sup>1</sup> This is the road by which the army of Suwaroff escaped in 1799. <sup>2</sup> Nam quotidie cogitare soleo quanam re Christianum adjuvem profectem. (Zw. Epp., ii, 13.) For my custom is to consider daily in what way I can assist the progress of Christianity.

<sup>3</sup> Audeo ego intrepide omnem ecclesiæ abusum et omnia humana præcepta in enunciatione verbi Dei damnare. (Ibid.) I dare boldly condemn every abuse of the Church, and all human precepts, in the enunciation of the Word of God.

<sup>4</sup> Nugas esse et fabulas. Ibid., 13. <sup>5</sup> Jam ære convicti palinodiam canunt. (Ibid., 292.) Now, convinced by many, they sing a palonide.

<sup>6</sup> Pierre Rumelin, pastor of Schwanden. <sup>7</sup> Tota enim nocte piscantes, sanguisugas, aspendios cepimus. Zw. Epp., ii, 13. Rasdorfer evidently alludes to what Pliny says of a kind of vine termed *Aspendios*: E diverso aspendios, damnata aris. Ferunt eam nec ab alite ulla attingi. Hist. Nat., lib. xiv, cap. xviii, sec. 22.

revolt against the Gospel soon descended from these valleys with the noisy waters of the Linth as far as Glaris and Mollis. "The council, as if it had been composed only of silly women, shifting its sails every day," said Rasdorfer;<sup>1</sup> "one day it will have the cowl, on the next it will not."<sup>2</sup> Glaris, like a leaf carried along on the bosom of one of its torrents, and which the waves and eddies drive in different directions, wavered, wheeled about, and was nearly swallowed up.

But this crisis came to an end: the Gospel suddenly regained strength, and on Easter Monday 1530, a general assembly of the people "put the mass and the altars to the vote." A powerful party that relied upon the Five Cantons vainly opposed the Reform. It was proclaimed, and its vanquished and disconcerted enemies were forced to content themselves, says Bullinger, with mysteriously concealing a few idols, which they reserved for better days.

In the meanwhile, the Reform advanced in the exterior *Rhodes* of Appenzell,<sup>3</sup> and in the district of Sargans. But what most exasperated the cantons that remained faithful to the Romish doctrines, was to see it pass the Alps and appear in Italy, in those beautiful districts round Lake Maggiore, where, near the embouchure of the Maggia, within the walls of Locarno, in the midst of laurels, pomegranates, and cypresses, flourished the noble families of Orelli, Muralto, Magoria, and Duni, and where floated since 1512 the sovereign standard of the cantons. "What!" said the Waldstettes, "is it not enough that Zurich and Zwingle infest Switzerland! They have the impudence to carry their pretended reform even into Italy,—even into the country of the pope!"

Great irregularities prevailed there among the clergy: "Whoever wishes to be damned must become a priest," was a common saying.<sup>4</sup> But the Gospel succeeded in making its way even into that district. A monk of Como, Egedio à Porta, who had taken the cowl in 1511, against the wishes of his family,<sup>5</sup> struggled for years in the Augustine convent, and nowhere found peace for his soul. Motionless, environed, as it appeared to him, with profound night, he cried aloud: "Lord, what wilt thou that I should do?" Erelong the monk

<sup>1</sup> Vertit vela iudices senatus noster muliercularum more. Hist. Nat., lib. xiv, cap. xviii, sec. 22. <sup>2</sup> Vult jam cucullam, post non vult. Ibid. That is, at one time it recognises, at another rejects, the Abbot of Saint Gall.

<sup>3</sup> See Benedict Noll's Letter to Zwingle, Epp., ii, 635.

<sup>4</sup> St. Charles Barromeo, archbishop of Milan, suppressed somewhat later several convents in this district: "Monialium non dicam collegia, sed amantium contubernia," said he. Die evangel. Gem. in Locarno von F. Meyer, i, 109.

<sup>5</sup> Subdixi memet a parentum patrocínio, cucillumque nigrum ex animo suscepi. Zw. Epp., i, 448.

of Como thought he heard these words in his heart: "Go to Ulrich Zwingle and he will tell thee." He rose trembling with emotion. "It is you," wrote he to Zwingle immediately, "but no! it is not you, it is God who, through you, will deliver me from the nets of the hunters." "Translate the New Testament into Italian," replied Zwingle; "I will undertake to get it printed at Zurich." This is what the Reform did for Italy more than three centuries ago.

Egidio therefore remained. He commenced translating the Gospel; but at one time he had to beg for the convent, at another to repeat his "hours," and then to accompany one of the fathers on his journeys.<sup>1</sup> Everything that surrounded him increased his distress. He saw his country reduced to the greatest misery by desolating wars,—men formerly rich, holding out their hands for alms,—crowds of women driven by want to the most shameful degradation. He imagined that a great political deliverance could alone bring about the religious independence of his fellow-countrymen.

On a sudden he thought that this happy hour was arrived. He perceived a band of Lutheran lansquenets descending the Alps. Their serried phalanxes, their threatening looks, were directed towards the banks of the Tiber. At their head marched Freundsberg, wearing a chain of gold around his neck, and saying: "If I reach Rome I will make use of it to hang the pope." "God wills to save us," wrote Egidio to Zwingle: "write to the constable;<sup>2</sup> entreat him to deliver the people over whom he rules,—to take from the shaven crowns, whose God is their belly, the wealth which renders them so proud,—and to distribute it among the people who are dying of hunger. Then let each one preach without fear the pure Word of the Lord.—The strength of Antichrist is near at its fall!"

Thus, about the end of 1526, Egidio already dreamt of the Reformation of Italy. From that time his letters cease: the monk disappeared. There can be no doubt that the arm of Rome was able to reach him, and that like so many others, he was plunged into the gloomy dungeon of some convent.

In the spring of 1530, a new epoch commenced for the Italian bailiwicks. Zurich appointed Jacques Werdmüller bailiff of Locarno; he was a grave man, respected by all, and who even in 1524 had kissed the feet of the pope; he had since

<sup>1</sup> *Confratres nonnulli viri certe et pietate et eruditione nequaquam contemptibiles.* (Zw. Epp., i, 533.) Some brothers whose piety and erudition were certainly by no means contemptible.

<sup>2</sup> Bourbon, who commanded in Italy on behalf of the emperor. *Supra*, book xiii, p. 15.



then been won over to the Gospel, and had sat down at the feet of the Saviour.<sup>1</sup> “Go,” said Zurich, “and bear yourself like a Christian, and in all that concerns the Word of God conform to the ordinances.” Werdmüller met with nothing but darkness in every quarter. Yet, in the midst of this gloom, a feeble glimmering seemed to issue from a convent situated on the delightful shores of Lake Maggiore. Among the Carmelites at Locarno was a monk named Fontana, skilled in the Holy Scriptures, and animated with the same spirit that had enlightened the monk of Como. The doctrine of salvation, “without money and without price,” which God proclaims in the Gospel, filled him with love and joy. “As long as I live,” said he, I will preach upon the Epistles of St. Paul;”<sup>2</sup> for it was particularly in these epistles that he had found the truth. Two monks, of whose names we are ignorant, shared his sentiments. Fontana wrote a letter “to all the Church of Christ in Germany,” which was forwarded to Zwingle. We may imagine we hear that man of Macedonia, who appeared in a vision to Paul in the night, calling him to Europe, and saying, “Come over and help us.”<sup>3</sup>—“O, trusty and well-beloved of Christ Jesus,” cried the monk of Locarno to Germany, “remember Lazarus, the beggar, in the Gospel,—remember that humble Canaanitish woman, longing for the crumbs that fell from the Lord’s table! hungry as David, I have recourse to the shew-bread placed upon the altar. A poor traveller devoured by thirst, I rush to the springs of living water.”<sup>4</sup> Plunged in darkness, bathed in tears, we cry to you who know the mysteries of God to send us by the hands of the munificent J. Werdmüller all the writings of the divine Zwingle, of the famous Luther, of the skilful Melanethon, of the mild Œcolampadius, of the ingenious Pomeranus, of the learned Lambert, of the elegant Brentz, of the penetrating Bucer, of the studious Leo, of the vigilant Hütten, and of the other illustrious doctors, if there are any more. Excellent princes, pivots of the Church, our holy mother, make haste to deliver from the slavery of Babylon a city of Lombardy that has not yet known the Gospel of Jesus Christ. We are but three who have combined together to fight on behalf of the truth; <sup>5</sup> but it was beneath the blows

<sup>1</sup> Luke, x, 39.

Zw. Epp., ii, 497.

<sup>2</sup> *Se dum vivat satis de Epistolis Pauli concionaturum esse.*<sup>3</sup> Acts, xvi, 9.<sup>4</sup> *Debilis et infirmus apud piscinam, salutem mei et patrie toto mentis affectu citissime expecto.* (Hottinger, sæcul. 16, pars 2, p. 619.) Weak and infirm, I eagerly, with my whole soul, wait at the fish-pool for the salvation of myself and my country.<sup>5</sup> *Confederati conjunctique in expeditionem veritatis tres tantum numero sumus.* Hottinger sæcul. 16, pars 2, p. 620.

of a small body of men, chosen by God, and not by the thousands of Gideon, that Midian fell. Who knows if, from a small spark, God may not cause a great conflagration?"

Thus three men on the banks of the Maggia hoped at that time to reform Italy. They uttered a call to which, for three centuries the evangelical world has not replied. Zurich, however, in these days of its strength and of its faith, displayed a holy boldness, and dared extend her heretical arms beyond the Alps. Hence, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, and all the Romanists of Switzerland gave vent to loud and terrible threats, swearing to arrest even in Zurich itself the course of these presumptuous invasions.

But the Zurichers did not confine themselves to this: they gave the confederates more serious cause of fear by waging incessant war against the convents,—these centres of ultra-montane fanaticism. The extensive monastery of Wittengen, around which roll the waters of the Limmat, and which, by its proximity to Zurich, was exposed more than any other to the breath of reform, was in violent commotion. On the 23d August, 1529, a great change took place; the monks ceased to sing mass; they cut off each other's beards, not without shedding a few tears; they laid down their frocks and their hoods, and clothed themselves in becoming secular dresses.<sup>1</sup> Then, in astonishment at this metamorphosis, they listened devoutly to the sermon which Sebastian Benli of Zurich came and preached to them, and ere long employed themselves in propagating the Gospel, and in singing psalms in German. Thus Wittengen fell into the current of that river which seemed to be everywhere reviving the confederation. The cloister, ceasing to be a house for gaming, gluttony, and drunkenness, was changed into a school. Two monks alone in all the monastery remained faithful to the cowl.

The commander of Mulinen, without troubling himself about the threat of the Romish cantons, earnestly requested the commandery of St. John at Hitzkirch towards the Reformation. The question was put to the vote, and the majority declared in favour of the Word of God. "Ah!" said the commander, "I have been long pushing behind the chariot."<sup>2</sup> On the 4th September the commandery was reformed. It was the same with that of Wadenswyl, with the convent of Pfeffers, and others besides. Even at Mury the majority declared for the Gospel;

<sup>1</sup> Bekleitend sich in erbare gemeine Landskleyder. Bull. Chron., ii, 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Diu me in hoc curru promovendo laborasse, priusquam tam longe processit* (Zw. Epp., ii, 334.) I laboured long in pushing forward this chariot before it had proceeded so far.

but the minority prevailed through the support of the Five Cantons.<sup>1</sup> A new triumph, and one of greater value, was destined to indemnify the reform, and to raise the indignation of the Waldstettes to the highest pitch.

The Abbot of St. Gall, by his wealth, by the number of his subjects, and the influence which he exercised in Switzerland, was one of the most formidable adversaries of the Gospel. In 1529, therefore, at the moment when the army of Zurich took the field against the Five Cantons, the Abbot Francis of Geisberg, in alarm and at the brink of death, caused himself to be hastily removed into the strong castle of Rohrschach, not thinking himself secure except within its walls. Four days after this, the illustrious Vadian, burgomaster of St. Gall, entered the convent, and announced the intention of the people to resume the use of their cathedral-church, and to remove the images. The monks were astonished at such audacity, and having in vain protested and cried for help, put their most precious effects in a place of safety, and fled to Einsidlen.

Among these was Kilian Kouffi, head-steward of the abbey, a cunning and active monk, and, like Zwingli, a native of the Tockenburi. Knowing how important it was to find a successor to the abbot, before the news of his death was bruited abroad, he came to an understanding with those who waited on the prelate; and the latter dying on Tuesday in Holy Week, the meals were carried as usual into his chamber, and with downcast eyes and low voice the attendants answered every inquiry about his health. While this farce was going on round a dead body, the monks who had assembled at Einsidlen repaired in all haste to Rapperschwyl, in the territory of St. Gall, and there elected Kilian, who had so skilfully managed the affair. The new abbot went immediately to Rohrschach, and on Good Friday he there proclaimed his own election and the death of his predecessor. Zurich and Glaris declared they would not recognise him, unless he could prove by the Holy Scriptures that a monkish life was in conformity with the Gospel. "We are ready to protect the house of God," said they; "and for this reason we require that it be consecrated anew to the Lord. But we do not forget that it is our duty also to protect the people. The free Church of Christ should raise its head in the bosom of a free people." At the same time the ministers of St. Gall published forty-two theses, in which they asserted that convents were not "houses of the Lord but houses of the devil."<sup>2</sup> The abbot supported by Lucerne and Schwytz,

<sup>1</sup> Das das minder müst das meer sin. Bull., ii, 241.

<sup>2</sup> Thesis 8. Ibid., 115.



which with Zurich and Glaris exercised sovereign power in St. Gall, replied that he could not dispute about rights which he held from kings and emperors. The two natives of the Tockenbourg, Zwingle and Kilian, were thus struggling around St. Gall,—the one claiming the people for the abbey, and the other the abbey for the people. The army of Zurich having approached Wyl, Kilian seized upon the treasures and muniments of the convent and fled precipitantly beyond the Rhine. As soon as peace was concluded, the crafty monk put on a secular dress, and crept mysteriously as far as Einsidlen, whence on a sudden he made all Switzerland re-echo with his cries. Zurich in conjunction with Glaris replied by publishing a constitution, according to which a governor, “confirmed in the evangelical faith,” should preside over the district, with a council of twelve members, while the election of Pastors was left to the parishes.<sup>1</sup> Not long afterwards, the abbot, expelled and a fugitive, while crossing a river near Bregentz, fell from his horse, got entangled in his frock, and was drowned. Of the two combatants from the Tockenbourg, it was Zwingle who gained the victory.

The convent was put up to sale, and was purchased by the town of St. Gall, “with the exception,” says Bullinger, “of a detached building, called *Hell*, where the monks were left who had not embraced the Reform.”<sup>2</sup> The time having arrived when the governor sent by Zurich was to give place to one from Lucerne, the people of St. Gall called upon the latter to swear to their constitution. “A governor has never been known,” replied he, “to make an oath to peasants; it is the peasants who should make the oath to the governor!” Upon this he retired: The Zurich governor remained, and the indignation of the Five Cantons against Zurich, which so daringly assisted the people of St. Gall in recovering their ancient liberties, rose to the highest paroxysm of anger.

A few victories, however, consoled in some degree the partisans of Rome. Soleure was for a long time one of the most contested battle-fields. The citizens and the learned were in favour of Reform: the patricians and canons for Popery. Philip Grotz of Zug was preaching the Gospel there, and the council desiring to compel him to say mass, one hundred of the reformed appeared in the hall of assembly on the 13th September 1529, and with energy called for liberty of conscience. As

<sup>1</sup> Die Pfarer soll den Gmeinden irs gfallens zu erkliessen Zugestellt syn. Bull., ii, 268

<sup>2</sup> Allein was ein gebuw die *Hell* genampt, das liess man den Munchen blyten. Ibid., 271.

Zurich and Berne supported this demand, their prayer was granted.

Upon this the most fanatical of the Roman-catholics, exasperated at the concession, closed the gates of the city, pointed the guns, and made a show of expelling the friends of the Reform. The council prepare to punish these agitators, when the reformed, willing to set an example of christian moderation, declared that they would forgive them.<sup>1</sup> The Great Council then published throughout the Canton that the dominion of conscience belonging to God alone, and faith being the free gift of His grace, each one might follow the religion which he thought best. Thirty-four parishes declared for the Reformation, and only two for the mass. Almost all the rural districts were in favour of the Gospel; but the majority in the city sided with the pope.<sup>2</sup> Haller, whom the reformed of Soleure had sent for, arrived, and it was a day of triumph for them. It was in the middle of winter: "To-day," ironically observed one of the evangelical Christians, "the patron saint (St. Ours) will sweat!" And in truth—oh! wonderful!—drops of moisture fell from the holy image! It was simply a little holy water that had frozen and then thawed. But the Romanists would listen to no raillery on so illustrious a prodigy, which may remind us of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples. All the city resounded with piteous cries,—the bells were tolled,—a general procession moved through the streets, —and high mass was sung in honour of the heavenly Prince who had shown in so marvellous a manner the pangs he felt for his dearly beloved. "It is the fat minister of Berne (Haller) who is the cause of the saint's alarm," said the devout old women. One of them declared that she would thrust a knife into his body; and certain Roman-catholics threatened to go to the Cordeliers' church and murder the pastors who preached there. Upon this the reformed rushed to that church and demanded a public discussion: two hundred of their adversaries posted themselves at the same time in the church of St. Ours and refused all inquiry. Neither of the two parties was willing to be the first to abandon the camp in which it was entrenched. The senate, wishing to clear the two churches thus in a manner transformed into citadels, announced that at Martinmas, *i. e.* nine months later, a public disputation should take

<sup>1</sup> Ruchat, ii, 139.

<sup>2</sup> Major pars agri abolita superstitione a parte nostra stat. Major et potior pars urbis a papistis. (Zw. Epp., ii, 489.) A majority of the country, having abolished superstition, stand on our side. The greater and better part of the town are with the papists.

place. But as the reformed found the delay too long, both parties remained for a whole week more under arms. Commerce was interrupted,—the public offices were closed,—messengers ran to and fro,—arrangements were proposed; but the people were so stiff-necked,<sup>1</sup> that no one would give way. The city was in a state of siege. At last all were agreed about the discussion, and the ministers committed four theses to writing, which the canons immediately attempted to refute.

Nevertheless they judged it a still better plan to elude them. Nothing alarmed the Romanists so much as a disputation. “What need have we of any?” said they. “Do not the writings of the two parties declare their sentiments?” The conference was therefore put off until the following year. Many of the reformed, indignant at these delays, imprudently quitted the city; and the councils, charmed at this result, which they were far from expecting, hastily declared that the people should be free in the canton, but that in the city no one should attack the mass. From that time the reformed were compelled every Sunday to leave Soleure and repair to the village of Zuchswyl to hear the Word of God. Thus popery, defeated in so many places, triumphed in Soleure.

Zurich and the other reformed cantons attentively watched these successes of their adversaries, and lent a fearful ear to the threats of the Roman-catholics, who were continually announcing the intervention of the emperor; when on a sudden a report was heard that nine hundred Spaniards had entered the Grisons; that they were led by the Chatelain of Musso, recently invested with the title of marquis by Charles the Fifth; that the chatelain's brother-in-law, Didier d'Embs, was also marching against the Swiss at the head of three thousand imperial lansquenets; and that the emperor himself was ready to support them with all his forces. The Grisons uttered a cry of alarm. The Waldstettes remained motionless; but all the reformed cantons assembled their troops, and eleven thousand men began their march.<sup>2</sup> The emperor and the Duke of Milan having soon after declared that they would not support the chatelain, this adventurer beheld his castle razed to the ground, and was compelled to retire to the banks of the Sesia, giving guarantees of future tranquillity; while the Swiss soldiers returned to their homes, fired with indignation against the Five Cantons, who by their inactivity had infringed the federal alliance.”<sup>3</sup> “Our prompt and energetic resistance,”

<sup>1</sup> *Tam duræ cervicis populus est.* Zw. Epp., ii, 489.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. Chron.*, ii, 357.

<sup>3</sup> *Ward ein grosser Unwill wieder sie.* *Ibid.*, 361.



said they, "has undoubtedly baffled their perfidious designs; but the reaction is only adjourned. Although the parchment of the Austrian alliance has been torn in pieces, the alliance itself still exists. The truth has freed us, but soon the imperial lansquenets will come and try to place us again under the yoke of slavery."

Thus in consequence of so many violent shocks, the two parties that divided Switzerland had attained the highest degree of irritation. The gulf that separated them widened daily. The clouds—the forerunners of the tempest—drove swiftly along the mountains, and gathered threateningly above the valleys. Under these circumstances Zwingle and his friends thought it their duty to raise their voices, and if possible to avert the storm. In like manner Nicholas de Flue had in former days thrown himself between the hostile parties.

On the 5th September 1530, the principal ministers of Zurich, Berne, Basle, and Strasburg,—Æcolampadius, Capito, Megander, Leo Juda, and Myconius,—were assembled at Zurich in Zwingle's house. Desirous of taking a solemn step with the Five Cantons, they drew up an address that was presented to the Confederates at the meeting of the diet at Baden. However unfavourable the deputies were, as a body, to these heretical ministers, they nevertheless listened to this epistle but not without signs of impatience and weariness.<sup>1</sup> "You are aware, gracious lords, that concord increases the power of states, and that discord overthrows them."<sup>2</sup> You are yourselves a proof of the first of these truths. Setting out from a small beginning, you have, by a good understanding one with another, arrived at a great end. May God condescend to prevent you also from giving a striking proof of the second! Whence comes disunion, if not from selfishness? and how can we destroy this fatal passion, except by receiving from God the love of the common weal. For this reason we conjure you to allow the Word of God to be freely preached among you, as did your pious ancestors. When has there ever existed a government, even among the heathens, which saw not that the hand of God alone upholds a nation? Do not two drops of quicksilver unite as soon as you remove that which separates them? Away then with that which separates you from our cities, that is, the absence of the Word of God; and immediately the Almighty will unite us, as our fathers were united. Then placed in your mountains as in the centre of Christendom, you will be an example

<sup>1</sup> Lecta est epistola nostra in comitiis Badensibus. Æcol. to Bucer., 28th December, 1530.

<sup>2</sup> Wie mit einhelligkeit kleine Ding gross werdend. Zw. Opp., ii, 78.

to it, its protection and its refuge; and after having passed through this vale of tears, being the terror of the wicked and the consolation of the faithful, you will at last be established in eternal happiness."

Thus frankly did these men of God address their brothers, the Waldstettes. But their voice was not attended to. "The ministers' sermon is rather long,"<sup>1</sup> said some of the deputies yawning and stretching their arms, while others pretended to find in it a new cause of complaint against the cities.

This proceeding of the ministers was useless: the Waldstettes rejected the Word of God, which they had been entreated to admit; they rejected the hands that were extended towards them in the name of Jesus Christ. They called for the pope and not for the Gospel. All hope of reconciliation appeared lost.

Some persons, however, had at that time a glimpse of what might have saved Switzerland and the Reformation,—the *autonomy* (self-government) of the Church, and its independence of political interests. Had they been wise enough to decline the secular power to secure the triumph of the Gospel, it is probable that harmony might have been gradually established in the Helvetic cantons, and that the Gospel would have conquered by its Divine strength. The power of the Word of God presented chances of success that were not afforded by pikes and muskets. The energy of faith, the influence of charity, would have proved a securer protection to Christians against the burning piles of the Waldstettes than diplomatists and men-at-arms. None of the reformers understood this so clearly as Œcolampadius. His handsome countenance, the serenity of his features, the mild expression of his eyes, his long and venerable beard, the spirituality of his expression, a certain dignity that inspired confidence and respect, gave him rather the air of an apostle than a reformer. It was the power of the inner word that he particularly extolled; perhaps he even went too far in spiritualism. But, however that may be, if any man could have saved Reform from the misfortunes that were about to befall it—that man was he. In separating from the Papacy, he desired not to set up the magistracy in its stead. "The magistrate who should take away from the churches the authority that belongs to them," wrote he to Zwingle, "would be more intolerable than Antichrist himself

<sup>1</sup> Libellum supplicem ad quinque pagos breviorē vellent. (Zw. Epp., ii, 511.) They would have a petition of five pages to be shorter. Fastidiunt tam sancta. (Œcol.) So little do they relish sacred things.

(i. e. the pope)."<sup>1</sup>—"The hand of the magistrate strikes with the sword, but the hand of Christ heals. Christ has not said,—If thy brother will not hear thee, tell it to the magistrate, but—*tell it to the Church*. The functions of the State are distinct from those of the Church. The State is free to do many things which the purity of the Gospel condemns."<sup>2</sup> Æcolampadius saw how important it was that his convictions should prevail among the reformed. This man, so mild and so spiritual, feared not to stand forth bodily in defence of doctrines then so novel. He expounded them before a synodal assembly, and next developed them before the senate of Basle.<sup>3</sup> It is a strange circumstance that these ideas, for a moment at least, were acceptable to Zwingli;<sup>4</sup> but they displeased an assembly of the brethren to whom he communicated them; the politic Bucer above all feared that this independence of the Church would in some measure check the exercise of the civil power.<sup>5</sup> The exertions of Æcolampadius to constitute the Church were not, however, entirely unsuccessful. In February, 1531, a diet of four reformed cantons (Basle, Zurich, Berne, and St. Gall), was held at Basle, in which it was agreed, that whenever any difficulty should arise with regard to doctrine or worship, an assembly of divines and laymen should be convoked, which should examine what the Word of God said on the matter.<sup>6</sup> This resolution, by giving greater unity to the renovated Church, gave it also fresh strength.

## CHAPTER IV.

Zwingli and the Christian State—Zwingli's double Part—Zwingli and Luther in Relation to Politics—Philip of Hesse and the Free Cities—Projected Union between Zwingli and Luther—Zwingli's political Action—Project of Alliance against the Emperor—Zwingli advocates active Resistance—He destines the Imperial Crown for Philip—Faults of the Reformation—Embassy to Venice—Giddiness of the Reformation—Projected Alliance with France—Zwingli's plan of Alliance—Approaching Ruin—Slanders in the Five Cantons—Violence—Mysterious Paper—Berne and Basle vote for Peace—General Diet at Baden—Evangelical Diet at Zurich—Political Reformation of Switzerland—Activity of Zurich.

<sup>1</sup> Intolerabilior enim Antichristo ipso magistratus, qui Ecclesiis auctoritatem suam admittit. (Zw. Epp., ii, 510.) The magistrate who deprives the churches of their authority is more intolerable than Antichrist himself.

<sup>2</sup> Ipsorum functio alia est et ecclesiastica, multaque ferre et facere potest quæ puritas evangelica non agnoscit. (Ibid.) Their function and the ecclesiastical are different. They can bear and do many things which Gospel purity admits not.

<sup>3</sup> Orationis mee quam, fratrum nomine, coram senatu habui. Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ut mihi magis ac magis arridet.

<sup>5</sup> Ut non impediatur alicubi magistratum Christianum. Bucer.

<sup>6</sup> J. J. Hottinger, iii, 554.

to Zw., p. 836.



BUT it was too late to tread in this path which would have prevented so many disasters. The Reformation had already entered with all her sails set upon the stormy ocean of politics, and terrible misfortunes were gathering over her. The impulse communicated to the Reform came from another than *Æcolampadius*. Zwingle's proud and piercing eyes—his harsh features,—his bold step,—all proclaimed in him a resolute mind and the man of action. Nurtured in the exploits of the heroes of antiquity, he threw himself, to save Reform, in the footsteps of Demosthenes and Cato, rather than in those of St. John and St. Paul. His prompt and penetrating looks were turned to the right and to the left,—to the cabinets of kings and the councils of the people, whilst they should have been directed solely to God. We have already seen, that as early as 1527, Zwingle, observing how all the powers were rising against the Reformation, had conceived the plan of a *co-burghery* or Christian State,<sup>1</sup> which should unite all the friends of the Word of God in one holy and powerful league. This was so much the easier as Zwingle's reformation had won over Strasburg, Augsburg, Ulm, Reutlingen, Lindau, Memmingen, and other towns of Upper Germany. Constance in December 1527, Berne in June 1528, St. Gall in November of the same year, Bienne in January 1529, Mulhausen in February, Basle in March, Schaffhausen in September, and Strasburg in December, entered into this alliance. This political phasis of Zwingle's character is in the eyes of some persons his highest claim to glory; we do not hesitate to acknowledge it as his greatest fault. The reformer, deserting the paths of the apostles, allowed himself to be led astray by the perverse example of Popery. The primitive Church never opposed their persecutors but with the sentiments derived from the Gospel of peace. Faith was the only sword by which it vanquished the mighty ones of the earth. Zwingle felt clearly that by entering into the ways of worldly politicians, he was leaving those of a minister of Christ; he therefore sought to justify himself. "No doubt, it is not by human strength," said he, "it is by the strength of God alone that the Word of the Lord should be upheld. But God often makes use of men as instruments to succour men. Let us therefore unite, and from the sources of the Rhine to Strasburg let us form but one people and one alliance."

Zwingle played two parts at once—he was a reformer and

<sup>1</sup> *Civitas Christiana*.

<sup>2</sup> Dass von oben hinab hie dises Rhyns, bis gen Strasburg ein Volk und Bundniss würde. Zw. Opp., ii, 28.

a magistrate. But these are two characters that ought not more to be united than those of a minister and of a soldier. We will not altogether blame the soldiers and the magistrates: in forming leagues and drawing the sword, even for the sake of religion, they act according to their point of view, although it is not the same as ours; but we must decidedly blame the christian minister who becomes a diplomatist or a general.

In October, 1529, as we have already observed, Zwingle repaired to Marburg, whither he had been invited by Philip of Hesse; and while neither of them had been able to come to an understanding with Luther, the landgrave and the Swiss reformer, animated by the same bold and enterprising spirit, soon agreed together.

The two reformers differed not less in their political than in their religious system. Luther, brought up in the cloister and in monastic submission, was imbued in youth with the writings of the fathers of the Church; Zwingle, on the other hand, reared in the midst of Swiss liberty, had, during those early years which decide the course of all the rest, imbibed the history of the ancient republics. Thus, while Luther was in favour of a passive obedience, Zwingle advocated resistance against tyrants.

These two men were the faithful representatives of their respective nations. In the north of Germany, the princes and nobility were the essential part of the nation, and the people—strangers to all political liberty—had only to obey. Thus, at the epoch of the Reformation they were content to follow the voice of their doctors and chiefs. In Switzerland, in the south of Germany, and on the Rhine, on the contrary, many cities, after long and violent struggles, had won civil liberty; and hence we find in almost every place the people taking a decided part in the Reform of the Church. There was good in this; but evil was close at hand. The reformers, themselves men of the people, who dared not act upon princes, might be tempted to hurry away the people. It was easier for the Reformation to unite with republics than with kings. This facility nearly proved its ruin. The Gospel was thus to learn that its alliance is in heaven.

There was, however, one prince with whom the reformed party of the free states desired to be in union: this was Philip of Hesse. It was he who in great measure prompted Zwingle's warlike projects. Zwingle desired to make him some return, and to introduce his new friend into the evangelical league. But Berne, watchful to avert anything that might irritate the

emperor and its ancient confederates, rejected this proposal, and thus excited a lively discontent in the "Christian State."—"What!" cried they, "do the Bernese refuse an alliance that would be honourable for us, acceptable to Jesus Christ, and terrible to our adversaries?"<sup>1</sup> "The Bear," said the high-spirited Zwingli, "is jealous of the Lion (Zurich); but there will be an end to all these artifices, and victory will remain with the bold." It would appear, indeed, according to a letter in cipher, that the Bernese at last sided with Zwingli, requiring only that this alliance with a prince of the empire should not be made public.<sup>2</sup>

Still Œcolampadius had not given way, and his meekness contended, although modestly, with the boldness of his impetuous friend. He was convinced that faith was destined to triumph only by the cordial union of all believers. A valuable relief occurred to animate his exertions. The deputies of the christian co-burghery having assembled at Basle in 1530, the envoys from Strasburg endeavoured to reconcile Luther and Zwingli. Œcolampadius wrote to Zwingli on the subject, begging him to hasten to Basle,<sup>3</sup> and not show himself too unyielding. "To say that the body and blood of Christ are really in the Lord's Supper, may appear to many too hard an expression," said he, "but is it not softened, when it is added—spiritually and not bodily?"<sup>4</sup>

Zwingli was immovable. "It is to flatter Luther that you hold such language, and not to defend the truth."<sup>5</sup> *Edere est credere.*"<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless there were men present at the meeting who were resolved upon energetic measures. Brotherly love was on the eve of triumphing: peace was to be obtained by union. The Elector of Saxony himself proposed a concord of all evangelical Christians, to which the Swiss cities were invited by the landgrave to accede. A report spread that Luther and Zwingli were about to make the same confession of faith. Zwingli, calling to mind the early professions of the Saxon reformer, said one day at table before many witnesses, that Luther would not think so erroneously about the Eucharist, if

<sup>1</sup> *Ipsis et nobis honestius, ob religionis et caritatis causam, Christo gratius, ob conjunctas vires utilius, hostibusque terribilius.* (Zw. Epp., ii, 481.) More honourable to them and us because of religion and charity, more agreeable to Christ, more useful because of our combined strength and more terrible to our enemies.

<sup>2</sup> *Tantum recusaverunt aperte agere.* Ibid., 487. This cipher appears to indicate the Bernese.

<sup>3</sup> *Si potes, mox advola.* Ibid., 547. <sup>4</sup> *Christi corpus et sanguinem adesse vero in cœna fortasse cupiam durius sonat, sed mitigatur dum adjungitur animo non corpore.* Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> *Hæc omnia fieri pro Luthero neque pro veritate propugnandi causa.* Ibid., 550.

<sup>6</sup> To eat is to believe.



he were not misled by Melancthon.<sup>1</sup> The union of the whole of the Reformation seemed about to be concluded: it would have vanquished by its own weapons. But Luther soon proved that Zwingle was mistaken in his expectations. He required a written engagement by which Zwingle and Œcolampadius should adhere to his sentiments, and the negotiations were broken off in consequence. Concord having failed, there remained nothing but war. Œcolampadius must be silent, and Zwingle must act.

And in truth from that hour Zwingle advanced more and more along that fatal path into which he was misled by his character, his patriotism, and his early habits. Stunned by so many violent shocks, attacked by his enemies and by his brethren, he staggered, and his head grew dizzy. From this period the reformer almost entirely disappears, and we see in his place the politician, the great citizen, who beholding a formidable coalition preparing its chains for every nation, stands up energetically against it. The emperor had just formed a close alliance with the pope. If his deadly schemes were not opposed it would be all over, in Zwingle's opinion, with Reformation, with religious and political liberty, and even with the confederation itself. "The emperor," said he, "is stirring up friend against friend, enemy against enemy: and then he endeavours to raise out of this confusion the glory of the Papacy, and, above all, his own power. He excites the Chatelain of Musso against the Grisons—Duke George of Saxony against Duke John—the Bishop of Constance against the city—the Duke of Savoy against Berne—the Five Cantons against Zurich—and the bishops of the Rhine against the landgrave; then, when the confusion shall have become general, he will fall upon Germany, will offer himself as a mediator, and ensnare princes and cities by fine speeches, until he has them all under his feet. Alas! what discord, what disasters, under the pretence of re-establishing the empire and restoring religion!"<sup>2</sup> Zwingle went farther. The reformer of a small town in Switzerland, rising to the most astonishing political conceptions, called for a European alliance against such fatal designs. The son of a peasant of the Tockenburg held up his head against the heir of so many crowns. "That man must either

<sup>1</sup> Memini dudum Tiguri te dicentem cum convivio me exciperes, Lutherum non adeo perperam de Eucharistia sentire, nisi quod Melancthon ex alio eum cogeret. (Zw. Epp., ii, 562.) I recollect of you telling me long ago, when I was your guest, that Luther would not have such erroneous views of the Eucharist were he not compelled thereto by Melancthon.

<sup>2</sup> Quæ dissidia, quas turbas, quæ mala, quas clades!

Ibid., 429.

be a traitor or a coward," wrote he to a senator of Constance, "who is content to stretch and yawn, when he ought to be collecting men and arms on every side, to convince the emperor that in vain he strives to re-establish the Romish faith, to enslave the free cities, and to subdue the Helvetians.<sup>1</sup> He showed us only six months ago how he would proceed. To-day he will take one city in hand, to morrow another; and so, step by step, until they are all reduced. Then their arms will be taken away, their treasures, their machines of war, and all their power. . . . Arouse Lindau and all your neighbours; if they do not awake, public liberty will perish under the pretext of religion. We must place no confidence in the friendship of tyrants. Demosthenes teaches us that there is nothing so hateful in their eyes as *την των πολέων ελευθεριαν*.<sup>2</sup> The emperor with one hand offers us bread, but in the other he conceals a stone."<sup>3</sup> And a few months later Zwingle wrote to his friends in Constance; "Be bold; fear not the schemes of Charles. The razor will cut him who is sharpening it."<sup>4</sup>

Away, then, with delay! Should they wait until Charles the Fifth claimed the ancient castle of Hapsburg? The papacy and the empire, it was said at Zurich, are so confounded together,<sup>5</sup> that one cannot exist or perish without the other. Whoever rejects Popery should reject the empire, and whoever rejects the emperor should reject the pope.

It appears that Zwingle's thoughts even went beyond a simple resistance. When once the Gospel had ceased to be his principal study, there was nothing that could arrest him. "A single individual," said he, "must not take into his head to dethrone a tyrant; this would be a revolt, and the kingdom of God commands peace, righteousness, and joy. But if a whole people with common accord, or if the majority at least rejects him, without committing any excess, it is God himself who acts."<sup>6</sup> Charles V. was at that time a tyrant in Zwingle's eyes; and the reformer hoped that Europe, awakening at length from its long slumber, would be the hand of God to hurl him from his throne.

Never since the time of Demosthenes and of the two Catos had the world seen a more energetic resistance to the power of its oppressors. Zwingle in a political point of view is one of

<sup>1</sup> Romanam fidem restituere, urbes liberas capere, Helvetios in ordinem cogere. Zw. Epp., ii, March 1530.

<sup>2</sup> "The freedom of cities." These words are in Greek in the original.

<sup>3</sup> Cæsar altera manu panem ostentat, altera lapidem celat. Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Incidet in cotem aliquando novacula. Ibid., 544.

<sup>5</sup> Bupst und Keyserthumen habend sich dermassen in einandern geflickt. Bull., ii, 343.

<sup>6</sup> So ist es mit Gott. Zw. Opp.

the greatest characters of modern times: we must pay him this honour, which is, perhaps, for a minister of God, the greatest reproach. Everything was prepared in his mind to bring about a revolution that would have changed the history of Europe. He knew what he desired to substitute in place of the power he wished to overthrow. He had already cast his eyes upon the prince who was to wear the imperial crown instead of Charles. It was his friend the landgrave. "Most gracious prince," wrote he on the 2nd November, 1529, "if I write to you as a child to a father, it is because I hope that God has chosen you for great events. . . . I dare think, but I dare not speak of them<sup>1</sup>. . . . However, we must bell the cat at last.<sup>2</sup> . . . . All that I can do with my feeble means to manifest the truth, to save the universal Church, to augment your power and the power of those who love God—with God's help, I will do." Thus was this great man led astray. It is the will of God that there be spots even in those who shine brightest in the eyes of the world, and that only one upon earth shall say—"Which of you convinceth me of sin?" We are now viewing the faults of the Reformation: they arise from the union of religion with politics. I could not take upon myself to pass them by; the recollection of the errors of our predecessors is perhaps the most useful legacy they have bequeathed to us.

It appears that already at Marburg Zwingle and the landgrave had drawn out the first sketch of a general alliance against Charles V. The landgrave had undertaken to bring over the princes, Zwingle the free cities of Southern Germany and Switzerland. He went still further, and formed a plan of gaining over to this league the republics of Italy—the powerful Venice at least—that she might detain the emperor beyond the Alps, and prevent him from leading all his forces into Germany. Zwingle, who had earnestly pleaded against all foreign alliances, and proclaimed on so many occasions that the only ally of the Swiss should be the arm of the Almighty, began now to look around for what he had condemned, and thus prepared the way for the terrible judgment that was about to strike his family, his country, and his Church.

He had hardly returned from Marburg, and had made no official communication to the Great Council, when he obtained from the senate the nomination of an ambassador to Venice. Great men, after their first success, easily imagine that they

<sup>1</sup> Spero Deum te ad magnas res . . . . . quas quidem cogitare sed non discere licet. Zw. Epp., ii, 666.

<sup>2</sup> Sed fieri non potest quin tintinnabulum aliquando feri adnectatur. Ibid.



can do every thing. It was not a statesman who was charged with this mission, but one of Zwingle's friends, who had accompanied him into Germany, to the court of the future chief of the new empire—the Greek professor, Rodolph Collins, a bold and skilful man, and who knew Italian. Thus the Reform stretched its hands to the Doge and the Procurator of St. Marc. The Bible was not enough for it—it must have the *Golden Book*: never did a greater humiliation befall God's work. The opinion which Protestants then entertained of Venice may, however, partly excuse Zwingle. There was in that city more independence of the pope, more freedom of thought, than in all the rest of Italy. Luther himself about this time wrote to Gabriel Zwilling, pastor at Torgau: "With what joy do I learn what you write to me concerning the Venetians. God be praised and glorified, for that they have received his Word!"<sup>1</sup>

Collins was admitted, on the 26th December, to an audience with the doge and senate, who looked with an air of astonishment at this schoolmaster, this strange ambassador, without attendants, and without parade. They could not even understand his credentials, in so singular a style were they drawn up, and Collins was forced to explain their meaning. "I am come to you," said he, "in the name of the council of Zurich and of the cities of the christian cöburghery—free cities like Venice, and to which common interests should unite you. The power of the emperor is formidable to republics; he is aiming at a universal monarchy in Europe; if he succeeds, all the free states will perish. We must therefore check him."<sup>2</sup> The doge replied that the republic had just concluded an alliance with the emperor, and betrayed the distrust that so mysterious a mission excited in the Venetian senate. But afterwards, in a private conference,<sup>3</sup> the doge, wishing to preserve a retreat on both sides, added, that Venice gratefully received the message from Zurich, and that a Venetian regiment, armed and paid by the republic itself, should be always ready to support the evangelical Swiss. The chancellor, covered with his purple robe, attended Collins to the door, and, at the very gates of the ducal palace, confirmed the promise of support. The moment the Reformation passed the magnificent porticos of St. Marc it was seized with giddiness; it could but stagger onwards to the abyss. They dismissed poor Collins

<sup>1</sup> Lætus audio de Venetis quæ scribis, quod verbum Dei receperint, Deo gratia ac gloria. 7th March 1528. L. Epp., iii, 289.

<sup>2</sup> Formidandam rebus-publici potentiam Cæsaris, quæ omnino ad Europæ monarchiam vergit. Zw. Epp., ii, 445.

<sup>3</sup> Postea privatim alia respondisse. Ibid.

by placing in his hands a present of twenty crowns. The rumour of these negotiations soon spread abroad, and the less suspicious, Capito for example, shook their heads, and could see in this pretended agreement nothing but the accustomed perfidy of Venice.<sup>1</sup>

This was not enough. The cause of the Reform was fated to drink the cup of degradation to the very dregs. Zwingle, seeing that his adversaries in the empire increased daily in numbers and in power, gradually lost his ancient aversion for France; and, although there was now a greater obstacle than before between him and Francis I.,—the blood of his brethren shed by that monarch,—he showed himself favourably disposed to a union that he had once so forcibly condemned.

Lambert Maigret, a French general, who appears to have had some leaning to the Gospel—which is a slight excuse for Zwingle—entered into correspondence with the reformer, giving him to understand that the secret designs of Charles V. called for an alliance between the King of France and the Swiss republics. “Apply yourself,” said this diplomatist to him in 1530, “to a work so agreeable to our Creator, and which, by God’s grace, will be very easy to your mightiness.”<sup>2</sup> Zwingle was at first astonished at these overtures. “The King of France,” thought he, “cannot know which way to turn.”<sup>3</sup> Twice he took no heed of this prayer; but the envoy of Francis I. insisted that the reformer should communicate to him a plan of alliance. At the third attempt of the ambassador, the simple child of the Tockenburg mountains could no longer resist his advances. If Charles V. must fall, it cannot be without French assistance; and why should not the Reformation contract an alliance with Francis I., the object of which would be to establish a power in the empire that should in its turn oblige the king to tolerate the Reform in his own dominions? Everything seemed to meet the wishes of Zwingle; the fall of the tyrant was at hand, and he would drag the pope along with him. He communicated the general’s overtures to the secret council, and Collins set out, commissioned to bear the required project to the French ambassador.<sup>4</sup> “In ancient times,” it ran, “no kings or people ever resisted the Roman empire with such firmness as those of France and Switzerland. Let us not degenerate from the

<sup>1</sup> Perfidiam adversus Cæsarem, fidem videri volunt. Capito, Zw. Epp., ii, 445.

<sup>2</sup> Operi Creatori nostro acceptissimo, Dominationi tuæ facillimo, media gratia Dei. Zw. Epp., ii, 413.

<sup>3</sup> Regem admodum desperare et inopem concilii esse, ut nesciat quo se vertat. Ibid., 414.

<sup>4</sup> Bis negavi, at tertio misi, non sine conscientia Probulatarum. Ibid., 422.

virtues of our ancestors. His most Christian Majesty—all whose wishes are that the purity of the Gospel may remain undefiled<sup>1</sup>—engages therefore to conclude an alliance with the christian cöburchery that shall be in accordance with the Divine law, and that shall be submitted to the censure of the evangelical theologians of Switzerland.” Then followed an outline of the different articles of the treaty.

Lanzerant, another of the king’s envoys, replied the same day (27th February) to this astonishing project of alliance about to be concluded between the reformed Swiss and the persecutor of the French reformed, *under reserve of the censure of the theologians*. . . . This was not what France desired: it was Lombardy, and not the Gospel that the king wanted. For that purpose, he needed the support of all the Swiss. But an alliance which ranged the Roman-catholic cantons against him, would not suit him. Being satisfied, therefore, for the present with knowing the sentiments of Zurich, the French envoys began to look coolly upon the reformers’ scheme. “The matters you have submitted to us are admirably drawn up,” said Lanzerant to the Swiss commissioner, “but I can scarcely understand them, no doubt because of the weakness of my mind. . . . We must not put any seed into the ground, unless the soil be properly prepared for it.”

Thus, the Reform acquired nothing but shame from these propositions. Since it had forgotten these precepts of the Word of God: “Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers!”<sup>2</sup> how could it fail to meet with striking reverses? Already, Zwingle’s friends began to abandon him. The landgrave, who had pushed him into this diplomatic career, drew towards Luther, and sought to check the Swiss reformer, particularly after this saying of Erasmus had sounded in the ears of the great: “They ask us to open our gates, crying aloud—the Gospel! the Gospel! . . . Raise the cloak, and under its mysterious folds you will find—democracy.”

While the Reform, by its culpable proceedings, was calling down the chastisement of Heaven, the Five Cantons, that were to be the instruments of its punishment, accelerated with all their might those fatal days of anger and of vengeance. They were irritated at the progress of the gospel throughout the confederation, while the peace they had signed became every day more irksome to them. “We shall have no repose,” said they,

<sup>1</sup> Nihil enim aequi esse in votis Christianissimi Regis, atque ut Evangelii puritas illibata permaneat. Ibid., 417.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor., vi. 14.



"until we have broken these bonds and regained our former liberty."<sup>1</sup> A general diet was convoked at Baden for the 8th January 1531. The Five Cantons then declared that if justice was not done to their grievances, particularly with respect to the abbey of St. Gall, they would no more appear in diet. "Confederates of St. Glaris, Schaffhausen, Friburg, Soleure, and Appenzell," cried they, "aid us in making our ancient alliances respected, or we will ourselves contrive the means of checking this guilty violence; and may the Holy Trinity assist us in this work!"<sup>2</sup>

They did not confine themselves to threats. The treaty of peace had expressly forbidden all insulting language—"for fear," it is said, "that by insults and calumnies, discord should again be excited, and greater troubles than the former should arise." Thus was concealed in the treaty itself the spark whence the conflagration was to proceed. In fact, to restrain the rude tongues of the Waldstettes was impossible. Two Zurichers, the aged prior Ravensbühler, and the pensioner Gaspard Gödli, who had been compelled to renounce, the one his convent, and the other his pension, especially aroused the anger of the people against their native city. They used to say everywhere in these valleys, and with impunity, that the Zurichers were heretics; that there was not one of them who did not indulge in unnatural sins, and who was not a robber at the very least;<sup>3</sup> that Zwingli was a thief, a murderer, and an arch-heretic; and that, on one occasion at Paris (where he had never been), he had committed a horrible offence, in which Leo Juda had been his pander.<sup>4</sup> "I shall have no rest," said a pensioner, "until I have thrust my sword up to the hilt in the heart of this impious wretch." Old commanders of troops, who were feared by all on account of their unruly character; the satellites who followed in their train; insolent young people, sons of the first persons in the state, who thought everything lawful against miserable preachers and their stupid flocks; priests inflamed with hatred, and treading in the footsteps of these old captains and giddy young men, who seemed to take the pulpit of a church for the bench of a pot-house: all poured torrents of insults on the Reform and its adherents. "The townspeople," exclaimed with one accord these drunken soldiers and fanatic priests, "are heretics, soul-stealers, con-

<sup>1</sup> Nitt ruwen biss sy der banden ledig. Bull., ii, 324.

helig dryfaltikeit. Ibid., 330.

merchen gehygt. Bull., ii, 335.

<sup>4</sup> Als der zu Parys ein Esel gehygt; und habe imm Leo Jud denselben gehept. Ibid.

<sup>2</sup> Darzu helfe uns die

<sup>3</sup> Es were kein Zurycher er hätte chuy und

<sup>4</sup> Als der zu Parys ein Esel gehygt; und

science-slayers, and Zwingle—that horrible man, who commits infamous sins—is the *Lutheran God*.”<sup>1</sup>

They went still further. Passing from words to deeds, the Five Cantons persecuted the poor people among them who loved the Word of God, flung them into prison, imposed fines upon them, brutally tormented them, and mercilessly expelled them from their country. The people of Schwytz did even worse. Not fearing to announce their sinister designs, they appeared at a landsgemeinde wearing pine-branches in their hats, in sign of war, and no one opposed them. “The Abbot of St. Gall,” said they, “is a prince of the empire, and holds his investiture from the emperor. Do they imagine that Charles V. will not avenge him?”—“Have not these heretics,” said others, “dared to form a *christian fraternity*, as if old Switzerland was a heathen country?” Secret councils were continually held in one place or another.<sup>2</sup> New alliances were sought with the Valais, the pope, and the emperor<sup>3</sup>—blamable alliances, no doubt, but such as they might at least justify by the proverb: “Birds of a feather go together;” which Zurich and Venice could not say.

The Valaisans at first refused their support: they preferred remaining neuter; but on a sudden their fanaticism was inflamed. A sheet of paper was found on an altar—such at least was the report circulated in their valleys—in which Zurich and Berne were accused of preaching that to commit an offence against nature is a smaller crime than to hear mass! <sup>4</sup> Who had placed this mysterious paper on the altar? Came it from man? Did it fall from heaven? . . . They know not; but however that might be, it was copied, circulated, and read everywhere; and the effects of this fable, invented by some villain, says Zwingle,<sup>5</sup> was such that Valais immediately granted the support it had at first refused. The Waldstettes, proud of their strength, then closed their ranks; their fierce eyes menaced the heretical cantons; and the wind bore from their mountains to their neighbours of the towns a formidable clang of arms.

At the sight of these alarming manifestations the evangelical cities were in commotion. They first assembled at Basle in February, 1531, then at Zurich in March. “What is to be done,” said the deputies from Zurich, after setting forth their

<sup>1</sup> Der lutherischen Gott. Bull., ii, 337.  
heymlich v. c. Ibid., 336.

<sup>2</sup> Radtschlagtent und tagentend  
Bapst, un den Keysserischen. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Nüwe fründschaften, by den Walliseren, dem  
<sup>4</sup> Ut si quis rem obscenam cum jumento  
sive bove habeat, minus peccare quam si missam inaudiat. Zw. Epp., p. 610.

<sup>5</sup> Perfidorum ac sceleratorum hominum commentum. Ibid.

grievances; "how can we punish these infamous calumnies, and force these threatening arms to fall?"—"We understand," replied Berne, "that you would have recourse to violence; but think of these secret and formidable alliances that are forming with the pope, the emperor, the King of France, with so many princes, in a word with all the priests' party, to accelerate our ruin;—think on the innocence of so many pious souls in the Five Cantons, who deplore these perfidious machinations;—think how easy it is to begin a war, but that no one can tell when it will end."<sup>1</sup> Sad foreboding! which a catastrophe, beyond all human foresight, accomplished but too soon. "Let us therefore send a deputation to the Five Cantons," continued Berne; "let us call upon them to punish these infamous calumnies in accordance with the treaty; and if they refuse, let us break off all intercourse with them."—"What will be the use of this mission?" asked Basle. "Do we not know the brutality of this people? And is it not to be feared that the rough treatment to which our deputies will be exposed, may make the matter worse? Let us rather convoke a general diet." Schaffhausen and St. Gall having concurred in this opinion, Berne summoned a diet at Baden for the 10th April, at which deputies from all the cantons were assembled.

Many of the principal men among the Waldstettes disapproved of the violence of the retired soldiers and of the monks. They saw that these continually repeated insults would injure their cause. "The insults of which you complain," said they to the diet, "afflict us no less than you. We shall know how to punish them, and we have already done so. But there are violent men on both sides. The other day a man of Basle having met on the highroad a person who was coming from Berne, and having learnt that he was going to Lucerne:—'To go from Berne to Lucerne,' exclaimed he, 'is passing from a father to an arrant knave!'" The mediating cantons invited the two parties to banish every cause of discord.

But the war of the Chatelain of Musso having then broken out, Zwingle and Zurich, who saw in it the first act of a vast conspiracy, destined to stifle the Reform in every place, called their allies together. "We must waver no longer," said Zwingle; "the rupture of the alliance on the part of the Five Cantons, and the unheard-of insults with which they load us, impose upon us the obligation of marching against our enemies,<sup>2</sup> before the emperor, who is still detained by the Turks,

<sup>1</sup> Aber sin end und ussgang möchte nieman bald wissen. Bull., ii, 346.

<sup>2</sup> Sy gwaltig ze überziehen. Ibid., 366.



shall have expelled the landgrave, seized upon Strasburg, and subjugated even ourselves." All the blood of the ancient Swiss seemed to boil in this man's veins; and while Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden basely kissed the hand of Austria, this Zurich—*the greatest Helvetian of the age*—faithful to the memory of old Switzerland, but not so to still holier traditions, followed in the glorious steps of Stauffacher and Winkelried.

The warlike tone of Zurich alarmed its confederates. Basle proposed a summons, and then, in case of refusal, the rupture of the alliance. Schaffhausen and St. Gall were frightened even at this step: "The mountaineers, so proud, indomitable, and exasperated," said they, "will accept with joy the dissolution of the confederation, and then shall we be more advanced?" Such was the posture of affairs, when, to the great astonishment of all, deputies from Uri and Schwytz made their appearance. They were coldly received; the cup of honour was not offered to them; and they had to walk, according to their own account, in the midst of the insulting cries of the people. They unsuccessfully endeavoured to excuse their conduct. "We have long been waiting," was the cold reply of the diet, "to see your actions and your words agree."<sup>1</sup> The men of Schwytz and of Uri returned in sadness to their homes; and the assembly broke up, full of sorrow and distress.

Zwingle beheld with pain the deputies of the evangelical towns separating without having come to any decision. He no longer desired only a reformation of the Church; he wished for a transformation in the confederacy; and it was this latter reform that he now was preaching from the pulpit, according to what we learn from Bullinger."<sup>2</sup> He was not the only person who desired it. For a long time the inhabitants of the most populous and powerful towns of Switzerland had complained that the Waldstettes, whose contingent of men and money was much below theirs, had an equal share in the deliberations of the diet, and in the fruits of their victories. This had been the cause of division after the Burgundian war. The Five Cantons, by means of their adherents, had the majority. Now Zwingle thought that the reins of Switzerland should be placed in the hands of the great cities, and, above all, in those of the powerful cantons of Berne and Zurich. New times, in his opinion, called for new forms. It was not sufficient to dismiss from every public office the pensioners of foreign

<sup>1</sup> Und wortt und werk mit einandern gangen werind. Bull., ii, 367.

<sup>2</sup> Trång gar häfftig uff eine gemeine Reformation gemeiner Eydgenoschaft. Ibid.,

princes, and substitute pious men in their place; the federal compact must be remodelled, and settled upon an equitable basis. A national constituent assembly would doubtless have responded to his wishes. These discourses, which were rather those of a tribune of the people than of a minister of Jesus Christ, hastened on the terrible catastrophe.

And indeed the animated words of the patriot reformer passed from the church where they had been delivered into the councils and the halls of the guilds, into the streets and the fields. The burning words that fell from this man's lips kindled the hearts of his fellow-citizens. The electric spark, escaping with noise and commotion, was felt even in the most distant cottage. The ancient traditions of wisdom and prudence seemed forgotten. Public opinion declared itself energetically. On the 29th and 30th April, a number of horsemen rode hastily out of Zurich; they were envoys from the council, commissioned to remind all the allied cities of the encroachment of the Five Cantons, and to call for a prompt and definitive decision. Reaching their several destinations, the messengers recapitulated the grievances.<sup>1</sup> "Take care," said they in conclusion; "great dangers are impending over all of us. The emperor and King Ferdinand are making vast preparations; they are about to enter Switzerland with large sums of money, and with a numerous army."

Zurich joined actions to words. This state, being resolved to make every exertion to establish the free preaching of the Gospel in those bailiwicks where it shared the sovereignty with the Romon-catholic cantons, desired to interfere by force wherever negotiations could not prevail. The federal rights, it must be confessed, were trampled under foot at St. Gall, in Thurgovia, in the Rheinthal; and Zurich substituted arbitrary decisions in their place, that excited the indignation of the Waldstettes to the highest degree. Thus the number of enemies to the Reform kept increasing; the tone of the Five Cantons became daily more threatening, and the inhabitants of the canton of Zurich, whom their business called into the mountains, were loaded with insults, and sometimes badly treated. These violent proceedings excited in turn the anger of the reformed cantons. Zwingle traversed Thurgovia, St. Gall, and the Tockenbourg, everywhere organizing synods, taking part in their proceedings, and preaching before excited and enthusiastic crowds. In all parts he met with confidence and respect. At St. Gall an immense crowd assembled under his

<sup>1</sup> They are to be found in Bullinger, ii, 368-376.

windows, and a concert of voices and instruments expressed the public gratitude in harmonious songs. "Let us not abandon ourselves," he repeated continually, "and all will go well." It was resolved that a meeting should be held at Arau on the 12th May, to deliberate on a posture of affairs that daily became more critical. This meeting was to be the beginning of sorrows.

## CHAPTER V.

Diet of Arau—Helvetic Unity—Berne proposes to close the Markets—Opposition of Zurich—Proposition agreed to and published—Zwingle's War Sermon—Blockade of the Waldstettes—No Bread, no Wine, no Salt—Indignation of the Forest Cantons—The Roads blockaded—Processions—Cry of Despair—France tries to conciliate—Diet at Bremgarten—Hope—The Cantons inflexible—The strength of Zurich broken—Discontent—Zwingle's false Position—Zwingle demands his Dismission—The Council remonstrate—He remains—Zwingle at Bremgarten—Zwingle's Farewell to Bullinger—Zwingle's Agony—The Forest Cantons reject all Conciliation—Frightful Omens—The Comet—Zwingle's Tranquillity.

ZWINGLE's scheme with regard to the establishment of a new Helvetic constitution did not prevail in the diet of Arau. Perhaps it was thought better to see the result of the crisis. Perhaps a more christian, a more federal view—the hope of procuring the unity of Switzerland by unity of faith—occupied men's minds more than the pre-eminence of the cities. In truth, if a certain number of cantons remained with the pope, the unity of the confederation was destroyed, it might be for ever. But if all the confederation was brought over to the same faith, the ancient Helvetic unity would be established on the strongest and surest foundation. Now was the time for acting—or never; and there must be no fear of employing a violent remedy to restore the whole body to health.

Nevertheless, the allies shrank back at the thought of restoring religious liberty or political unity by means of arms; and to escape from the difficulties in which the confederation was placed, they sought a middle course between war and peace. "There is no doubt," said the deputies from Berne, "that the behaviour of the Cantons with regard to the Word of God fully authorises an armed intervention; but the perils that threaten us on the side of Italy and the empire—the danger of arousing the lion from his slumber—the general want and misery that afflict our people—the rich harvests that will soon cover our fields, and which the war would infallibly



destroy—the great number of pious men among the Waldstettes, and whose innocent blood would flow along with that of the guilty:—all these motives enjoin us to leave the sword in the scabbard. Let us rather close our markets against the Five Cantons; let us refuse them corn, salt, wine, steel, and iron; we shall thus impart authority to the friends of peace among them, and innocent blood will be spared.”<sup>1</sup> The meeting separated forthwith to carry this intermediate proposition to the different evangelical cantons; and on the 15th May again assembled at Zurich.

Convinced that the means apparently the most violent were nevertheless both the surest and most humane, Zurich resisted the Bernese proposition with all its might. “By accepting this proposition,” said they, “we sacrifice the advantages that we now possess, and we give the Five Cantons time to arm themselves, and to fall upon us first. Let us take care that the emperor does not assail us on one side, while our ancient confederates attack us on the other; a just war is not in opposition to the Word of God; but this is contrary to it—taking the bread from the mouths of the innocent as well as the guilty; straitening by hunger the sick, the aged, pregnant women, children, and all who are deeply afflicted by the injustice of the Waldstettes.<sup>2</sup> We should beware of exciting by this means the anger of the poor, and transforming into enemies many who at the present time are our friends and brothers!”

We must acknowledge that this language, which was Zwingle's, contained much truth. But the other cantons, and Berne in particular, were immovable. “When we have once shed the blood of our brothers,” said they, “we shall never be able to restore life to those who have lost it; while from the moment the Waldstettes have given us satisfaction, we shall be able to put an end to all these severe measures. We are resolved not to begin the war.” There were no means of running counter to such a declaration. The Zurichers consented to refuse supplies to the Waldstettes; but it was with hearts full of anguish, as if they had foreseen all that this deplorable measure would cost them.<sup>3</sup> It was agreed that the severe step that was now about to be taken should not be suspended except by common consent, and that, as it would create great exasperation, each one should hold himself prepared to repel the attacks of the enemy. Zurich and Berne were commissioned

<sup>1</sup> Und dadurch unshuldiez Blüt erspart wurde. Bull., ii, 383.  
alte, shwangere wyber, kinder und sunst betrubte. Ibid., 384.  
und kummersachlich. Ibid., 386.

<sup>2</sup> Kranke,  
<sup>3</sup> Schmerzlich

to notify this determination to the Five Cantons; and Zurich, discharging its task with promptitude, immediately forwarded an order to every bailiwick to suspend all communication with the Waldstettes, commanding them at the same time to abstain from ill usage and hostile language. Thus the Reformation, becoming imprudently mixed up with political combinations, marched from fault to fault; it pretended to preach the Gospel to the poor, and was now about to refuse them bread!

On the Sunday following—it was Whitsunday—the resolution was published from the pulpits. Zwingle walked towards his, where an immense crowd was waiting for him. The piercing eye of this great man easily discovered the dangers of the measure in a political point of view, and his christian heart deeply felt all its cruelty. His soul was overburdened, his eyes downcast. If at this moment the true character of a minister of the Gospel had awoke within him;—if Zwingle with his powerful voice had called on the people to humiliation before God, to forgiveness of trespasses, and to prayer; safety might yet have dawned on “broken-hearted” Switzerland. But it was not so. More and more the Christian disappears in the reformer, and the citizen alone remains; but in that character he soars far above all, and his policy is undoubtedly the most skilful. He saw clearly that every delay may ruin Zurich; and after having made his way through the congregation, and closed the book of the Prince of Peace, he hesitated not to attack the resolution which he had just communicated to the people, and on the very festival of the Holy Ghost, to preach war. “He who fears not to call his adversary a criminal,” said he in his usual forcible language, “must be ready to follow the word with a blow.<sup>1</sup> If he does not strike, he will be stricken. Men of Zurich! you deny food to the Five Cantons, as to evil doers; well! let the blow follow the threat, rather than reduce poor innocent creatures to starvation. If, by not taking the offensive, you appear to believe that there is not sufficient reason for punishing the Waldstettes, and yet you refuse them food and drink, you will force them by this line of conduct to take up arms, to raise their hands, and to inflict punishment upon you. This is the fate that awaits you.

These words of the eloquent reformer moved the whole assembly. Zwingle’s politic mind already so influenced and misled all the people, that there were few souls christian enough to feel how strange it was, that on the very day when they

<sup>1</sup> Das er wortt und faust mitt einander gan lasse. Bull., ii, 388.

were celebrating the outpouring of the Spirit of peace and love upon the Christian Church, the mouth of a minister of God should utter a provocation to war. They looked at this sermon only in a political point of view: "It is a seditious discourse; it is an excitement to civil war!" said some. "No," replied others, "it is the language that the safety of the state requires!" All Zurich was agitated. "Zurich has too much fire, said Berne. "Berne has too much cunning," replied Zurich.<sup>1</sup> Zwingle's gloomy prophecy was too soon to be fulfilled!

No sooner had the reformed cantons communicated this pitiless decree to the Waldstettes than they hastened its execution; and Zurich showed the greatest strictness respecting it. Not only the markets of Zurich and of Berne, but also those of the free bailiwicks of St. Gall, of the Tockenbourg, of the district of Sargans and of the valley of the Rhine, a country partly under the sovereignty of the Waldstettes, were shut against the Five Cantons. A formidable power had suddenly encompassed with barrenness, famine, and death the noble founders of Helvetian liberty. Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Lucerne, were, as it seemed, in the midst of a vast desert. Their own subjects, thought they at least, the communes that have taken the oath of allegiance to them, would range themselves on their side! But no; Bremgarten, and even Mellingen, refused all succour. Their last hope was in Wesen and the Gastal. Neither Berne nor Zurich had anything to do there; Schwytz and Glaris alone ruled over them; but the power of their enemies had penetrated everywhere. A majority of thirteen votes had declared in favour of Zurich at the landsgemeinde of Glaris; and Glaris closed the gates of Wesen and of the Gastal against Schwytz. In vain did Berne itself cry out: "How can you compel subjects to refuse supplies to their lords?" In vain did Schwytz raise its voice in indignation, Zurich immediately sent to Wesen—gunpowder and bullets. It was upon Zurich, therefore, that fell all the odium of a measure which that city had at first so earnestly combated. At Arau, at Bremgarten, at Mellingen, in the free bailiwicks, were several carriages laden with provisions for the Waldstettes. They were stopped, unloaded, and upset: with them barricades were erected on the roads leading to Lucerne, Schwytz, and Zug. Already

<sup>1</sup> It was Zwingle who thus characterized the two cities:—

Bern : klage Zurich wäre zu hitzig :

Zurich : Bern wäre zu witzig.—Stettler.



a year of dearth had made provisions scarce in the Five Cantons;—already had a frightful epidemic, the *Sweating Sickness*, scattered everywhere despondency and death: but now the hand of man was joined to the hand of God; the evil increased, and the poor inhabitants of these mountains beheld unheard-of calamities approach with hasty steps. No more bread for their children—no more wine to revive their exhausted strength—no more salt for their flocks and herds! Everything failed them that man requires for subsistence.<sup>1</sup> One could not see such things, and be a man, without feeling his heart wrung. In the confederate cities, and out of Switzerland, numerous voices were raised against this implacable measure. What good can result from it? Did not St. Paul write to the Romans: “If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head”?<sup>2</sup> And when the magistrates wished to convince certain refractory communes of the utility of the measure: “We desire no religious war,” cried they. “If the Waldstettes will not believe in God, let them stick to the devil!”

But it was especially in the Five Cantons that earnest complaints were heard. The most pacific individuals, and even the secret partisans of the Reform, seeing famine invade their habitations, felt the deepest indignation. The enemies of Zurich skilfully took advantage of this disposition; they fostered these murmurs; and soon the cry of anger and distress re-echoed from all the mountains. In vain did Berne represent to the Waldstettes that it is more cruel to refuse men the nourishment of the soul than to cut off that of the body. “God,” replied these mountaineers in their despair, “God causes the fruits of the earth to grow freely for all men!”<sup>3</sup> They were not content with groaning in their cottages, and venting their indignation in the councils; they filled all Switzerland with complaints and menaces.<sup>4</sup> “They wish to employ famine to tear us from our ancient faith; they wish to deprive our wives and our children of bread, that they may take from us the liberty we derive from our forefathers. When did such things ever take place in the bosom of the confederation? Did we not see, in the last war, the confederates with arms in their hands, and who were ready to draw the sword, eating together from the same dish? They tear in pieces old friendships—they

<sup>1</sup> Deshalb sy bald grossen mangel erlittend an allem dem das der Mensch geläben soll. Bull., ii, 396.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Romans, xii, 20.

<sup>3</sup> Hartmann von Hall-

wyll to Albert of Mulinen, 7th August.

und breit. Bull., ii, 397.

<sup>4</sup> Klagtend sich allent halben wyt

trample our ancient manners under foot—they violate treaties—they break alliances. . . . We invoke the charters of our ancestors. Help! help! . . . Wise men of our people, give us your advice, and all you who know how to handle the sling and the sword, come and maintain with us the sacred possessions, for which our fathers, delivered from the yoke of the stranger, united their arms and their hearts.”

At the same time the Five Cantons sent into Alsace, Brisgau, and Swabia, to obtain salt, wine, and bread; but the administration of the cities was implacable; the orders were everywhere given and everywhere strictly executed. Zurich and the other allied cantons intercepted all communication, and sent back to Germany the supplies that had been forwarded to their brethren. The Five Cantons were like a vast fortress, all the issues from which are closely guarded by watchful sentinels. The afflicted Waldstettes, on beholding themselves alone with famine between their lakes and their mountains, had recourse to the observances of their worship. All sports, dances, and every kind of amusement were interdicted;<sup>1</sup> prayers were directed to be offered up; and long processions covered the roads of Einsidlen and other resorts of pilgrims. They assumed the belt, and staff, and arms of the brotherhood to which they each belonged; each man carried a chaplet in his hands, and repeated paternosters; the mountains and the valleys re-echoed with their plaintive hymns. But the Waldstettes did still more: they grasped their swords—they sharpened the points of their halberds—they brandished their weapons in the direction of Zurich and of Berne, and exclaimed with rage: “They block up their roads, but we will open them with our right arms!”<sup>2</sup> No one replied to this cry of despair; but there is a just Judge in heaven to whom vengeance belongs, and who will soon reply in a terrible manner, by punishing those misguided persons, who, forgetful of christian mercy, and making an impious mixture of political and religious matters, pretend to secure the triumph of the Gospel by famine and by armed men.

Some attempts, however, were made to arrange matters; but these very efforts proved a great humiliation for Switzerland and for the Reform. It was not the ministers of the Gospel, it was France—more than once an occasion of discord to Switzerland—that offered to restore peace. Every proceed-

<sup>1</sup> Stelltent ab spielen, Tanzen.—Tschudi der Capeller krieg, 1531. This MS. is attributed to Egidius Tschudi, who must have written it in 1533, in favour of the Five Cantons, and was printed in the “*Helvetia*,” vol. ii, 165.

<sup>2</sup> Trowtend auch die Straassen uff zu thun mit gwalt. Bull., ii, 397.

ing calculated to increase its influence among the cantons was of service to its policy. On the 14th May, Maigret and Dangentin (the latter of whom had received the Gospel truth, and consequently did not dare return to France),<sup>1</sup> after some allusions to the spirit which Zurich had shown in this affair—a spirit little in accordance with the Gospel—said to the council: “The king our master has sent you two gentlemen to consult on the means of preserving concord among you. If war and tumult invade Switzerland, all the society of the Helvetians will be destroyed,<sup>2</sup> and whichever party is the conqueror, he will be as much ruined as the other.” Zurich having replied that if the Five Cantons would allow the free preaching of the Word of God, the reconciliation would be easy, the French secretly sounded the Waldstettes, whose answer was: “We will never permit the preaching of the Word of God as the people of Zurich understand it.”<sup>3</sup>

These more or less interested exertions of the foreigners having failed, a general diet became the only chance of safety that remained for Switzerland. One was accordingly convoked at Bremgarten. It was opened in presence of deputies from France, from the Duke of Milan, from the Countess of Neuchâtel, from the Grisons, Valais, Thurgovia, and the district of Sargans; and met on five different occasions,—on the 14th and 20th of June, on the 9th July, and the 10th and 23d August. The chronieler Bullinger, who was pastor of Bremgarten, delivered an oration at the opening, in which he earnestly exhorted the confederates to union and peace.

A gleam of hope for a moment cheered Switzerland. The blockade had become less strict; friendship and good neighbourhood had prevailed in many places over the decrees of the state. Unusual roads had been opened across the wildest mountains to convey supplies to the Waldstettes. Provisions were concealed in bales of merchandise; and while Lucerne imprisoned and tortured its own citizens, who were found with the pamphlets of the Zurichers,<sup>4</sup> Berne punished but slightly the peasants who had been discovered bearing food for Unterwalden and Lucerne; and Glaris shut its eyes at the frequent violation of its orders. The voice of charity, that had been momentarily stifled, pleaded with fresh energy the cause of their confederates before the reformed cantons.

<sup>1</sup> Ep. Rugeri ad Bulling., 12th November 1560.

<sup>2</sup> *Universa societas Helveticorum dilabatur, si tumultus et bellum inter eam eruperit.* Zw. Epp., ii, 604.

<sup>3</sup> *Responderunt verbi Dei predicationem non laturos, quomodo nos intelligamus.* Ibid., 607.

<sup>4</sup> *Warf sie in Gefängniss.* Bull., iii, 30.



But the Five Cantons were inflexible. "We will not listen to any proposition before the raising of the blockade," said they. "We will not raise it," replied Berne and Zurich, "before the Gospel is allowed to be freely preached, not only in the common bailiwicks, but also in the Five Cantons." This was undoubtedly going too far, even according to the natural law and the principles of the confederation. The councils of Zurich might consider it their duty to have recourse to war for maintaining liberty of conscience in the common bailiwicks; but it was unjust—it was a usurpation, to constrain the Five Cantons in a matter that concerned their own territory. Nevertheless the mediators succeeded, not without much trouble, in drawing up a plan of conciliation that seemed to harmonize with the wishes of both parties. The conference was broken up, and this project was hastily transmitted to the different states for their ratification.

The diet met again a few days after; but the Five Cantons persisted in their demand, without yielding in any one point. In vain did Zurich and Berne represent to them, that by persecuting the reformed, the canons violated the treaty of peace; in vain did the mediators exhaust their strength in warnings and entreaties. The parties appeared at one time to approximate, and then on a sudden they were more distant and more irritated than ever. The Waldstettes at last broke up the third conference by declaring, that far from opposing the evangelical truth, they would maintain it, as it had been taught by the Redeemer, by his holy apostles, by the four doctors, and by their holy mother, the Church—a declaration that seemed a bitter irony to the deputies from Zurich and Berne. Nevertheless Berne, turning towards Zurich as they were separating, observed: "Beware of too much violence, even should they attack you!"

This exhortation was unnecessary. The strength of Zurich had passed away. The first appearance of the Reformation and of the reformers had been greeted with joy. The people, who groaned under a twofold slavery, believed they saw the dawn of liberty. But their minds, abandoned for ages to superstition and ignorance, being unable immediately to realize the hopes they had conceived, a spirit of discontent soon spread among the masses. The change by which Zwingli, ceasing to be a man of the Gospel, became a man of the State, took away from the people the enthusiasm necessary to resist the terrible attacks they would have to sustain. The enemies of the Reform had a fair chance against it, so soon as its friends

abandoned the position that gave them strength. Besides, Christians could not have recourse to famine and to war to secure the triumph of the Gospel, without their consciences becoming troubled. The Zurichers "*walked not in the Spirit, but in the flesh; now, the works of the flesh are hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions.*"<sup>1</sup> The danger without was increasing, while within, hope, union, and courage were far from being augmented: men saw on the contrary the gradual disappearance of that harmony and lively faith which had been the strength of the Reform. The Reformation had grasped the sword, and that very sword pierced its heart.

Occasions of discord were multiplied in Zurich. By the advice of Zwingli, the number of nobles was diminished in the two councils, because of their opposition to the Gospel; and this measure spread discontent among the most honourable families of the canton. The millers and bakers were placed under certain regulations, which the dearth rendered necessary and a great part of the townspeople attributed this proceeding to the sermons of the reformer, and became irritated against him. Rodolph Lavater, bailiff of Kibourg, was appointed captain-general, and the officers who were of longer standing than he were offended. Many who had been formerly the most distinguished by their zeal for the Reform, now openly opposed the cause they had supported. The ardour with which the ministers of peace demanded war spread in every quarter a smothered dissatisfaction, and many persons gave vent to their indignation. This unnatural confusion of Church and State, which had corrupted Christianity after the age of Constantine, was hurrying on the ruin of the Reformation. The majority of the Great Council, ever ready to adopt important and salutary resolutions, was destroyed. The old magistrates, who were still at the head of affairs, allowed themselves to be carried away by feelings of jealousy against men whose non-official influence prevailed over theirs. All those who hated the doctrine of the Gospel, whether from love of the world or from love to the pope, boldly raised their heads in Zurich. The partisans of the monks, the friends of foreign service, the malcontents of every class, coalesced in pointing out Zwingli as the author of all the sufferings of the people.

Zwingli was heart-broken. He saw that Zurich and the Reformation were hastening to their ruin, and he could not check them. How could he do so, since, without suspecting it, he had been the principal accomplice in these disasters?

<sup>1</sup> Galatians, v, 19, 20.

What was to be done? Should the pilot remain in the ship which he is no longer permitted to save? There was but one means of safety for Zurich and for Zwingle. He should have retired from the political stage, and fallen back on that *kingdom which is not of this world*; he should, like Moses, have kept his hands and his heart night and day raised towards heaven, and energetically preached repentance, faith, and peace. But religious and political matters were united in the mind of this great man by such old and dear ties, that it was impossible for him to distinguish their line of separation. This confusion had become his dominant idea; the Christian and the citizen were for him one and the same character; and hence it resulted, that all resources of the state—even cannons and arquebuses—were to be placed at the service of the Truth. When one peculiar idea thus seizes upon a man, we see a false conscience formed within him, which approves of many things condemned by the Word of the Lord.

This was now Zwingle's condition. War appeared to him legitimate and desirable; and if that was refused, he had only to withdraw from public life: he was for everything or nothing. He therefore, on the 26th July, appeared before the Great Council with dimmed eyes and disconsolate heart: "For eleven years," said he, "I have been preaching the Gospel among you, and have warned you faithfully and paternally of the woes that are hanging over you; but no attention has been paid to my words; the friends of foreign alliances, the enemies of the Gospel, are elected to the council, and while you refuse to follow my advice, I am made responsible for every misfortune. I cannot accept such a position, and I ask for my dismissal." The reformer retired bathed in tears.

The council shuddered as they heard these words. All the old feelings of respect which they had so long entertained for Zwingle were revived; to lose him now was to ruin Zurich. The burgomaster and the other magistrates received orders to persuade him to recall his fatal resolution. The conference took place on the same day; Zwingle asked time for consideration. For three days and three nights he sought the road that he should follow. Seeing the dark storm that was collecting from all quarters, he considered whether he ought to quit Zurich and seek refuge on the lofty hills of the Tocken-burg, where he had been reared, at a time when his country and his Church were on the point of being assailed and beaten down by their enemies, like corn by the hail-storm. He groaned and cried to the Lord. He would have put away the cup of



bitterness that was presented to his soul, but could not gather up the resolution. At length the sacrifice was accomplished, and the victim was placed shuddering upon the altar. Three days after the first conference, Zwingle reappeared in the council: "I will stay with you," said he, "and I will labour for the public safety—until death!"

From this moment he displayed new zeal. On the one hand, he endeavoured to revive harmony and courage in Zurich; on the other, he set about arousing and exciting the allied cities to increase and concentrate all the forces of the Reformation. Faithful to the political vocation he imagined to have received from God himself—persuaded that it was in the doubts and want of energy of the Bernese that he must look for the cause of all the evil, the reformer repaired to Bremgarten with Collins and Steiner, during the fourth conference of the diet, although he incurred great danger in the attempt. He arrived secretly by night, and having entered the house of his friend and disciple, Bullinger, he invited the deputies of Berne (J. J. de Watteville and Im Hag) to meet him there with the greatest secrecy, and prayed them in the most solemn tone earnestly to reflect upon the dangers of the Reform. "I fear," said he, "that in consequence of our unbelief, this business will not succeed. By refusing supplies to the Five Cantons, we have begun a work that will be fatal to us. What is to be done? Withdraw the prohibition? The cantons will then be more insolent and haughty than ever. Enforce it? They will take the offensive, and if their attack succeed you will behold our fields red with the blood of the believers, the doctrine of truth cast down, the Church of Christ laid waste, all social relations overthrown, our adversaries more hardened and irritated against the Gospel, and crowds of priests and monks again filling our rural districts, streets, and temples. . . . And yet," added Zwingle, after a few instants of emotion and silence, "that also will have an end." The Bernese were filled with agitation by the solemn voice of the reformer. "We see," replied they, "all that is to be feared for our common cause, and we will employ every care to prevent such great disasters."—"I who write these things was present and heard them," adds Bullinger.<sup>1</sup>

It was feared that if the presence of Zwingle at Bremgarten became known to the deputies of the Five Cantons, they would not restrain their violence. During this nocturnal conference three of the town-councillors were stationed as sentinels in front

<sup>1</sup> These words are in Latin: *Hæc ipse, qui hæc scribo, ab illis audiui, præsens colloquio.* Bul., iii, 49.

of Bullinger's house. Before daybreak, the reformer and his two friends, accompanied by Bullinger and the three councillors, passed through the deserted streets leading to the gate on the road to Zurich. Three different times Zwingle took leave of Bullinger, who was ere long to be his successor. His mind was filled with a presentiment of his approaching death; he could not tear himself from that young friend whose face he was never to see again; he blessed him amidst floods of tears. "O my dear Henry!" said he, "may God protect you! Be faithful to our Lord Jesus Christ and to his Church." At length they separated; but at that very moment, says Bullinger, a mysterious personage, clad in a robe as white as snow, suddenly appeared, and after frightening the soldiers who guarded the gate, plunged suddenly into the water, and vanished. Bullinger, Zwingle, and their friends did not perceive it; Bullinger himself sought for it all around, but to no purpose;<sup>1</sup> still the sentinels persisted in the reality of this frightful apparition. Bullinger in great agitation returned in darkness and in silence to his house. His mind involuntarily compared the departure of Zwingle and the white phantom; and he shuddered at the frightful omen which the thought of this spectre impressed upon his mind.

Sufferings of another kind pursued Zwingle to Zurich. He had thought that by consenting to remain at the head of affairs, he would recover all his ancient influence. But he was deceived: the people desired to see him there, and yet they would not follow him. The Zurichers daily became more and more indisposed towards the war which they had at first demanded, and identified themselves with the passive system of Berne. Zwingle remained for some time stupified and motionless before this inert mass, which his most vigorous exertions could not move. But soon discovering in every quarter of the horizon the prophetic signs, precursors of the storm about to burst upon the ship of which he was the pilot, he uttered cries of anguish, and showed the signal of distress. "I see," exclaimed he one day to the people from the pulpit, whither he had gone to give utterance to his gloomy forebodings,— "I see that the most faithful warnings cannot save you; you will not punish the pensioners of the foreigner. . . . They have too firm a support among us! A chain is prepared—behold it entire—it unrolls link after link,—soon will they bind me to it, and more than one pious Zurichers with me. . . . It is against me they are enraged! I am ready; I submit to the Lord's will. But these

<sup>1</sup> Ein menschen in ein schneeweisseu Kleid. Bull., iii, 49.

people shall never be my masters. . . . As for thee, O Zurich, they will give thee thy reward; they will strike thee on the head. Thou willest it. Thou refusest to punish them: well! it is they who will punish thee.<sup>1</sup> But God will not the less preserve his Word, and their haughtiness shall come to an end." Such was Zwingle's cry of agony; but the immobility of death alone replied. The hearts of the Zurichers were so hardened that the sharpest arrows of the reformer could not pierce them, and they fell at his feet blunted and useless.

But events were pressing on, and justified all his fears. The Five Cantons had rejected every proposition that had been made to them. "Why do you talk of punishing a few wrongs?" they had replied to the mediators; "it is a question of quite another kind. Do you not require that we should receive back among us the heretics whom we have banished, and tolerate no other priests than those who preach conformably to the Word of God? We know what that means. No—no—we will not abandon the religion of our fathers; and if we must see our wives and our children deprived of food, our hands will know how to conquer what is refused to us: to that we pledge our bodies—our goods—our lives." It was with this threatening language that the deputies quitted the diet of Bremgarten. They had proudly shaken the folds of their mantles, and war had fallen from them.

The terror was general, and the alarmed citizens beheld everywhere frightful portents, terrific signs, apparently foreboding the most horrible events. It was not only the white phantom that had appeared at Bremgarten at Zwingle's side: the most fearful omens, passing from mouth to mouth, filled the people with the most gloomy presentiments. The history of these phenomena, however strange it may appear, characterizes the period of which we write. We do not create the times: it is our simple duty to paint them as they really were.

On the 26th July, a widow chancing to be alone before her house, in the village of Castelenschloss, suddenly beheld a frightful spectacle—blood springing from the earth all around her.<sup>2</sup> She rushed in alarm into the cottage. . . . but, oh horrible! blood is flowing everywhere—from the wainscot and from the stones;<sup>3</sup>—it falls in a stream from a basin on a shelf, and even the child's cradle overflows with it. The woman imagines

<sup>1</sup> Straafen wilt sy nitt, des werden sy dich straafen. Bull., iii, 52.

<sup>2</sup> Ante et post eam purus sanguis ita acriter ex dura terra effluxit, ut ex vena incisa (Zw. Epp., ii, 627.) Before and behind her pure blood flowed from the hard ground as strongly as from an opened vein.

<sup>3</sup> Sed etiam sanguis ex terra, lignis

et lapidibus effluxit. Ibid.



that the invisible hand of an assassin has been at work, and rushes in distraction out of doors, crying murder! murder!<sup>1</sup> The villagers and the monks of a neighbouring convent assemble at the noise—they succeed in partly effacing the bloody stains; but a little later in the day, the other inhabitants of the house, sitting down in terror to eat their evening meal under the projecting eaves, suddenly discover blood bubbling up in a pond—blood flowing from the loft—blood covering all the walls of the house. Blood—blood—everywhere blood! The bailiff of Schenkenberg and the pastor of Dalheim arrive—inquire into the matter—and immediately report it to the lords of Berne and to Zwingle.

Scarcely had this horrible recital—the particulars of which are faithfully preserved in Latin and in German—filled all minds with the idea of a horrible butchery, than in the western quarter of the heavens there appeared a frightful comet,<sup>2</sup> whose immense train of a pale yellow colour turned towards the south. At the time of its setting, this apparition shone in the sky like the fire of a furnace.<sup>3</sup> One night—on the 15th August as it would appear<sup>4</sup>—Zwingle and George Müller, formerly abbot of Wettingen, being together in the cemetery of the cathedral, both fixed their eyes upon this terrific meteor. “This ominous globe,” said Zwingle, “is come to light the path that leads to my grave. It will be at the cost of my life and of many good men with me. Although I am rather shortsighted, I foresee great calamities in the future.<sup>5</sup> The truth and the Church will mourn; but Christ will never forsake us.” It was not only at Zurich that this flaming star spread consternation. Vadian being one night on an eminence in the neighbourhood of St. Gall, surrounded by his friends and disciples, after having explained to them the names of the stars and the miracles of the Creator, stopped before this comet, which denounced the anger of God; and the famous Theophrastus declared that it foreboded not only great bloodshed, but most especially the death of learned and illustrious men. This mysterious phenomenon prolonged its frightful visitation until the 3d September.

<sup>1</sup> Ut eadem excurreret cædem clamitans. Zw. Epp., ii, 627.

<sup>2</sup> Ein gar eschrocklicher comet. Bull., ii, 46. It was Halley's comet, that returns about every 76 years. It appeared last in 1835.

<sup>3</sup> Wie ein fuhrw in einer ess. Ibid. Perhaps Bullinger alludes in this way to the phenomenon remarked by Appian, astronomer to Charles V., who observed this comet at Ingolstadt, and who says that the tail disappeared as the nucleus approached the horizon. In 1456, its appearance had already excited great terror.

<sup>4</sup> Cometam jam tribus noctibus viderunt apud nos alii, ego una tantum, puto 15 Augusti. (Zw. Epp., p. 634.) Others with us have already seen the comet for three nights. I have seen it on one night only, I think 16th August.

<sup>5</sup> Ego cæculus non unam calamitatem expecto. Ibid., 626.

When once the noise of these omens was spread abroad, men could no longer contain themselves. Their imaginations were excited; they heaped fright upon fright: each place had its terrors. Two banners waving in the clouds had been seen on the mountain of the Brunig; at Zug a buckler had appeared in the heavens; on the banks of the Reuss, reiterated explosions were heard during the night; on the lake of the Four Cantons, ships with aerial combatants careered about in every direction. War—war;—blood—blood!—these were the general cries.

In the midst of all this agitation, Zwingle alone seemed tranquil. He rejected none of these presentiments, but contemplated them with calmness. "A heart that fears God," said he, "cares not for the threats of the world. To forward the designs of God, whatever may happen,—this is his task. A carrier who has a long road to go must make up his mind to wear his waggon and his gear during the journey. If he carry his merchandise to the appointed spot, that is enough for him. We are the waggon and the gear of God. There is not one of the articles that is not worn, twisted, or broken; but our great Driver will not the less accomplish by our means his vast designs. Is it not to those who fall upon the field of battle that the noblest crown belongs? Take courage, then, in the midst of all these dangers, through which the cause of Jesus Christ must pass. Be of good cheer! although we should never here below see its triumphs with our own eyes. The Judge of the combat beholds us, and it is he who confers the crown. Others will enjoy upon earth the fruits of our labours; while we, already in heaven, shall enjoy an eternal reward."<sup>1</sup>

Thus spoke Zwingle, as he advanced calmly towards the threatening noise of the tempest, which, by its repeated flashes and sudden explosions, foreboded death.

## CHAPTER VI.

The Five Cantons decide for War—Deceitful Calm—Fatal Inactivity—Zurich forewarned—Banner of Lucerne planted—Manifesto—The Bailiwicks pillaged—The Monastery of Cappel—Letter—Infatuation of Zurich—New Warnings—The War begins—The Tocsin—A fearful Night—The War—Banner and Army of Zurich—Zwingle's Departure—Zwingle's Horse—Anna Zwingle.

THE Five Cantons, assembled in diet at Lucerne, appeared full of determination, and war was decided upon. "We will call

<sup>1</sup> Zw. Opp. Comment. in Jeremia. This Work was composed the very year of Zwingle's death.

upon the cities to respect our alliances," said they, "and if they refuse, we will enter the common bailiwicks by force to procure provisions, and unite our banners in Zug to attack the enemy." The Waldstettes were not alone. The nuncio, being solicited by his Lucerne friends, had required that auxiliary troops, paid by the pope, should be put in motion towards Switzerland, and he announced their near arrival.

These resolutions carried terror into Switzerland; the mediating cantons met again at Arau, and drew up a plan that should leave the religious question just as it had been settled by the treaty of 1529. Deputies immediately bore these propositions to the different councils. Lucerne haughtily rejected them. "Tell those who sent you," was the reply, "that we do not acknowledge them as our schoolmasters. We would rather die than yield the least thing to the prejudice of our faith." The mediators returned to Arau, trembling and discouraged. This useless attempt increased the disagreement among the reformed, and gave the Waldstettes still greater confidence. Zurich, so decided for the reception of the Gospel, now became daily more irresolute! The members of the council distrusted each other; the people felt no interest in this war; and Zwingli, notwithstanding his unshaken faith in the justice of his cause, had no hope for the struggle that was about to take place. Berne, on its side, did not cease to entreat Zurich to avoid precipitation. "Do not let us expose ourselves to the reproach of too much haste, as in 1529," was the general remark in Zurich. "We have sure friends in the midst of the Waldstettes; let us wait until they announce to us, as they have promised, some real danger."

It was soon believed that these temporizers were right. In fact the alarming news ceased. That constant rumour of war, which incessantly came from the Waldstettes, discontinued. There were no more alarms—no more fears! Deceitful omen! Over the mountains and valleys of Switzerland, hangs that gloomy and mysterious silence, the forerunner of the tempest.

Whilst they were sleeping at Zurich, the Waldstettes were preparing to conquer their rights by force of arms. The chiefs, closely united to each other by common interests and dangers, found a powerful support in the indignation of the people. In a diet of the Five Cantons, held at Brunnen on the banks of the Lake of Lucerne, opposite Grutli, the alliances of the confederation were read; and the deputies, having been summoned to declare by their votes whether they thought the war just and lawful, all hands were raised with a shudder. Immediately



the Waldstettes had prepared their attack with the profoundest mystery. All the passes had been guarded—all communication between Zurich and the Five Cantons had been rendered impossible. The friends upon whom the Zurichers had reckoned on the banks of the Lakes Lucerne and Zug, and who had promised them intelligence, were like prisoners in their mountains. The terrible avalanche was about to slip from the icy summits of the mountain, and to roll into the valleys, even to the gates of Zurich, overthrowing everything in its passage, without the least forewarning of its fall. The mediators had returned discouraged to their cantons. A spirit of imprudence and of error—sad forerunner of the fall of republics as well as of kings—had spread over the whole city of Zurich. The council had at first given orders to call out the militia; then, deceived by the silence of the Waldstettes, it had imprudently revoked the decree, and Lavater, the commander of the army, had retired in discontent to Rybourg, and indignantly thrown from him that sword which they had commanded him to leave in the scabbard. Thus the winds were about to be unchained from the mountains; the waters of the great deep, aroused by a terrible earthquake, were about to open; and yet the vessel of the state, sadly abandoned, sported up and down with indifference over a frightful gulf,—its yard struck, its sails loose and motionless—without compass or crew—without pilot, watch, or helm.

Whatever were the exertions of the Waldstettes, they could not entirely stifle the rumour of war, which from chalet to chalet called all their citizens to arms. God permitted a cry of alarm—a single one, it is true—to resound in the ears of the people of Zurich. On the 4th October, a little boy, who knew not what he was doing, succeeded in crossing the frontier of Zug, and presented himself with two loaves at the gate of the reformed monastery of Cappel, situated in the farthest limits of the canton of Zurich. He was led to the abbot, to whom the child gave the loaves without saying a word. The superior, with whom there chanced to be at that time a councillor from Zurich, Henry Peyer, sent by his government, turned pale at the sight. "If the Five Cantons intend entering by force of arms into the free bailiwicks," had said these two Zurichers to one of their friends in Zug, "you will send your son to us with one loaf; but you will give him two if they are marching at once upon the bailiwicks and upon Zurich." The abbot and the councillor wrote with all speed to Zurich. "Be upon your guard! take up arms," said they;

but no credit was attached to this information. The council were at that time occupied in taking measures to prevent the supplies that had arrived from Alsace from entering the cantons. Zwingle himself, who had never ceased to announce war, did not believe it. "These pensioners are really clever fellows," said the reformer. "Their preparations may be after all nothing but a French manoeuvre."<sup>1</sup>

He was deceived—they were a reality. Four days were to accomplish the ruin of Zurich. Let us retrace in succession the history of these disastrous moments.

On Sunday, 8th October, a messenger appeared at Zurich, and demanded, in the name of the Five Cantons, letters of perpetual alliance.<sup>2</sup> The majority saw in this step nothing but a trick; but Zwingle began to discern the thunderbolt in the black cloud that was drawing near. He was in the pulpit: it was the last time he was destined to appear in it; and as if he had seen the formidable spectre of Rome rise frightfully above the Alps, calling upon him and upon his people to abandon the faith:—"No—no!" cried he, "never will I deny my Redeemer!"

At the same moment a messenger arrived in haste from Mulinen, commander of the Knights-hospitallers of St. John at Hitzkylch. "On Friday, 6th October," said he to the councils of Zurich, "the people of Lucerne planted their banner in the Great Square."<sup>3</sup> Two men that I sent to Lucerne have been thrown into prison. To-morrow morning, Monday, 9th October, the Five Cantons will enter the bailiwicks. Already the country-people, frightened and fugitive, are running to us in crowds."—"It is an idle story," said the councils.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless they recalled the commander-in-chief Lavater, who sent off a trusty man, nephew of James Winckler, with orders to repair to Cappel, and if possible as far as Zug, to reconnoitre the arrangement of the cantons.

The Waldstettes were in reality assembling round the banner of Lucerne. The people of this canton; the men of Schwytz, Uri, Zug, and Unterwalden; refugees from Zurich and Berne, with a few Italians, formed the main body of the army, which had been raised to invade the free bailiwicks. Two manifestations were published—one addressed to the cantons, the other to foreign princes and nations.

<sup>1</sup> Die ire Rustung mochte woll eine französische prattik sein. Bull., iii, 86.

<sup>2</sup> Die ewige Bünd abgefordert. J. J. Hottinger, iii, 577. According to Bullinger, this did not take place until Monday.

<sup>3</sup> Ire paner in den Brunnen gesteckt.

Bull., iii, 86.

<sup>4</sup> Ein gepöch and prögerey und unt darauff setzend. Ibid.

The Five Cantons energetically set forth the attacks made upon the treaties, the discord sown throughout the confederation, and finally the refusal to sell them provisions—a refusal whose only aim was (according to them) to excite the people against the magistrates, and to establish the Reform by force. “It is not true,” added they, “that—as they are continually crying out—we oppose the preaching of the truth and the reading of the Bible. As obedient members of the Church, we desire to receive all that our holy mother receives. But we reject the books and the innovations of Zwingle and his companions.”<sup>1</sup>

Hardly had the messengers charged with these manifestoes departed, before the first division of the army began to march, and arrived in the evening in the free bailiwicks. The soldiers having entered the deserted churches, and seen the images of the saints removed and the altars broken, their anger was kindled; they spread like a torrent over the whole country, pillaged everything they met with, and were particularly enraged against the houses of the pastors, where they destroyed the furniture with oaths and maledictions. At the same time the division that was to form the main army marched upon Zug, thence to move upon Zurich.

Cappel, at three leagues from Zurich, and about a league from Zug, was the first place they would reach in the Zurich territory, after crossing the frontier of the Five Cantons. Near the Albis, between two hills of similar height, the Granges on the north, and the Ifelsberg on the south, in the midst of delightful pastures, stood the ancient and wealthy convent of the Cistercians, in whose church were the tombs of many ancient and noble families of these districts. The Abbot Wolfgang Joner, a just and pious man, a great friend of the arts and letters, and a distinguished preacher, had reformed his convent in 1527. Full of compassion, rich in good works, particularly towards the poor of the canton of Zug and the free bailiwicks, he was held in great honour throughout the whole country.<sup>2</sup> He predicted what would be the termination of the war; yet as soon as danger approached, he spared no labour to serve his country.

It was on Sunday night that the abbot received positive intelligence of the preparations at Zug. He paced up and down his cell with hasty steps; sleep fled from his eyes; he drew near his

<sup>1</sup> Als wir vertrauen Gott und der Welt antwort zu geben. Bull., iii, 101.

<sup>2</sup> That armen lüten vil guts . . . und by aller Erbarkeit in grossern ansähen. Bull., iii, 151.



lamp, and addressing his intimate friend, Peter Simmler, who succeeded him, and who was then residing at Kylchberg, a village on the borders of the lake, and about a league from the town, he hastily wrote these words: "the great anxiety and trouble which agitate me prevent me from busying myself with the management of the house, and induce me to write to you all that is preparing. The time is come . . . . the scourge of God appears.<sup>2</sup> . . . . After many journeys and inquiries, we have learnt that the Five Cantons will march to-day (Monday) to seize upon Hitzkylch, while the main army assembles its banners at Baar, between Zug and Cappel. Those from the valley of the Adige and the Italians will arrive to-day or to-morrow." This letter, through some unforeseen circumstance, did not reach Zurich till the evening.

Meanwhile the messenger whom Lavater had sent—the nephew of J. Winckler—creeping on his belly, gliding unperceived past the sentinels, and clinging to the shrubs that overhung the precipices, had succeeded in making his way where no road had been cleared. On arriving near Zug, he had discovered with alarm the banner and the militia hastening from all sides at beat of drum: then traversing again these unknown passes, he had returned to Zurich with this information.<sup>2</sup>

It was high time that the bandage should fall from the eyes of the Zurichers; but the delusion was to endure until the end. The council which was called together met in small number. "The Five Cantons," said they, "are making a little noise to frighten us, and to make us raise the blockade."<sup>3</sup> The council, however, decided on sending Colonel Rodolph Dumysen and Ulrich Funck to Cappel, to see what was going on; and each one, tranquillized by this unmeaning step, retired to rest.

They did not slumber long. Every hour brought fresh messengers of alarm to Zurich. "The banners of four cantons are assembled at Zug," said they. "They are only waiting for Uri. The people of the free bailiwicks are flocking to Cappel, and demanding arms. . . . Help! help!"

Before the break of day the council was again assembled, and it ordered the convocation of the Two Hundred. An old man, whose hair had grown gray on the battle-field and in the council of the state—the banneret John Schweitzer—raising his head enfeebled by age, and darting the last beam,

<sup>1</sup> Die Zyt ist hie, das die rüt gottes sich wil erzeigen. Bull., iii, 87.  
den Wachten, durch umwäg und gestrupp. Ibid.  
alein geprägt. Ibid., 103.

<sup>2</sup> Naben  
<sup>3</sup> Sy machend

as it were, from his eyes, exclaimed, "Now—at this very moment, in God's name, send an advanced-guard to Cappel, and let the army, promptly collecting round the banner, follow it immediately." He said no more; but the charm was not yet broken. "The peasants of the free bailiwicks," said some, "we know to be hasty, and easily carried away. They make the matter greater than it really is. The wisest plan is to wait for the report of the councillors." In Zurich there was no longer either arm to defend or head to advise.

It was seven in the morning, and the assembly was still sitting, when Rodolph Gwerb, pastor of Rifferschwyl, near Cappel, arrived in haste. "The people of the lordship of Knonau," said he, "are crowding round the convent, and loudly calling for chiefs and for aid. The enemy is approaching. Will our lords of Zurich (say they) abandon themselves, and us with them? Do they wish to give us up to slaughter?" The pastor, who had witnessed these mournful scenes, spoke with animation. The councillors, whose infatuation was to be prolonged to the last, were offended at his message. "They want to make us act imprudently," replied they, turning in their arm-chairs.

They had scarcely ceased speaking before a new messenger appeared, wearing on his features the marks of the greatest terror: it was Schwytzer, landlord of the "Beech Tree" on Mount Albis. "My lords Dumysen and Funck," said he, "have sent me to you with all speed to announce to the council that the Five Cantons have seized upon Hitzkyleh, and that they are now collecting all their troops at Baar. My lords remain in the bailiwicks to aid the frightened inhabitants."

This time the most confident turned pale. Terror, so long restrained, passed like a flash of lightning through every heart.<sup>1</sup> Hitzkyleh was in the power of the enemy, and the war was begun.

It was resolved to expedite to Cappel a flying camp of six hundred men with six guns; but the command was intrusted to George Gödli, whose brother was in the army of the Five Cantons, and he was enjoined to keep on the defensive. Gödli and his troops had just left the city, when the captain-general Lavater, summoning into the hall of the Smaller Council the old banneret Schweitzer, William Toning, captain of the arquebusiers, J. Dennikon, captain of the artillery,

<sup>1</sup> Dieser Botschaft erschrack menklich übel. Bull, iii, 104.

Zwingle, and some others, said to them, "Let us deliberate promptly on the means of saving the canton and the city. Let the tocsin immediately call out all the citizens." The captain-general feared that the councils would shrink at this proceeding, and he wished to raise the landstrum by the simple advice of the chiefs of the army and of Zwingle. "We cannot take it upon ourselves," said they; "the two councils are still sitting; let us lay this proposition before them." They hastened towards the place of meeting; but fatal mischance! there were only a few members of the Smaller Council on the benches. "The consent of the Two Hundred is necessary," said they. Again a new delay, and the enemy were on their march. Two hours after noon the Great Council met again, but only to make long and useless speeches.<sup>1</sup> At length the resolution was taken, and at seven in the evening the tocsin began to sound in all the country districts. Treason united with this dilatoriness, and persons who pretended to be envoys from Zurich stopped the landstrum in many places, as being contrary to the opinion of the council. A great number of citizens went to sleep again.

It was a fearful night. The thick darkness—a violent storm—the alarm-bell ringing from every steeple—the people running to arms—the noise of swords and guns—the sound of trumpets and of drums, combined with the roaring of the tempest, the distrust, discontent, and even treason, which spread affliction in every quarter—the sobs of women and of children—the cries which accompanied many a heart-rending adieu—an earthquake which occurred about nine o'clock at night, as if nature herself had shuddered at the blood that was about to be spilt, and which violently shook the mountains and the valleys:<sup>2</sup> all increased the terrors of this fatal night,—a night to be followed by a still more fatal day.

While these events were passing, the Zurichers encamped on the heights of Cappel to the number of about one thousand men, fixed their eyes on Zug and upon the lake, attentively watching every movement. On a sudden, a little before night, they perceived a few barks filled with soldiers coming from the side of Arth, and rowing across the lake towards Zug. Their number increases—one boat follows another—soon they distinctly hear the bellowing of the Bull (the horn) of Uri,<sup>3</sup> and discern the banner. The barks draw near Zug; they are moored to the

<sup>1</sup> Ward so vil und lang darin geradschlagt. Bull., iii, 104.

<sup>2</sup> Ein starrer Erdbidem, der das Land, auch Berg und Thal gwaltiglich erschütt. Tschudi, Helvetia, ii, 186.

<sup>3</sup> Vil schiffen uff Zug faren, und hort man luyen den Uri Stier. Bull., iii, 109.



shore, which is lined with an immense crowd. The warriors Uri and the arquebusiers of the Adige spring up and leap on shore, where they are received with acclamations, and take up their quarters for the night: behold the enemies assembled! The council are informed with all speed.

The agitation was still greater at Zurich than at Cappel: the confusion was increased by uncertainty. The enemy attacking them on different sides at once, they knew not where to carry assistance. Two hours after midnight five hundred men with four guns quitted the city for Bremgarten, and three or four hundred men with five guns for Wadenschwyl. They turned to the right and to the left, while the enemy was in front.

Alarmed at its own weakness, the council resolved to apply without delay to the cities of the christian co-burghery. "As this revolt," wrote they, "has no other origin than the Word of God, we entreat you once—twice—thrice, as loudly, as seriously, as firmly, and as earnestly, as our ancient alliances and our christian co-burghery permit and command us to do—to set forth without delay with all your forces. Haste! haste! haste! Act as promptly as possible<sup>1</sup>—the danger is yours as well as ours." Thus spake Zurich; but it was already too late.

At break of day the banner was raised before the town-house; instead of flaunting proudly in the wind, it hung drooping down the staff—a sad omen that filled many minds with fear. Lavater took up his station under this standard; but a long period elapsed before a few hundred soldiers could be got together.<sup>2</sup> In the square and in all the city disorder and confusion prevailed. The troops, fatigued by a hasty march or by long waiting, were faint and discouraged.

At ten o'clock, only 700 men were under arms. The selfish, the lukewarm, the friends of Rome and of the foreign pensioners, had remained at home. A few old men who had more courage than strength—several members of the two councils who were devoted to the holy cause of God's Word—many ministers of the Church who desired to live and die with the Reform—the boldest of the townspeople and a certain number of peasants, especially those from the neighbourhood of the city—such were the defenders who, wanting that moral force so necessary for victory, incompletely armed, and without uniform, crowded in disorder around the banner of Zurich.

The army should have numbered at least 4000 men; they

<sup>1</sup> Ylently, ylently, ylently, uffs aller schnellist. Bull., iii, 110.  
doch das volck gmachsam. Ibid., 112.

<sup>2</sup> Sammlet sich

waited still; the usual oath had not been administered; and yet courier after courier arrived breathless and in disorder, announcing the terrible danger that threatened Zurich. All this disorderly crowd was violently agitated—they no longer waited for the commands of their chiefs, and many without taking the oath rushed through the gates. About 200 men thus set out in confusion. All those who remained prepared to depart.

Zwingle was now seen issuing from a house before which a caparisoned horse was stamping impatiently: it was his own. His look was firm, but dimmed by sorrow. He parted from his wife, his children, and his numerous friends, without deceiving himself, and with a bruised heart.<sup>1</sup> He observed the thick waterspout, which, driven by a terrible wind, advanced whirling towards him. Alas! he had himself called up this hurricane by quitting the atmosphere of the Gospel of peace, and throwing himself into the midst of political passions. He was convinced that he would be its first victim. Fifteen days before the attack of the Waldstettes, he had said from the pulpit: "I know the meaning of all this: I am the person specially pointed at. All this comes to pass—in order that I may die."<sup>2</sup> The council, according to an ancient custom, had called upon him to accompany the army as its chaplain. Zwingle did not hesitate. He prepared himself without surprise and without anger,—with the calmness of a Christian who places himself confidently in the hands of his God. If the cause of Reform was doomed to perish, he was ready to perish with it. Surrounded by his weeping wife and friends—by his children who clung to his garments to detain him, he quitted that house where he had tasted so much happiness. At the moment that his hand was upon his horse, just as he was about to mount, the animal violently started back several paces, and when he was at last in the saddle, it refused for a time to move, rearing and prancing backwards, like that horse which the greatest captain of modern times had mounted as he was about to cross the Niemen. Many in Zurich at that time thought with the soldier of the Grand Army when he saw Napoleon on the ground: "It is a bad omen! a Roman would go back!"<sup>3</sup> Zwingle having at last mastered his horse, gave the reins, applied the spur, started forward, and disappeared.

At eleven o'clock the flag was struck, and all who remained

<sup>1</sup> Anna Rheinhard par G. Meyer of Knonan, and Bull., iii, 33.  
fiunt omnia. De vita et obitu Zwinglii, Myconius.  
et de la Grande Armée, i, 142.

<sup>2</sup> Ut ego tollar  
<sup>3</sup> Ségur; Hist. de Napoléon  
2 A

in the square—about 500 men—began their march along with it. The greater part were torn with difficulty from the arms of their families, and walked sad and silent, as if they were going to the scaffold instead of battle. There was no order—no plan; the men were isolated and scattered, some running before, some after the colours, their extreme confusion presenting a fearful appearance;<sup>1</sup> so much so, that those who remained behind—the woman, the children, and the old men, filled with gloomy forebodings, beat their breasts as they saw them pass, and many years after, the remembrance of this day of tumult and sadness drew this groan from Oswald Myconius: “Whenever I recall it to mind, it is as if a sword pierced my heart.” Zwingle, armed according to the usage of the chaplains of the confederation, rode mournfully behind this distracted multitude. Myconius, when he saw him, was nigh fainting.<sup>2</sup> Zwingle disappeared, and Oswald remained behind to weep.

He did not shed tears alone; in all quarters were heard lamentations, and every house was changed into a house of prayer.<sup>3</sup> In the midst of this universal sorrow, one woman remained silent; her only cry was a bitter heart, her only language the mild and suppliant eye of faith:—this was Anna, Zwingle’s wife. She had seen her husband depart—her son, her brother, a great number of intimate friends and near relations, whose approaching death she foreboded. But her soul, strong as that of her husband, offered to God the sacrifice of her holiest affections. Gradually the defenders of Zurich precipitated their march, and the tumult died away in the distance.

## CHAPTER VII.

The Scene of War—The Enemy at Zug—Declaration of War—Council—Army of the Forest Cantons appears—The first Gun fired—Zwingle’s Gravity and Sorrow—Zurich Army ascending the Albis—Halt and Council at the Beech Tree—They quicken their March—Jauch’s Reconnaissance—His Appeal—Ambuscade.

THIS night, which was so stormy in Zurich, had not been calmer among the inhabitants of Cappel. They had received the most alarming reports one after another. It was necessary to take up a position that would allow the troops assembled round the

<sup>1</sup> Nullus ordo, nulla consilia, nullæ mentes, tanta animorum dissonantia, tam horrenda facies ante et post signa sparsim currentium hominum. De vita et ob. Zwinglii.

<sup>2</sup> Quem ut vidi repentino dolore cordis vix consistebam. (Ibid.) When I saw him I could scarcely stand from a sudden pain at my heart.

<sup>3</sup> Manebamus non certe sine jugibus suspiriis, non sine precibus ad Deum. (Ibid.) We remained, not certainly without incessant sighs, not without prayers to God.



convent to resist the enemy's attack until the arrival of the reinforcements that were expected from the city. They cast their eyes on a small hill, which lying to the north towards Zurich, and traversed by the highroad, presented an uneven but sufficiently extensive surface. A deep ditch that surrounded it on three sides defended the approaches; but a small bridge, that was the only issue on the side of Zurich, rendered a precipitate retreat very dangerous. On the south-west was a wood of beech-trees; on the south, in the direction of Zug, was the highroad and a marshy valley. "Lead us to the Granges," cried all the soldiers. They were conducted thither. The artillery was stationed near some ruins. The line of battle was drawn up on the side of the monastery and of Zug, and sentinels were placed at the foot of the slope.

Meantime, the signal was given at Zug, and Baar; the drums beat: the soldiers of the Five Cantons took up their arms. A universal feeling of joy animated them. The churches were opened, the bells rang, and the serried ranks of the cantons entered the cathedral of St. Oswald, where mass was celebrated and the Host offered up for the sins of the people. All the army began their march at nine o'clock, with banners flying. The avoyer John Gölder commanded the contingent of Lucerne; the landamman James Frouger that of Urd; the landamman Rychmuth, a mortal enemy of the Reformation, that of Schwytz; the landamman Zellger, that of Unterwalden; and Oswald Dooss that of Zug. Eight thousand men marched in order of battle: all the picked men of the Five Cantons were there. Fresh and active after a quiet night, and having only one short league to cross before reaching the enemy, these haughty Waldstettes advanced with a firm and regular step under the command of their chiefs.

On reaching the common meadow of Zug, they halted to take the oath: every hand was upraised to heaven, and all swore to avenge themselves. They were about to resume their march, when some aged men made signs to them to stop. "Comrades," said they, "we have long offended God. Our blasphemies, our oaths, our wars, our revenge, our pride, our drunkenness, our adulteries, the gold of the stranger to whom our hands have been extended, and all the disorders in which we have indulged, have so provoked his anger, that if he should punish us to-day, we should only receive the desert of our crimes." The emotion of the chiefs had passed into the ranks. All the army bent the knee in the midst of the plain; deep silence prevailed, and every soldier, with bended head, crossed

himself devoutly, and repeated in a low voice five paters, as many aves, and the credo. One might have said that they were for a time in the midst of a vast and stilly desert. Suddenly the noise of an immense crowd was again heard. The army rose up. "Soldiers," said the captains, "you know the cause of this war. Bear your wives and your children continually before your eyes."

Then the chief usher (*grand sautier*) of Lucerne, wearing the colours of the canton, approached the chiefs of the army: they placed in his hands the declaration of war, dated on that very day, and sealed with the arms of Zug. He then set off on horseback, preceded by a trumpeter, to carry this paper to the commander of the Zurichers.

It was eleven in the morning. The Zurichers soon discovered the enemy's army, and cast a sorrowful glance on the small force they were able to oppose to it. Every minute the danger increased. All bent their knees, their eyes were raised to heaven, and every Zurichers uttered a cry from the bottom of his heart, praying for deliverance from God. As soon as the prayer was ended, they got ready for battle. There were at that time about twelve hundred men under arms.

At noon the trumpet of the Five Cantons sounded not far from the advanced posts. Gödli, having collected the members of the two councils who happened to be with the army, as well as the commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and having ranged them in a circle, ordered the secretary Rheinhard to read the declaration of which the Sautier of Lucerne was the bearer. After the reading, Gödli opened a council of war. "We are few in number, and the forces of our adversaries are great," said Landolt, bailiff of Marpac, "but I will here await the enemy in the name of God." "Wait!" cried the captain of the halberdiers, Rodolph Zigler: "impossible! let us rather take advantage of the ditch that cuts the road to effect our retreat, and let us everywhere raise a *levée en masse*." This was in truth the only means of safety. But Rudi Gallmann, considering every step backwards as an act of cowardice, cried out, stamping his feet forcibly on the earth, and casting a fiery glance around him, "Here—here shall be my grave!"<sup>1</sup>—"It is now too late to retire with honour," said other officers. "This day is in the hands of God. Let us suffer whatever he lays upon us." It was put to the vote.

The members of the council had scarcely raised their hands in token of assent, when a great noise was heard around them.

<sup>1</sup> Da, da mus min Kirchhof sin. Bull., iii, 118.

"The captain! the captain!" cried a soldier from the outposts who arrived in haste. "Silence, silence!" replied the ushers driving him back; "they are holding a council!"—"It is no longer time to hold a council," replied the soldier. "Conduct me immediately to the captain."..... "Our sentinels are falling back," cried he with an agitated voice, as he arrived before Gödli. "The enemy is there—they are advancing through the forest with all their forces and with great tumult." He had not ceased speaking before the sentinels, who were in truth retiring on all sides, ran up, and the army of the Five Cantons was soon seen climbing the slope of Ifelsberg in face of the Granges, and pointing their guns. The leaders of the Waldstettes were examining the position, and seeking to discover by what means their army could reach that of Zurich. The Zurichers were asking themselves the same question. The nature of the ground prevented the Waldstettes from passing below the convent, but they could arrive by another quarter. Ulrich Brüder, under-bailiff of Husen in the canton of Zurich, fixed his anxious look on the beech-wood. "It is thence that the enemy will fall upon us!" "Axes—axes!" immediately cried several voices: "let us cut down the trees!"<sup>1</sup> Gödli, the abbot, and several others were opposed to this: "If we stop up the wood, by throwing down the trees, we shall ourselves be unable to work our guns in that direction," said they.—"Well! at least let us place some arquebusiers in that quarter."—"We are already so small a number," replied the captain, "that it will be imprudent to divide the forces." Neither wisdom nor courage were to save Zurich. They once more invoked the help of God, and waited in expectation.

At one o'clock the Five Cantons fired the first gun: the ball passing over the convent fell below the Granges; a second passed over the line of battle; a third struck a hedge close to the ruins. The Zurichers, seeing the battle was begun, replied with courage; but the slowness and awkwardness with which the artillery was served in those days prevented any great loss being inflicted on either side. When the enemy perceived this, they ordered their advanced guard to descend from Ifelsberg and to reach the Granges through the meadow; and soon the whole army of the cantons advanced in this direction, but with difficulty and over bad roads. Some arquebusiers of Zurich came and announced the disorder of the cantons. "Brave Zurichers," cried Rudi Gallman, "if we attack them now, it is all over with them." At these words some of the soldiers prepared to

<sup>1</sup> Ettliche schrüwend nach Achsen das man das Wäldi verhallte. Bull., iii, 118.



enter the wood on the left, to fall upon the disheartened Waldstettes. But Gödli perceiving this movement, cried out: "Where are you going?—do you not know that we have agreed not to separate?" He then ordered the skirmishers to be recalled, so that the wood remained entirely open to the enemy. They were satisfied with discharging a few random shots from time to time to prevent the cantons from establishing themselves there. The firing of the artillery continued until three o'clock, and announced far and wide, even to Bremgarten and Zurich, that the battle had begun.

In the meanwhile the great banner of Zurich and all those who surrounded it, among whom was Zwingle, came advancing in disorder towards the Albis. For a year past the gaiety of the reformer had entirely disappeared: he was grave, melancholy, easily moved, having a weight on his heart that seemed to crush it. Often would he throw himself weeping at the feet of his Master, and seek in prayer the strength of which he stood in need. No one had ever observed in him any irritation; on the contrary, he had received with mildness the counsels that had been offered, and had remained tenderly attached to men whose convictions were not the same as his own. He was now advancing mournfully along the road to Cappel; and John Maaler of Winterthour, who was riding a few paces behind him, heard his groans and sighs, intermingled with fervent prayers. If any one spoke to him, he was found firm and strong in the peace that proceeds from faith; but he did not conceal his conviction that he should never see his family or church again. Thus advanced the forces of Zurich. A woful march! resembling rather a funeral procession than an army going to battle.

As they approached they saw express after express galloping along the road from Cappel, begging the Zurichers to hasten to the defence of their brothers.<sup>1</sup>

At Adliswyl, having passed the bridge under which flow the impetuous waters of the Sihl, and traversed the village through the midst of women, children, and old men, who, standing before their cottages, looked with sadness on this disorderly troop, they began to ascend the Albis. They were about half-way from Cappel when the first cannon-shot was heard. They stop, they listen: a second, a third succeeds. . . . There is no longer any doubt. The glory, the very existence of the republic are endangered, and they are not present to defend it! The blood curdles in their veins. On a sudden they arouse,

<sup>1</sup> Dan ein Manung uff die ander, von Cappel kamm. Bull., ii, 113.

and each one begins to run to the support of his brothers. But the road over the Albis was much steeper than it is in our days. The badly harnessed artillery could not ascend it; the old men and citizens, little habituated to marching, and covered with weighty armour, advanced with difficulty: and yet they formed the greater portion of the troops. They were seen stopping one after another, panting and exhausted, along the sides of the road near the thickets and ravines of the Albis, leaning against a beech or an ash tree, and looking with dispirited eyes to the summit of the mountain covered with thick pines.

They resumed their march, however; the horsemen and the most intrepid of the foot-soldiers hastened onwards, and having reached the "Beech Tree," on the top of the mountain, halted to take counsel.

What a prospect then extended before their eyes! Zurich, the lake and its smiling shores—those orchards, those fertile fields, those vine-clad hills, almost the whole of the canton. Alas! soon, perhaps, to be devastated by the forest-bands.

Scarcely had these noble-minded men begun to deliberate, when fresh messengers from Cappel appeared before them, exclaiming, "Hasten forwards!" At these words many of the Zurichers prepared to gallop towards the enemy.<sup>1</sup> Toning, the captain of the arquebusiers, stopt them. "My good friends," cried he to them, "against such great forces what can we do alone? Let us wait here until our people are assembled, and then let us fall upon the enemy with the whole army."—"Yes, if we had an army," bitterly replied the captain-general, who, in despair of saving the republic, thought only of dying with glory; "but we have only a banner and no soldiers."—"How can we stay calmly upon these heights," said Zwingle, "while we hear the shots that are fired at our fellow-citizens? In the name of God I will march towards my brother warriors, prepared to die in order to save them."<sup>2</sup>—"And I too," added the aged banneret Schweitzer. "As for you," continued he, turning with a contemptuous look towards Toning, "wait till you are a little recovered."—"I am quite as much refreshed as you," replied Toning, the colour mantling on his face, "and you shall soon see whether I cannot fight." All hastened their steps towards the field of battle.

The descent was rapid; they plunged into the woods, passed

<sup>1</sup> Uff rossen häftig yltend zum augriff. Bull, iii, 113.  
den namen Gotts, zu den biderben luten und willig mitt und under inen sterben.  
Ibid., 123.

<sup>2</sup> Ich will rächt, in

through the village of Husen, and at length arrived near the Granges. It was three o'clock when the banner crossed the narrow bridge that led thither: and there were so few soldiers round it that every one trembled as he beheld this venerated standard thus exposed to the attacks of so formidable an enemy. The army of the Cantons was at that moment deploying before the eyes of the new-comers. Zwingle gazed upon this terrible spectacle. Behold, then, these phalanxes of soldiers!—a few minutes more, and the labours of eleven years will be destroyed perhaps for ever! . . .

A citizen of Zurich, one Leonard Bourkhard, who was ill-disposed towards the reformer, said to him in a harsh tone, "Well, Master Ulrich, what do you say about this business? Are the radishes salt enough? . . . who will eat them now?"<sup>1</sup> "I," replied Zwingle, "and many a brave man who is here in the hands of God; for we are his in life and in death."—"And I too—I will help to eat them," resumed Bourkhard immediately ashamed of his brutality,—“I will risk my life for them.” And he did so, and many others with him, adds the chronicle.

It was four o'clock; the sun was sinking rapidly; the Waldstettes did not advance, and the Zurichers began to think that the attack would be put off till the morrow. In fact, the chiefs of the Five Cantons seeing the great banner of Zurich arrive, the night near at hand, and the impossibility of crossing under the fire of the Zurichers the marsh and the ditch that separated the combatants, were looking for a place in which their troops might pass the night. "If at this moment any mediators had appeared," says Bullinger, "their proposals would have been accepted."

The soldiers, observing the hesitation of their chiefs, began to murmur loudly. "The big ones abandon us," said one. "The captains fear to bite the fox's tail," said another. "Not to attack them, cried they all, "is to ruin our cause." During this time a daring man was preparing the skilful manœuvre that was to decide the fate of the day. A warrior of Uri, John Jauch, formerly bailiff of Sargans, a good marksman and experienced soldier, having taken a few men with him, moved towards the right of the army of the Five Cantons, crept into the midst of the clump of beech trees that, by forming a semicircle to the east, unite the hill of Ifelsberg to that of the Granges,<sup>2</sup> found the wood empty, arrived to within a few paces

<sup>1</sup> Sind die Rüben gesalzen? wer will sie assessen. J. J. Hottinger, iii, 383.

<sup>2</sup> This wood no longer connects the two hills. The present pastor of Cappel told me that when first he went into that district the wood was much more extensive than it is at present.



of the Zurichers, and there, hidden behind the trees, remarked unperceived the smallness of their numbers, and their want of caution. Then, stealthily retiring, he went to the chiefs at the very moment the discontent was on the point of bursting out. "Now is the time to attack the enemy," cried he. "Dear gossip," replied Troguer, captain-in-chief of Uri, "you do not mean to say that we should set to work at so late an hour; besides, the men are preparing their quarters, and everybody knows what it cost our fathers at Naples and Marignan for having commenced the attack a little before night. And then it is Innocent's day, and our ancestors have never given battle on a feast-day." <sup>1</sup>—"Don't think about the Innocents of the calendar," replied Jauch, "but let us rather remember the innocents that we have left in our cottages." Gaspard Gödli of Zurich, brother of the commander of the Granges, added his entreaties to those of the warrior of Uri. "We must either beat the Zurichers to-night," said he, "or be beaten by them to-morrow. Take your choice."

All was unavailing; the chiefs were inflexible, and the army prepared to take up its quarters. Upon this the warrior of Uri, understanding like his fellow-countryman Tell that great evils require great remedies, drew his sword and cried: "Let all true confederates follow me." <sup>2</sup> Then hastily leaping to his saddle, he spurred his horse into the forest; <sup>3</sup> and immediately arquebusiers, soldiers from the Adige, and many other warriors of the Five Cantons, especially from Unterwalden—in all about 300 men, rushed into the wood after him. At this sight Jauch no longer doubted of the victory of the Waldstettes. He dismounted and fell upon his knees, "for," says Tschudi, "he was a man who feared God." All his followers did the same, and together invoked the aid of God, of his holy mother, and of all the heavenly host. They then advanced; but soon the warrior of Uri, wishing to expose no one but himself, halted his troops, and glided from tree to tree to the verge of the wood. Observing that the enemy was as incautious as ever, he rejoined his arquebusiers, led them stealthily forward, and posted them silently behind the trees of the forest, <sup>4</sup> enjoining them to take their aim so as not to miss their men. During this time the chiefs of the Five Cantons, foreseeing that this rash man was about to bring on the action, decided against their will, and collected their soldiers around the banners.

<sup>1</sup> Au einem solchen Tag Blut zu vergiessen. Tschudi, *Helv.*, ii, 189.

<sup>2</sup> Welche redlicher Eidgenossen wärt sin, die louffind uns nach. Bull., iii, 125.

<sup>3</sup> Sass ylendt wiederum uff sin Ross. Tschudi, *Helv.*, ii, 191. <sup>4</sup> Zertheilt die Hagken hinter die Bäum im Wald in grosser Stille. *Ibid.*

## CHAPTER VIII.

Unforeseen Change—The whole Army advances—Universal Disorder—The Banneret's Death—The Banner in Danger—The Banner saved—Terrible Slaughter—Slaughter of the Pastors—Zwingle's last Words—Barbarity of the Victors—The Furnace of Trial—Zwingle's dying Moments—Day after the Battle—Homage and Outrage.

THE Zurichers, fearing that the enemy would seize upon the road that led to their capital, were then directing part of their troops and their guns to a low hill by which it was commanded. At the very moment that the invisible arquebusiers stationed among the beech-trees were taking their aim, this detachment passed near the little wood. The deepest silence prevailed in this solitude: each one posted there picked out the man he desired to bring down, and Jauch exclaimed: "In the name of the holy Trinity—of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost—of the Holy Mother of God, and of all the heavenly host—fire!" At the word the deadly balls issued from the wood, and a murderous carnage in the ranks of Zurich followed this terrible discharge. The battle, which had begun four hours ago, and which had never appeared to be a serious attack, now underwent an unforeseen change. The sword was not again to be returned to the scabbard until it had been bathed in torrents of blood. Those of the Zurichers who had not fallen at this first discharge, lay flat on the ground, so that the balls passed over their heads; but they soon sprang up, saying: "Shall we allow ourselves to be butchered? No! let us rather attack the enemy!" Lavater seized a lance, and rushing into the foremost rank exclaimed: "Soldiers, uphold the honour of God and of our lords, and behave like brave men!" Zwingle, silent and collected, like nature before the bursting of the tempest, was there also halberd in hand. "Master Ulrich," said Bernard Sprungli, "speak to the people and encourage them." "Warriors!" said Zwingle, "fear nothing. If we are this day to be defeated, still our cause is good. Commend yourselves to God!"

The Zurichers quickly turned the artillery they were dragging to another quarter, and pointed it against the wood; but their bullets, instead of striking the enemy, only reached the top of the trees, and tore off a few branches that fell upon the skirmishers.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Denn das die Aest auf sie fielent. Tschudi, p. 182.

Rychmuth, the landamman of Schwytz, came up at a gallop to recall the volunteers; but seeing the battle begun, he ordered the whole army to advance. Immediately the five banners moved forward.

But already Jauch's skirmishers, rushing from among the trees, had fallen impetuously upon the Zurichers, charging with their long and pointed halberds. "Heretics!" sacrilegists!" cried they, "we have you at last!"—"Man-sellers, idolaters, impious papists!" replied the Zurichers, "is it really you?" At first a shower of stones fell from both parties and wounded several; immediately they came to close quarters. The resistance of the Zurichers was terrible.<sup>1</sup> Each struck with the sword or with the halberd: at last the soldiers of the Five Cantons were driven back in disorder. The Zurichers advanced, but in so doing lost the advantage of their position, and got entangled in the marsh. Some Roman-catholic historians pretend that this flight of their troops was a stratagem to draw the Zurichers into the snare.<sup>2</sup>

In the mean time the army of the Five Cantons hastened through the wood. Burning with courage and with anger, they eagerly quickened their steps; from the midst of the beech-trees there resounded a confused and savage noise—a frightful murmur; the ground shook; one might have imagined that the forest was uttering a horrible roar, or that witches were holding their nocturnal revels in its dark recesses.<sup>3</sup> In vain did the bravest of the Zurichers offer an intrepid resistance: the Waldstettes had the advantage in every quarter. "They are surrounding us," cried some. "Our men are fleeing," said others. A man from the canton of Zug, mingling with the Zurichers, and pretending to be of their party, exclaimed: "Fly, fly, brave Zurichers, you are betrayed!" Thus everything is against Zurich. Even the hand of Him who is the disposer of battles turned against this people. Thus was it also in times of old that God frequently chastised his own people of Israel by the Assyrian sword. A panic-terror seized upon the bravest, and the disorder spread everywhere with frightful rapidity.

In the mean while the aged Schweitzer had raised the great banner with a firm hand, and all the picked men of Zurich were drawn up around it; but soon their ranks were thinned. John Kampli, charged with the defence of the

<sup>1</sup> Der angriff war hart und währte der Widerstand ein gute Wyl. Tschudi, p. 192.

<sup>2</sup> Catholici autem, positis insidiis, retrocesserunt, fugam simulant. Cochleaus Acta Luth., p. 214.

<sup>3</sup> Der Boden erzittert; und nit anders war, denn als ob der Wald lut bruelete. Tschudi, p. 123.



standard, having observed the small number of combatants that remained upon the field of battle, said to the banneret: "Let us lower the banner, my lord, and save it, for our people are flying shamefully."—"Warriors, remain firm," replied the aged banneret, whom no danger had ever shaken. The disorder augmented—the number of fugitives increased every minute; the old man stood fast, amazed and immovable as an aged oak beaten by a frightful hurricane. He received unflinchingly the blows that fell upon him, and alone resisted the terrible storm. Kampli seized him by the arm: "My lord," said he again, "lower the banner, or else we shall lose it: there is no more glory to be reaped here!" The banneret, who was already mortally wounded, exclaimed: "Alas must the city of Zurich be so punished!" Then, dragged off by Kampli, who held him by the arm he retreated as far as the ditch. The weight of years, and the wounds with which he was covered, did not permit him to cross it. He fell in the mire at the bottom, still holding the glorious standard, whose folds dropped on the other bank.

The enemy ran up with loud shouts, being attracted by the colours of Zurich, as the bull by the gladiator's flag. Kampli seeing this, unhesitatingly leapt to the bottom of the ditch, and laid hold of the stiff and dying hands of his chief, in order to preserve the precious ensign, which they tightly grasped. But it was in vain: the hands of the aged Schweitzer would not lose the standard. "My lord banneret!" cried this faithful servant, "it is no longer in your power to defend it." The hands of the banneret, already stiffened in death, still refused; upon which Kampli violently tore away the sacred standard, leapt upon the other bank, and rushed with his treasure far from the steps of the enemy. The last Zurichers at this moment reached the ditch; they fell one after another upon the expiring banneret, and thus hastened his death.

Kampli, however, having received a wound from a gun-shot, his march was retarded, and soon the Waldstettes surrounded him with their swords. The Zurichers, holding the banner in one hand, and his sword in the other, defended himself bravely. One of the Waldstettes caught hold of the staff—another seized the flag itself and tore it. Kampli with one blow of his sword cut down the former, and striking around him, called out: "To the rescue, brave Zurichers! save the honour and the banner of our lords." The assailants increased in number, and the warrior was about to fall, when Adam Næff of Wollenwyd rushed up sword in hand, and the head of the Waldesette who

had torn the colours rolled upon the plain, and his blood gushed out upon the flag of Zurich. Dumysen, member of the Smaller Council, supported Næff with his halberd, and both dealt such lusty blows, that they succeeded in disengaging the standard-bearer. He, although dangerously wounded, sprang forward, holding the blood-stained folds of the banner in one hand, which he carried off hastily, dragging the staff behind him. With fierce look and fiery eye, he thus passed, sword in hand, through the midst of friends and enemies: he crossed plains, woods, and marshes, everywhere leaving traces of his blood, which flowed from numerous wounds. Two of his enemies, one from Schwytz, the other from Zug—were particularly eager in his pursuit. "Heretic! villain!" cried they, "surrender and give us the banner."—"You shall have my life first," replied the Zuricher. Then the two hostile soldiers, who were embarrassed by their cuirasses, stopped a moment to take them off. Kampli took advantage of this to get in advance: he ran; Huber, Dumysen, and Dantzler, of Naenikon were at his side. They all four thus arrived near Husen, half-way up the Albis. They had still to climb the steepest part of the mountain. Huber fell covered with wounds. Dumysen, the colonel-general, who had fought as a private soldier, almost reached the church of Husen, and there he dropt lifeless: and two of his sons, in the flower of youth, soon lay stretched on the battle-field that had drunk their father's blood. Kampli took a few steps farther; but halted ere long, exhausted and panting, near a hedge that he would have to clear, and discovered his two enemies and other Waldstettes running from all sides, like birds of prey, towards the wavering standard of Zurich. The strength of Kampli was sinking rapidly, his eyes grew dim, thick darkness surrounded him: a hand of lead fastened him to the ground. Then, mustering all his expiring strength, he flung the standard on the other side of the hedge, exclaiming: "Is there any brave Zuricher near me? Let him preserve the banner and the honour of our lords! As for me, I can do no more!" Then casting a last look to heaven, he added: "May God be my helper!" He fell exhausted by this last effort. Dantzler, who came up, flung away his sword, sprung over the hedge, seized the banner, and cried, "With the aid of God, I will carry it off." He then rapidly climbed the Albis, and at last placed the ancient standard of Zurich in safety. God, on whom these warriors fixed all their hopes, had heard their prayers, but the noblest blood of the republic had been spilt.

The enemy were victorious at all points. The soldiers of the Five Cantons, and particularly those of Unterwalden, long hardened in the wars of the Milanese, showed themselves more merciless towards their confederates than they had ever been towards foreigners. At the beginning of the battle, Gödli had taken flight, and soon after he quitted Zurich for ever. Lavater, the captain-general, after having fought valiantly, had fallen into the ditch. He was dragged out by a soldier and escaped.

The most distinguished men of Zurich fell one after another under the blows of the Waldstettes.<sup>1</sup> Rudi Gallman found the glorious tomb he had wished for, and his two brothers stretched beside him left their father's house desolate. Toning, captain of the arquebusiers, died for his country as he had foretold. All the pride of the population of Zurich, seven members of the Smaller Council, nineteen members of the Two Hundred, sixty-five citizens of the town, four hundred and seventeen from the rural districts: the father in the midst of his children,—the son surrounded by his brothers,—lay on the field.

Gerold Meyer of Knonau, son of Anna Zwingle, at that time twenty-two years of age, and already a member of the council of Two Hundred,—a husband and a father,—had rushed into the foremost ranks with all the impetuosity of youth. "Surrender, and your life shall be spared," cried some of the warriors of the Five Cantons, who desired to save him. "It is better for me to die with honour than to yield with disgrace," replied the son of Anna, and immediately struck by a mortal law, he fell and expired not far from the castle of his ancestors.

The ministers were those who paid proportionally the greatest tribute on this bloody day. The sword that was at work on the heights of Cappel thirsted for their blood: twenty-five of them fell beneath its stroke. The Waldstettes trembled with rage whenever they discovered one of these heretical preachers, and sacrificed him with enthusiasm, as a chosen victim to the Virgin and the saints. There has, perhaps, never been any battle in which so many men of the Word of God have bitten the dust. Almost everywhere the pastors had marched at the head of their flocks. One might have said

<sup>1</sup> *Optimi et docti viri, quos necessitas traxerat in commune periculum patriæ et ecclesiæ veritatisque defensandæ, quam et suo sanguine redemerunt.* (Pell. Vit. MS. p. 6.) Most excellent and learned men, whom the necessity of defending their country, the church, and truth, had drawn into the common danger, and there they ransomed by their blood.



that Cappel was an assembly of christian churches rather than an army of Swiss companies. The Abbot Joner, receiving a mortal wound near the ditch, expired in sight of his own monastery. The people of Zug, in pursuit of the enemy, uttered a cry of anguish as they passed his body, remembering all the good he had done them."<sup>1</sup> Schmidt of Kussnacht, stationed on the field of battle in the midst of his parishioners, fell surrounded by forty of their bodies.<sup>2</sup> Geroldsek, John Haller, and many other pastors, at the head of their flocks, suddenly met in a terrible and unforeseen manner the Lord whom they had preached.

But the death of one individual far surpassed all others. Zwingle was at the post of danger, the helmet on his head, the sword hanging at his side, the battle-axe in his hand.<sup>3</sup> Scarcely had the action begun, when, stooping to console a dying man, says J. J. Hottinger, a stone hurled by the vigorous arm of a Waldstette struck him on the head and closed his lips. Yet Zwingle arose, when two other blows which hit him successively on the leg,<sup>4</sup> threw him down again. Twice more he stands up; but a fourth time he receives a thrust from a lance, he staggers, and sinking beneath so many wounds, falls on his knees. Does not the darkness that is spreading around him announce a still thicker darkness that is about to cover the Church? Zwingle turns away from such sad thoughts; once more he uplifts that head which had been so bold, and gazing with calm eye upon the trickling blood, exclaims: "What matters this misfortune? They may indeed kill the body, but they cannot kill the soul!"<sup>5</sup> These were his last words.

He had scarcely uttered them ere he fell backwards. There, under a tree (Zwingle's Pear-tree), in a meadow, he remained lying on his back, with clasped hand, and eyes upturned to heaven.<sup>6</sup>

While the bravest were pursuing the scattered soldiers of Zurich, the stragglers of the Five Cantons had pounced like hungry ravens on the field of battle. Torch in hand, these wretches prowled among the dead, casting looks of irritation around them, and lighting up the features of their expiring

<sup>1</sup> Es klagtend inn insonders die Züger. Bull., iii, 151.  
ward er funden, under und by sinen Kussnachern. Ibid., 147.

<sup>2</sup> Uff der Walstett

<sup>3</sup> The chap-

lains of the Swiss troops still wear a sword. Zwingle did not make use of his arms.

<sup>4</sup> Hatt auch in den Schenklen zween Stiche. Tschudi, Helv., ii, 194.  
genua prolapsus dixisse: "Ecquid hoc infortunii? Age! corpus quidem occidere possunt, animam non possunt." (Osw. Myconius, Vit. Zw.) That having fallen on his knees he said, "What misfortune is this? Well: they can indeed kill the body but they cannot kill the soul.

<sup>5</sup> In genua prolapsus dixisse: "Ecquid hoc infortunii? Age! corpus quidem occidere possunt, animam non possunt." (Osw. Myconius, Vit. Zw.) That having fallen on his knees he said, "What misfortune is this? Well: they can indeed kill the body but they cannot kill the soul.  
<sup>6</sup> Was er nach lebend, lag an dem Ruggen und hat seine beide händ zamen gethan, wie die betenden, sach mit synem angen obsich in hymel. B. iii, 139.

victims by the dull glimmering of these funereal torches. They turned over the bodies of the wounded and the dead; they tortured and stripped them.<sup>1</sup> If they found any who were still sensible, they cried out, "Call upon the saints and confess to our priests!" If the Zurichers, faithful to their creed, rejected these cruel invitations, these men, who were as cowardly as they were fanatical, pierced them with their lances, or dashed out their brains with the but-ends of their arquebuses. The Roman-catholic historian, Salat of Lucerne, makes a boast of this. "They were left to die like infidel dogs, or were slain with the sword or the spear, that they might go so much the quicker to the devil, with whose help they had fought so desperately."<sup>2</sup> If any of the soldiers of the Five Cantons recognised a Zurichers against whom they had any grudge, with dry eyes, disdainful mouth, and features changed by anger, they drew near the unhappy creature, writhing in the agonies of death, and said: "Well! has your heretical faith preserved you? Ah ha! it was pretty clearly seen to-day who had the true faith. . . . To-day we have dragged your Gospel in the mud, and you too, even you are covered with your own blood; God, the Virgin, and the saints have punished you." Scarcely had they uttered these words before they plunged their swords into their enemy's bosom. "Mass or death!" was their watchword.

Thus triumphed the Waldstettes; but the pious Zurichers who expired on the field of battle called to mind that they had for God one who has said: "*If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons; for what son is he whom the father chasteneth not?*"—"Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him." It is in the furnace of trial that the God of the Gospel conceals the pure gold of his most precious blessings. This punishment was necessary to turn aside the Church of Zurich from the "broad ways" of the world, and lead it back to the "narrow ways" of the Spirit and the life. In a political history, a defeat like that of Cappel would be styled a great misfortune; but in a history of the Church of Jesus Christ, such a blow, inflicted by the hand of the Father himself, ought rather to be called a great blessing.

Meanwhile Zwingli lay extended under the tree, near the road by which the mass of the people was passing. The shouts of the victors, the groans of the dying, those flickering torches borne from corpse to corpse, Zurich humbled, the cause of Re-

<sup>1</sup> Ein gross plündern ein, ersuchen und usgiessen der todten und der wunden. Bull. iii, 135.

<sup>2</sup> Damit sie desto eher zum Teufel, damit sie mit allen vieren fechtend geführt würdend. Salat.

form lost,—all cried aloud to him that God punishes his servants when they have recourse to the arm of man. If the German reformer had been able to approach Zwingli at this solemn moment, and pronounce those oft-repeated words: “Christians fight not with sword and arquebuse, but with sufferings and with the cross,”<sup>1</sup> Zwingli would have stretched out his dying hand, and said, “Amen!”

Two of the soldiers who were prowling over the field of battle, having come near the reformer without recognising him, “Do you wish for a priest to confess yourself?” asked they. Zwingli, without speaking (for he had not strength), made signs in the negative. “If you cannot speak,” replied the soldiers, “at least think in thy heart of the Mother of God, and call upon the saints!” Zwingli again shook his head, and kept his eyes still fixed on heaven.<sup>2</sup> Upon this the irritated soldiers began to curse him. “No doubt,” said they, “you are one of the heretics of the city!” One of them, being curious to know who he was, stooped down and turned Zwingli’s head in the direction of a fire that had been lighted near the spot.<sup>3</sup> The soldier immediately let him fall to the ground. “I think,” said he, surprised and amazed, “I think it is Zwingli!” At this moment Captain Fockinger of Unterwalden, a veteran and a pensioner, drew near: he had heard the last words of the soldier. “Zwingli!” exclaimed he; “that vile heretic Zwingli! that rascal, that traitor!” Then raising his sword, so long sold to the stranger, he struck the dying Christian on the throat, exclaiming in a violent passion, “Die, obstinate heretic!” Yielding under this last blow, the reformer gave up the ghost: he was doomed to perish by the sword of a mercenary. “Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.” The soldiers ran to other victims. All did not show the same barbarity. The night was cold; a thick hoarfrost covered the fields and the bodies of the dying. The protestant historian, Bullinger, informs us that some Waldstettes gently raised the wounded in their arms, bound up their wounds, and carried them to the fires lighted on the field of battle. “Ah!” cried they, “why have the Swiss thus slaughtered one another!”

The main body of the army had remained on the field of battle near the standards. The soldiers conversed around the

<sup>1</sup> Christen sind nicht die für sich selbst mit dem Schwerdt oder Bücassen streiten, sondern mit dem Kreuz und Leyden. Luth. Opp. <sup>2</sup> Und sach über sich in Hymel. Bull., iii, 136. <sup>3</sup> Beym Fuwr besach. Tschudi, Helv., ii, 194.



fires, interrupted from time to time by the cries of the dying. During this time the chiefs assembled in the convent, sent messengers to carry the news of their signal victory to the confederate cantons, and to the Roman-catholic powers of Germany.

At length the day appeared. The Waldstettes spread over the field of battle, running here and there, stopping, contemplating, struck with surprise at the sight of their most formidable enemies stretched lifeless on the plain; but sometimes also shedding tears as they gazed on corpses which reminded them of old and sacred ties of friendship. At length they reached the pear-tree under which Zwingli lay dead, and an immense crowd collected around it. His countenance still beamed with expression and with life. "He has the look," said Bartholomew Stocker of Zug, who had loved him, "he has the look of a living rather than of a dead man.<sup>1</sup> Such was he when he kindled the people by the fire of his eloquence." All eyes were fixed upon the corpse. John Schönbrunner, formerly canon of Zurich, who had retired to Zug at the epoch of the Reformation, could not restrain his tears: "Whatever may have been thy creed," said he, "I know, Zwingli, that thou hast been a loyal confederate! May thy soul rest with God!"

But the pensioners of the foreigner, on whom Zwingli had never ceased to make war, required that the body of the heretic should be dismembered, and a portion sent to each of the Five Cantons. "Peace be to the dead! and God alone be their judge!" exclaimed the avoyer Golder and the landamman Thoss of Zug. Cries of fury answered their appeal, and compelled them to retire. Immediately the drums beat to muster; the dead body was tried, and it was decreed that it should be quartered for treason against the confederation, and then burnt for heresy. The executioner of Lucerne carried out the sentence. Flames consumed Zwingli's disjointed members; the ashes of swine were mingled with his; and a lawless multitude rushing upon his remains flung them to the four winds of heaven.<sup>2</sup>

Zwingli was dead. A great light had been extinguished in the Church of God. Mighty by the Word as were the other reformers, he had been more so than they in action; but this very power had been his weakness, and he had fallen under the weight of his own strength. Zwingli was not forty-eight years old when he died. If the might of God always accom-

<sup>1</sup> Nicht einem Todten sondern einem Lebenden gleich. Zwingli für das Volk von J. J. Hottinger.

<sup>2</sup> Tschudi Helvet., ii, 195. "Cadaver Zwinglii. . . in quatuor partes scinditur, in ignem conjicitur, in cinerem resolvitur." (Myc. de Vit. Zw.) The dead body of Zwingli is cut into four parts, thrown into the fire, and reduced to ashes.

panied the might of man, what would he not have done for the Reformation in Switzerland, and even in the empire! But he had wielded an arm that God had forbidden; the helmet had covered his head, and he had grasped the halberd. His more devoted friends were themselves astonished, and exclaimed: "We know not what to say! . . . . a bishop in arms!"<sup>1</sup> The bolt had furrowed the cloud, the blow had reached the reformer, and his body was no more than a handful of dust in the palm of a soldier.

## CHAPTER IX.

Consternation in Zurich—Violence of the Populace—Grief and Distress—Zwingle is dead!—Funeral Oration—Army of Zurich—Another Reverse on the Goubel—Inactivity of the Bernese—Hopes and Plan of Charles V.—End of the War—Treaty of Peace.

FRIGHTFUL darkness hung over Zurich during the night that followed the afflicting day of Cappel. It was seven in the evening when the first news of the disaster arrived. . . . Vague but alarming reports spread at first with the rapidity of lightning. It was known that a terrible blow had been inflicted, but not of what kind; soon a few wounded men, who arrived from the field of battle, cleared up the frightful mystery. "Then," said Bullinger, whom we shall allow to speak, "there arose suddenly a loud and horrible cry of lamentation and tears, bemoaning and groaning." The consternation was so much the greater because no one had expected such a disaster. "There is not enough for a breakfast," had said some haughty worldly men; "With one blow we shall be masters of the *Five Chalets*," had said another; and an old soldier added with disdainful sneer, "We shall soon have scattered these five dung-hills." The christian portion, convinced that Zurich was fighting in a good cause had not doubted that victory would be on the side of truth. . . . Thus their first stupefaction was succeeded by a violent outburst of rage. With blind fury the mob accused all their chiefs, and loaded with insults even those who had defended their country at the price of their blood. An immense crowd—agitated, pale, and bewildered, filled all the streets of the city. They met, they questioned, and replied; they questioned again, and the answer could not be heard, for the shouts of the people interrupted or drowned the voice of the speakers. The councillors who had remained in Zurich re-

<sup>1</sup> Ego nihil certe apud me possum statuere, maxime de Episcopo in armis. Zuick als Ecolampadio, 8th November 1531, Zurich MS.

paired in haste to the town-hall. The people, who had already assembled there in crowds, looked on with threatening eyes. Accusations of treason burst from every mouth, and the patri-cians were pointed out to the general indignation. They must have victims. "Before going to fight against the enemy on the frontiers," said the mob, "we should defend ourselves against those who are within our walls." Sorrow and fear excited the minds of all. That savage instinct of the populace, which in great calamities leads them, like a wild beast, to thirst for blood, was violently aroused. A hand from the midst of the crowd points out the council-hall, and a harsh and piercing voice exclaims: "Let us chop off the heads of some of the men who sit in these halls, and let their blood ascend to heaven, to beg for mercy in behalf of those whom they have slain."

But this fury is nothing in comparison with that which broke out against the ministers, against Zwingle, and all those Christians who were the cause (say they) of the ruin of the country. Fortunately the sword of the Waldstettes had withdrawn them from the rage of their fellow-citizens; nevertheless, there still remained some who could pay for the others. Leo Juda, whom Zwingle's death was about to raise to the head of religious affairs, had scarcely recovered from a serious illness; it was on him they rushed. They threatened, they pursued him; a few worthy citizens carried him off and hid him in their houses. The rage of these madmen was not appeased: they continued shouting that atonement must be made for the slaughter at Cappel, by a still more frightful slaughter within the very walls of the city. But God placed a curb in the mouths of these infuriate beasts of prey, and subdued them.

On a sudden, grief succeeded to rage, and sobs choked the utterance of the most furious. All those whose relatives had marched to Cappel, imagined that they were among the number of the victims. Old men, women, and children, went forth in the darkness by the glimmering light of torches, with haggard eyes and hurried steps; and as soon as some wounded man arrived, they questioned him with trembling voice about those whom they were seeking. Some replied: "I saw him fall close by my side."—"He was surrounded by so many enemies," said others, "that there was no chance of safety for him."<sup>1</sup> At these words the distracted family dropt their torches, and filled the air with shrieks and groans.

Anna Zwingle had heard from her house the repeated dis-

<sup>1</sup> Dermassen umbgäben mit Fygenden, dass kein Hoffnung der rettung uberig. Bull., iii, 163.



charges of artillery. As wife and mother, she had passed in expectation many long hours of anguish, offered fervent prayers to heaven. At length the most terrible accounts, one after another, burst upon her.

In the midst of those whose cries of despair re-echoed along the road to Cappel, was Oswald Myconius, who inquired with anxiety what had become of his friend. Soon he heard one of the unfortunate wretches who had escaped from the massacre, relating to those around him that Zwingle had fallen!<sup>1</sup> . . . . , Zwingle is no more! Zwingle is dead! The cry was repeated: it ran through Zurich with the rapidity of lightning, and at length reached the unhappy widow. Anna fell on her knees. But the loss of her husband was not enough: God had inflicted other blows. Messengers following each other at short intervals announced to her the death of her son Gerold of Knonau, of her brother the bailiff of Reinhard, of her son-in-law Antony Wirz, of John Lutschi the husband of her dear sister, as well as of all her most intimate friends. This woman remained alone—alone with her God; alone with her young children, who, as they saw her tears, wept also, and threw themselves disconsolate into their mother's arms.

On a sudden the alarm-bell rang. The council, distracted by the most contrary opinions, had at last resolved to summon all the citizens towards the Albis. But the sound of the tocsin re-echoing through the darkness, the lamentable stories of the wounded, and the distressful groans of bereaved families, still further increased the tumult. A numerous and disorderly troop of citizens rushed along the road to Cappel. Among them was the Valaisan, Thomas Plater. Here he met with a man that had but one hand,<sup>2</sup>—there were others who supported their wounded and bleeding heads with both hands;—further still was a soldier whose bowels protruded from his body. In front of these unhappy creatures peasants were walking with lighted torches, for the night was very dark. Plater wished to return; but he could not, for sentinels placed on the bridge over the Sihl allowed persons to quit Zurich, but permitted no one to re-enter.

On the morrow the news of the disgraceful treatment of Zwingle's corpse aroused all the anger of Zurich; and his

<sup>1</sup> Ut igitur mane videram exeuntem, ita sub noctem audio nuntium, pugnatum quidem acriter, tamen infeliciter, et Zwinglium nobis periisse. (Myc. Vit. Zw.) Therefore, as I had seen him going out in the morning, so, towards night I hear it announced that a battle had been fought, boldly indeed, but unsuccessfully, and that Zwingle was lost to us.

<sup>2</sup> Ettlich kamen, hatten nur eine hand. Lebensbeschreibung Plateri, p. 297.

friends, uplifting their tear-bedimmed eyes, exclaimed, "These men may fall upon his body; they may kindle their piles, and brand his innocent life.....but he lives—this invincible hero lives in eternity, and leaves behind him an immortal monument of glory that no flames can destroy.<sup>1</sup> God, for whose honour he has laboured, even at the price of his blood, will make his memory eternal." "And I," adds Leo Juda, "I, upon whom he has heaped so many blessings, will endeavour, after so many others, to defend his renown and to extol his virtues." Thus Zurich consecrated to Zwingle a funeral oration of tears and sighs, of gratitude and cries of anguish. Never was there a funeral speech more eloquent!

Zurich rallied her forces. John Steiner had collected on the Albis some scattered fragments of the army for the defence of the pass: they bivouacked around their fires on the summit of the mountain, and all were in disorder. Plater, benumbed with cold (it is himself who gives us the account), had drawn off his boots to warm his feet at the watchfire. On a sudden an alarm was given, the troop was hastily drawn up, and, while Plater was getting ready, a trumpeter, who had escaped from the battle, seized his halberd. Plater took it back, and stationed himself in the ranks; before him stood the trumpeter, without hat or shoes, and armed with a long pole. Such was the army of Zurich.

The chief captain Lavater rejoined the army at daybreak. Gradually the allies came up; 1500 Grisons, under the orders of the captain-general Frey of Zurich, 1500 Thurgovians, 600 Tockenburgers, and other auxiliaries besides, soon formed an army of 12,000 men. All, even children, ran to arms. The council gave orders that these young folks<sup>2</sup> should be sent back to share in the domestic duties with the women.

Another reverse ere long augmented the desolation of the Reformed party. While the troops of Berne, Zurich, Basle, and Bienne, amounting to 24,000 men, were assembling at Bremgarten, the Five Cantons intrenched themselves at Baar, near Zug. But Zwingle was wanting to the Reformed army, and he would have been the only man capable of inspiring them with courage. A gust of wind having thrown down a few fir-trees in the forests where the Zurichers were encamped, and caused the death of some of their soldiers, they failed not to see in this the signal of fresh reverses.

<sup>1</sup> Vivit adhunc, et æternum vivit fortissimus heros. (Leonis Judæ exhort. ad Chr. Sect. Enchiridio Psalm. Zwinglii præmissa.) The bravest hero still lives and lives for ever.

<sup>2</sup> Jungen fasels, young brood. Bull., Chr., iii, 176.

Nevertheless, Frey called loudly for battle; but the Bernese commandant Diesbach refused. Upon this the Zurich captain set off in the night of the 23d October at the head of 4000 men of Zurich, Schaffhausen, Basle, and St. Gall; and, while the Bernese were sleeping quietly, he turned the Waldstettes, drove their outposts beyond the Sihl, and took his station on the heights that overlook the Goubel. His imprudent soldiers, believing victory to be certain, proudly waved their banners, and then sunk into a heavy sleep. The Waldstettes had observed all. On the 24th October, at two in the morning, by a bright moonlight, they quitted their camp in profound silence, leaving their fires burning, and wearing white shirts over their dresses that they might recognise one another in the obscurity.

Their watchword was "Mary, the mother of God." They glided stealthily into a pine forest, near which the Reformed troops were encamped. The men stationed at the advanced guard of the Zurichers having perceived the enemy, ran up to the fires to arouse their friends, but they had scarcely reached the third fire before the Waldstettes appeared, uttering a frightful shout.<sup>1</sup> "Har...Har...Har...Har!...Where are these impious heretics?.....Har...Har...Har...Har!" The army of the cities at first made a vigorous resistance, and many of the white shirts fell covered with blood; but this did not continue long. The bravest, with the valiant Frey at their head, having bitten the dust, the rout became general, and 800 men were left on the field of battle.

In the midst of these afflictions the Bernese remained stubborn and motionless. Francis Kolb, who, notwithstanding his advanced age, had accompanied the Bernese contingent as chaplain, reproached in a sermon the negligence and cowardice of his party. "Your ancestors," said he, "would have swum across the Rhine, and you—this little stream stops you! They went to battle for a word, and you, even the Gospel cannot move. For us it only remains to commit our cause to God." Many voices were raised against the imprudent old man, but others took up his defence; and the captain, James May, being as indignant as the aged chaplain at the delays of his fellow-citizens, drew his sword, and thrusting it into the folds of the Bernese banner, pricked the bear that was represented on it, and cried out in the presence of the whole army, "You knave, will you not show your claws?"<sup>2</sup> But the bear remained motionless.

<sup>1</sup> Mit einem grossen grusamen geschrey. Bull., iii, 201.  
dan nicht kretzen! Ibid., 215.

<sup>2</sup> Bëtz, Bëtz, willt



The whole of the Reformation was comprised. Scarcely had Ferdinand received intelligence of the death of the arch-heretic Zwingli, and of the defeat at Cappel, than with an exclamation of joy, he forwarded these good news to his brother the Emperor Charles the Fifth, saying, "this is the first of the victories destined to restore the faith." After the defeat at the Goubel, he wrote again, saying that if the emperor were not so near at hand, he would not hesitate, however weak he might be, to rush forward in person, sword in hand, to terminate so righteous an enterprise. "Remember," said he, "that you are the first prince in Christendom, and that you will never have a better opportunity of covering yourself with glory. Assist the cantons with your troops; the German sects will perish, when they are no longer supported by heretical Switzerland."<sup>1</sup>—"The more I reflect," replied Charles, "the more I am pleased with your advice. The imperial dignity with which I am invested, the protection that I owe to Christendom and to public order, in a word, the safety of the house of Austria,—everything appeals to me!"

Already about two thousand Italian soldiers, sent by the pope and commanded by the Genoese De I'sola, had unfolded their seven standards, and united near Zug with the army of the Five Cantons. Auxiliary troops, diplomatic negotiations, and even missionaries to convert the heretics, were not spared. The Bishop of Veroli arrived in Switzerland in order to bring back the Lutherans to the Roman faith by means of his friends and of his money.<sup>2</sup> The Roman politicians hailed the victory at Cappel as the signal of the restoration of the papal authority, not only in Switzerland, but throughout the whole of Christendom.<sup>3</sup> At last this presumptuous Reformation was about to be repressed. Instead of the great deliverance of which Zwingli had dreamt, the imperial eagle let loose by the Papacy was about to pounce on all Europe, and strangle it in its talons. The cause of liberty had perished on the Albis.

But the hopes of the Papists were vain: the cause of the Gospel, although humbled at this moment, was destined finally to gain a glorious victory. A cloud may hide the sun for a time; but the cloud passes and the sun reappears. Jesus Christ is always the same, and the gates of hell may triumph on the battle-field, but cannot prevail against his Church.

<sup>1</sup> Que se perdo deslar i camino para remediar las quietras de nuestra fé y ser Va. Md. Senor de Allemana. Ferdinand to Charles V. 11th November 1531.

<sup>2</sup> Con proposita di rimóver Lutheraniani dalla loro mala opinione, con mezzo di alcuni suoi amici e con denari. Report of Basadonna, Archbishop of Venice.

<sup>3</sup> Ranke, Deutsche Geschichte, iii, 867.

Nevertheless everything seemed advancing towards a grand catastrophe. The Tockenburgers made peace and retired. The Thurgovians followed them; and next the people of Gaster. The evangelical army was thus gradually disbanded. The severity of the season was joined to these dissensions. Continual storms of wind and rain drove the soldiers to their homes.

Upon this the Five Cantons with the undisciplined bands of the Italian general Isola threw themselves on the left bank of the Lake of Zurich. The alarm-bell was rung on every side; the peasants retired in crowds into the city, with their weeping wives, their frightened children, and their cattle that filled the air with sullen lowings. A report too was circulated that the enemy intended laying siege to Zurich. The country-people in alarm declared that if the city refused to make terms, they would treat on their own account.

The peace party prevailed in the council; deputies were elected to negotiate. "Above all things preserve the Gospel, and then our honour, as far as may be possible!" Such were their instructions. On the 16th November, the deputies from Zurich arrived in a meadow situated near the frontier, on the banks of the Sihl, in which the representatives of the Five Cantons awaited them. They proceeded to the deliberations. "In the name of the most honourable, holy, and divine Trinity," began the treaty. "Firstly, we the people of Zurich bind ourselves and agree to leave our trusty and well-beloved confederates of the Five Cantons, their well-beloved co-burghers of the Valais, and all their adherents, lay and ecclesiastic, in their true and indubitable christian faith,<sup>1</sup> renouncing all evil intention, wiles, and stratagems. And, on our side, we of the Five Cantons, agree to leave our confederates of Zurich and their allies in possession of their faith."<sup>2</sup> At the same time, Rapperschwyl, Gaster, Wesen, Bremgarten, Mellingen, and the common bailiwicks, were abandoned to the Five Cantons.

Zurich had preserved its faith; and that was all. The treaty having been read and approved of, the plenipotentiaries got off their horses, fell upon their knees, and called upon the name of God.<sup>3</sup> Then the new captain-general of the Zurichers, Escher, a hasty and eloquent old man, rising up, said as he turned towards the Waldstettes: "God be praised that I can again call you my well-beloved confederates!" and approaching them, he shook hands successively with Golder, Hug, Troguer, Rych-

<sup>1</sup> By ihren wahren ungezwylften christenlichen glauben. Tschudi, p. 247.

<sup>2</sup> By ihren Glauben. Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Knuwet mencklich wider und bättet. Bull.,

muth, Marquart, Zellger, and Thoss, the terrible victors at Cappel. All eyes were filled with tears.<sup>1</sup> Each took with trembling hand the bottle suspended at his side, and offered a draught to one of the chiefs of the opposite party. Shortly after a similar treaty was concluded with Berne.

## CHAPTER X.

Restoration of Popery at Bremgarten and Rapperschwyl—Priests and Monks everywhere—Sorrow of Ecolampadius—A tranquil Scene—Peaceful death of Ecolampadius—Henry Bullinger at Zurich—Contrition and Exultation—The great lesson—Conclusion.

THE restoration of Popery immediately commenced in Switzerland, and Rome showed herself everywhere proud, exacting, and ambitious.

After the battle of Cappel, the Romish minority at Glaris had resumed the upperhand. It marched with Schwytz against Wesen and the district of the Gaster. On the eve of the invasion, at midnight, twelve deputies came and threw themselves at the feet of the Schwytzer chiefs, who were satisfied with confiscating the national banners of these two districts, with suppressing their tribunals, annulling their ancient liberties, and condemning some to banishment, and others to pay a heavy fine. Next the mass, the altars, and images were everywhere re-established, and exist until the present day.<sup>2</sup> Such was the pardon of Schwytz!

It was especially on Bremgarten, Mellingen, and the free bailiwicks that the cantons proposed to inflict a terrible vengeance. Berne having recalled its army, Mutschli, the avoyer of Bremgarten, followed Diesbach as far as Arau. In vain did the former remind the Bernese that it was only according to the orders of Berne and Zurich that Bremgarten had blockaded the Five Cantons. "Bend to circumstances," replied the general. On this the wretched Mutschli, turning away from the pitiless Bernese, exclaimed, "The prophet Jeremiah has well said,—*Cursed be he that trusteth in man!*" The Swiss and Italian bands entered furiously into these flourishing districts brandishing their weapons, inflicting heavy fines on all the inhabitants, compelling the Gospel ministers to flee, and

<sup>1</sup> Und luffend ihnen allen die Augen über. Tschudi, p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> Es würdentmäss, altär und götzen vieder uff gericht. Lull. i. i. 277.



restoring everywhere at the point of the sword, mass, idols, and altars.

On the other side of the lake the misfortune was still greater. On the 18th November, while the Reformed of Rapperschwyl were sleeping peacefully in reliance on the treaties, an army from Schwytz silently passed the wooden bridge nearly 2000 feet long which crosses the lake, and was admitted into the city by the Romish party. On a sudden the Reformed awoke at the loud pealing of the bells, and the tumultuous voices of the Catholics: the greater part quitted the city. One of them, however, by name Michael Wohlgemuth, barricaded his house, placed arquebuses at every window, and repelled the attack. The exasperated enemy brought up some heavy pieces of artillery, besieged this extemporaneous citadel in regular form, and Wohlgemuth was soon taken and put to death in the midst of horrible tortures.

Nowhere had the struggle been more violent than at Soleure; the two parties were drawn up in battle-array on each side of the Aar, and the Romanists had already discharged one ball against the opposite bank, another was about to follow, when the avoyer Wenge, throwing himself on the mouth of the cannon, cried out earnestly: "Fellow-citizens, let there be no bloodshed, or else let me be your first victim!" The astonished multitude dropped their arms; but seventy evangelical families were obliged to emigrate, and Soleure returned under the papal yoke.

The deserted cells of St. Gall, Muri, Einsidlen, Wettingen, Rheinau, St. Catherine, Hermetschwyl, and Guadenthall witnessed the triumphant return of Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, and all the Romish militia; priests and monks, intoxicated with their victory, overran country and town, and prepared for new conquests.

The wind of adversity was blowing with fury: the evangelical churches fell one after another, like the pines in the forest whose fall before the battle of the Goubel had raised such gloomy presentiments. The Five Cantons, full of gratitude to the Virgin, made a solemn pilgrimage to her temple at Einsidlen. The chaplains celebrated anew their mysteries in this desolated sanctuary; the abbot, who had no monks, sent a number of youths into Swabia, to be trained up in the rules of the order, and this famous chapel, which Zwingle's voice had converted into a sanctuary for the Word, became for Switzerland, what it has remained until this day, the centre of the power and of the intrigues of the Papacy.

But this was not enough. At the very time that these flourishing churches were falling to the ground, the Reform witnessed the extinction of its brightest lights. A blow from a stone had slain the energetic Zwingli on the field of battle, and the rebound reached the pacific Æcolampadius at Basle, in the midst of a life that was wholly evangelical. The death of his friend, the severe judgments with which they pursued his memory, the terror that had suddenly taken the place of the hopes he had entertained of the future—all these sorrows rent the heart of Æcolampadius, and soon his head and his life inclined sadly to the tomb. “Alas!” cried he, “that Zwingli, whom I have so long regarded as my right arm, has fallen under the blows of cruel enemies!”<sup>1</sup> He recovered, however, sufficient energy to defend the memory of his brother. “It was not,” said he, “on the heads of the most guilty that the wrath of Pilate and the tower of Siloam fell. The judgment began in the house of God; our presumption has been punished; let our trust be placed now on the Lord alone, and this will be an inestimable gain.” Æcolampadius declined the call of Zurich to take the place of Zwingli. “My post is here,” said he, as he looked upon Basle.

He was not destined to hold it long. Illness fell upon him in addition to so many afflictions; the plague was in the city; a violent inflammation attacked him,<sup>2</sup> and ere long a tranquil scene succeeded the tumult of Cappel. A peaceful death calmed the agitated hearts of the faithful, and replaced by sweet and heavenly emotions the terror and distress with which a horrible disaster had filled them.

On hearing of the danger of Æcolampadius, all the city was plunged into mourning; a crowd of men of every age and of every rank rushed to his house. “Rejoice,” said the reformer with a meek look, “I am going to a place of everlasting joy.” He then commemorated the death of our Lord, with his wife, his relations, and domestics, who shed floods of tears. “This supper,” said the dying man, “is a sign of my real faith in Jesus Christ my Redeemer.”

On the morrow he sent for his colleagues: “My brethren,” said he, “the Lord is there; he calls me away. Oh! my brethren, what a black cloud is appearing on the horizon—what a tempest is approaching! Be steadfast: the Lord will

<sup>1</sup> Zwinglium nostrum, quem pro manu altera nunc multo tempore habui. Zurich MS.

<sup>2</sup> Ater carbunculus quovis carbunculo in domo Dei splendidiorem perdidit. J. J. Hottinger, iii, 632.

preserve his own." He then held out his hand, and all these faithful ministers clasped it with veneration.

On the 23d November, he called his children around him, the eldest of whom was barely three years old. "Eusebius, Irene, Alethea, said he to them, as he took their little hands, "love God who is your Father." Their mother having promised for them, the children retired with the blessing of the dying servant of the Lord. The night that followed this scene was his last. All the pastors were around his bed: "What is the news?" asked Œcolampadius of a friend who came in. "Nothing" was the reply. "Well," said the faithful disciple of Jesus, "I will tell you something new." His friends awaited in astonishment. "In a short time I shall be with the Lord Jesus." One of his friends now asking him if he was incommoded by the light, he replied, putting his hand on his heart: "There is light enough here." The day began to break; he repeated in a feeble voice the 51st Psalm: *Have mercy upon me, O Lord, according to thy loving kindness.* Then remaining silent, as if he wished to recover strength, he said, "Lord Jesus, help me!" The ten pastors fell on their knees around his bed with uplifted hands; at this moment the sun rose, and darted his earliest rays on a scene of sorrow so great and so afflicting with which the Church of God was again stricken.<sup>1</sup>

The death of this servant of the Lord was like his life, full of light and peace. Œcolampadius was in an especial degree the christian spiritualist and biblical divine. The importance he attached to the study of the books of the Old Testament imprinted one of its most essential characters on the reformed theology.<sup>2</sup> Considered as a man of action, his moderation and meekness placed him in the second rank. Had he been able to exert more of this peaceful spirit over Zwingle, great misfortunes might perhaps have been avoided. But like all men of meek disposition, his peaceful character yielded too much to the energetic will of the minister of Zurich; and he thus renounced, in part at least, the legitimate influence that he might have exercised over the Reformer of Switzerland and of the Church.

Zwingle and Œcolampadius had fallen. There was a great void and great sorrow in the Church of Christ. Dissensions vanished before these two graves, and nothing could be seen

<sup>1</sup> De Joannis Œcolampadis obitu, per Simonem Gryneum. Epp. Œcol. et Zwinglii, libri iv.

<sup>2</sup> See his Commentaries on Isaiah, (1525), 1st chapter; on Ezekiel, (1527); Haggai, Zachariah, Malachi, (1527); Daniel, (1530); and the commentaries published after his death, with interpretations on Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, and the 1st and 2d chapters of Micah.



but tears. Luther himself was moved. On receiving the news of these two deaths, he called to mind the days he had passed with Zwingle and Œcolampadius at Marburg; and the blow inflicted on him by their sudden decease was such, that many years after he said to Bullinger: "Their death filled me with such intense sorrow, that I was near dying myself."<sup>1</sup>

The youthful Henry Bullinger, threatened with the scaffold, had been compelled to flee from Bremgarten, his native town, with his aged father, his colleagues, and sixty of the principal inhabitants, who abandoned their houses to be pillaged by the Waldstettes.<sup>2</sup> Three days after this, he was preaching in the cathedral of Zurich: "No! Zwingle is not dead!" exclaimed Myconius; "or, like the phoenix, he has risen again from his ashes." Bullinger was unanimously chosen to succeed the great Reformer. He adopted Zwingle's orphan children, Wilhelm, Regula, and Ulrich, and endeavoured to supply the place of their father. This young man, scarcely twenty-eight years of age, and who presided forty years with wisdom and blessing over this church, was everywhere greeted as the apostle of Switzerland.<sup>3</sup>

Yet as the sea roars long after the violent tempest has subsided, so the people of Zurich were still in commotion. Many were agitated from on high. They came to themselves; they acknowledged their error; the weapons of their warfare had been carnal; they were now of a contrite and humble spirit; they arose and went to their Father and confessed their sin. In those days there was great mourning in Zurich. Some, however, stood up with pride, protested by the mouth of their ministers against the work of the diplomatists, and boldly stigmatized the shameful compact. "If the shepherds sleep, the dogs must bark," exclaimed Leo Juda in the cathedral of Zurich. "My duty is to give warning of the evil they are about to do to my Master's house."<sup>4</sup>

Nothing could equal the sorrow of this city, except the exultation of the Waldstettes. The noise of drums and fifes, the firing of guns, the ringing of bells, had long resounded on the banks of their lakes, and even to their highest valleys. Now the noise was less, but the effect greater. The Five Cantons, in close alliance with Friburg and Soleure, formed a perpetual league for the defence of the ancient christian faith with the Bishop of Sion and the tithings of the Valais; and hencefor-

<sup>1</sup> De cujus morte dolorem concepi . . . . . ita ut eorum casus me pene exanimaverit. L. Epp., v, 112.

<sup>2</sup> Ne a quinque pagis aut obtruncarer aut comburerer. Bull. ad Myc., November 1531.

<sup>3</sup> Haller ad Bulling., 1536.

<sup>4</sup> Ich mus

bellien. Bull., iii, 321.

ward carried their measures in the federal affairs with boldness. But a deep conviction was formed at that period in the hearts of the Swiss Reformed. "Faith comes from God," said they; "its success does not depend on the life or death of a man. Let our adversaries boast of our ruin, we will boast only in the Cross."<sup>1</sup>—"God reigns," wrote Berne to Zurich, "and he will not permit the bark to founder." This conviction was of more avail than the victory of Cappel.

Thus the Reformation, that had deviated from the right path, was driven back by the very violence of the assault into its primitive course, having no other power than the Word of God. An inconceivable infatuation had taken possession of the friends of the Bible. They had forgotten that our warfare is not carnal; and had appealed to arms and to battle. But God reigns; he punishes the churches and the people who turn aside from his ways. We have taken a few stones, and piled them as a monument on the battle-field of Cappel, in order to remind the Church of the great lesson which this terrible catastrophe teaches. As we bid farewell to this sad scene, we inscribe on these monumental stones, on the one side, these words from God's Book: "*Some trust in chariots, and some in horses: but we will remember the name of the Lord our God. They are brought down and fallen: but we are risen and stand upright.*" And on the other, this declaration of the Head of the Church: "*My kingdom is not of this world.*" If, from the ashes of the martyrs at Cappel, a voice could be heard, it would be in these very words of the Bible that these noble confessors would address, after three centuries, the Christians of our days. That the Church has no other king than Jesus Christ; that she ought not to meddle with the policy of the world, derive from it her inspiration, and call for its swords, its prisons, its treasures; that she will conquer by the spiritual powers which God has deposited in her bosom, and, above all, by the reign of her adorable Head; that she must not expect upon earth thrones and mortal triumphs; but that her march resembles that of her King, from the manger to the cross, and from the cross to the crown:—such is the lesson to be read on the blood-stained page that has crept into our simple and evangelical narrative.<sup>2</sup>

But if God teaches his people great lessons, he also gives them great deliverances. The bolt had fallen from heaven.

<sup>1</sup> *Gloriantibus adversariis in ruinam, nos in cruce gloriemur.* Ad Ecolamp. 29th November, 1531. (Zurich MS.) Our adversaries glorying in vain, let us glory in the cross.

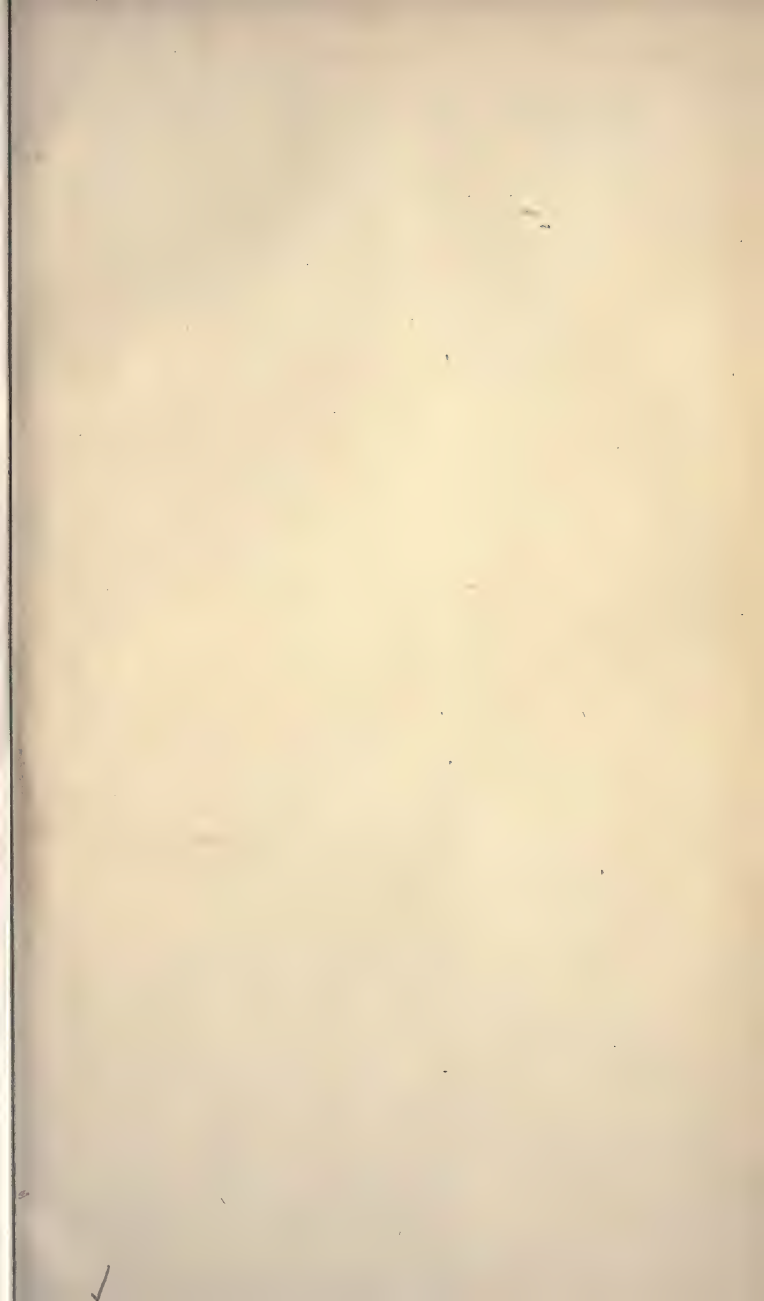
<sup>2</sup> Zwingle's *Pear Tree* having perished, a rock has been placed over the spot where this illustrious reformer died; and on it are engraved suitable inscriptions, different, however, from those in the text.

The Reformation seemed to be little better than a lifeless body cumbering the ground, and whose dissevered limbs were about to be reduced to ashes. But God raises up the dead. New and more glorious destinies were awaiting the Gospel of Jesus Christ at the foot of the Alps. At the south-west extremity of Switzerland, in a great valley which the white giant of the mountains points out from afar; on the banks of the Lemane lake, at the spot where the Rhone, clear and blue as the sky above it, rolls its majestic waters; on a small hill that the foot of Cæsar had once trod, and on which the steps of another conqueror, of a Gaul, of a Picardine,<sup>1</sup> were destined ere long to leave their ineffaceable and glorious traces, stood an ancient city, as yet covered with the dense shadows of Popery; but which God was about to raise to be a beacon to the Church, and a bulwark to Christendom.

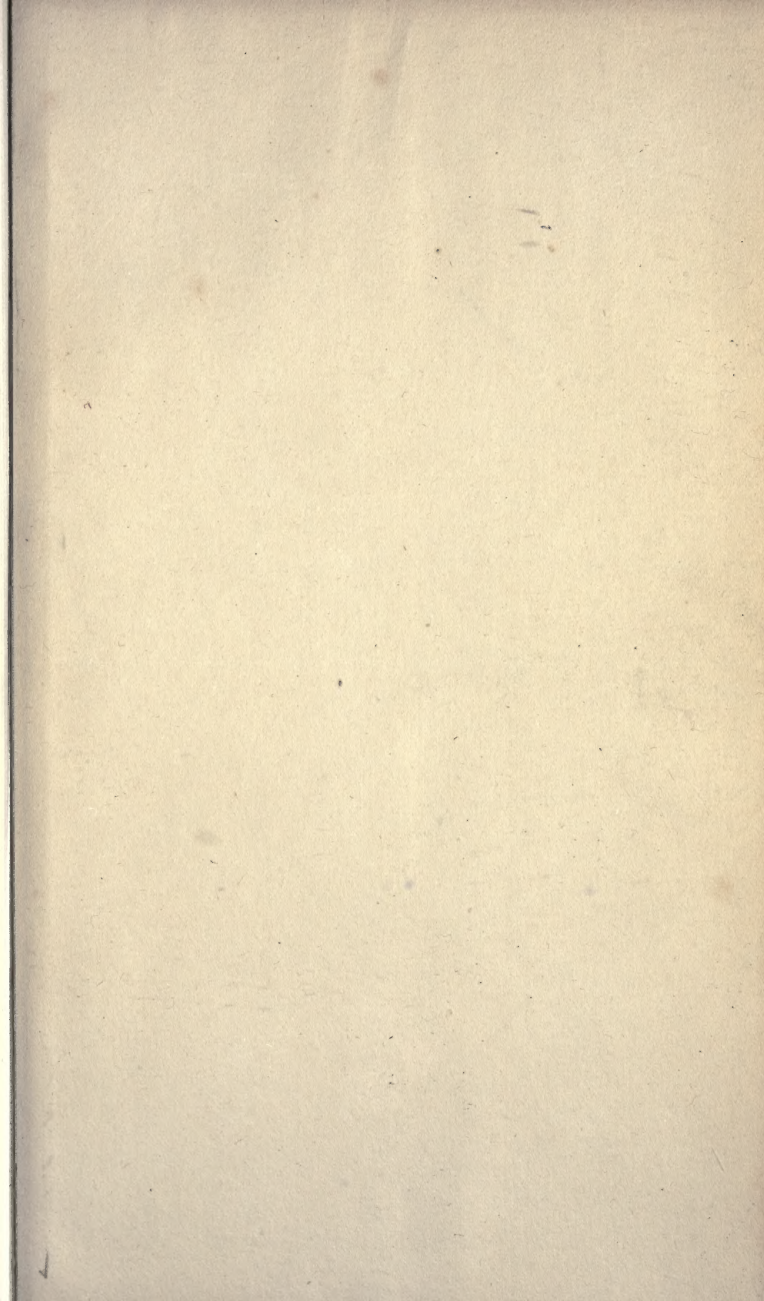
<sup>1</sup> John Calvin of Noyon.

END OF VOLUME FOURTH.













BR 305 M4713 1846 3,4 TRIN  
Merle d'Aubigne, J. H.  
History of the Reformation in  
the sixteenth century

BR 305 M4713 1846 3,4 TRIN  
Merle d'Aubigne, J. H.  
History of the Reformation in  
the sixteenth century



